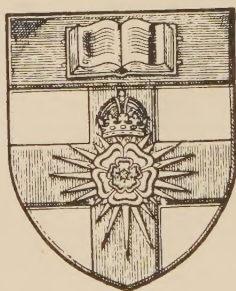


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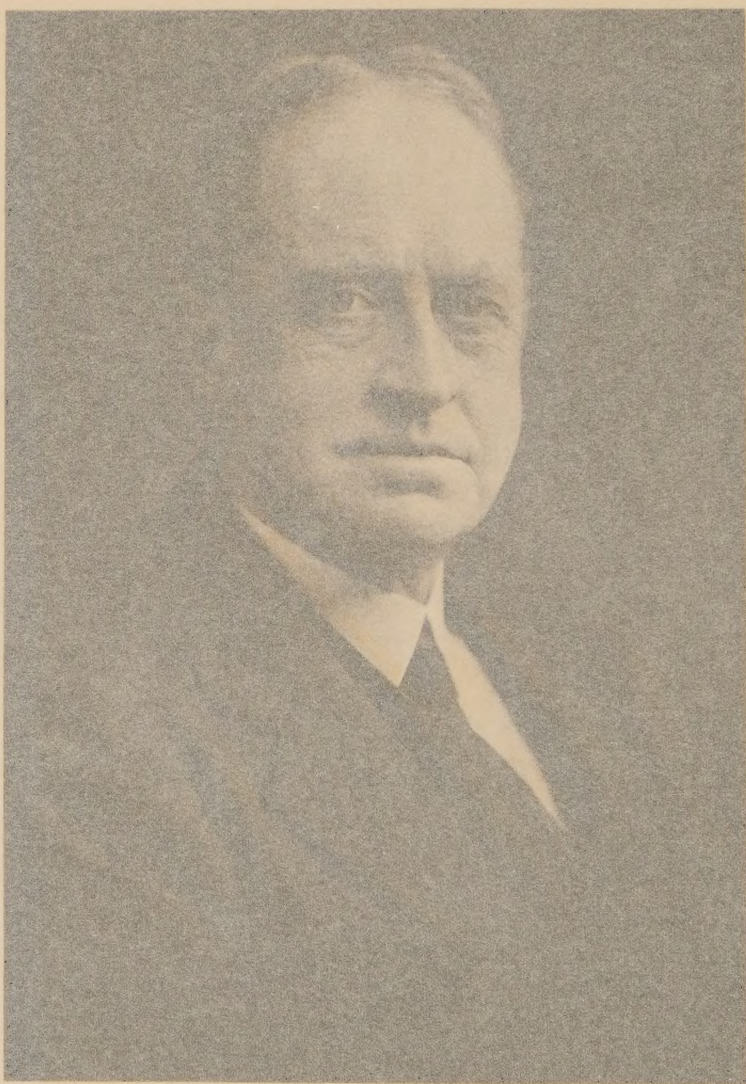
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PROCEEDINGS
of the
Massachusetts Historical Society

VOLUME LXVII

OCTOBER, 1941-MAY, 1944



Boston
Published by the Society
1945

Published at the Charge of the Waterston Fund

THE MERRYMOUNT PRESS, BOSTON, MASS., U. S. A.

65958



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Changes in Membership

xiii

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1890, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, January 6, 1943
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1907, William Vail Kellen, December 20, 1942
1910, Gardner Weld Allen, July 12, 1944
1915, Julius Herbert Tuttle, February 10, 1945
1921, Thomas Goddard Frothingham, March 17, 1945
1933, Joseph Warren, September 19, 1942
1933, Grenville Lindall Winthrop, January 19, 1943
1938, Charles Milton Davenport, July 22, 1943
1940, Boylston Adams Beal, July 27, 1944
1941, Franklin Delano Putnam, January 8, 1943

Changes in Membership

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1939, William Searle Holdsworth, January 2, 1944

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1905, Hubert Hall, July 27, 1944
1913, John Holland Rose, March 3, 1942
1921, Godfrey Rathbone Benson, Lord Charnwood, February 3, 1945
1924, Charles McLean Andrews, September 9, 1943
1927, Frederic William Howay, October 4, 1943
1937, Dixon Ryan Fox, January 30, 1945
1938, John Stewart Bryan, October 16, 1944

MEMBERSHIPS CEASED

RESIDENT

- 1923, Charles Warren, October 10, 1944¹
1937, Dumas Malone, January 11, 1945²

¹ Elected Corresponding Member, November 9, 1944.

² Transferred to Associate Membership, January 11, 1945.

Proceedings

1941-1944

The Arms and Military Training of Our Colonizing Ancestors

By ALLEN FRENCH¹

THOUGH phrased with some care, the title of this paper may be misleading as to the contents. By our colonizing ancestors I mean those (some twenty thousand in all) who came to Massachusetts during the Great Migration, which began in 1629 and ended abruptly in 1642 when the English Civil War broke out. I shall deal only with their training acquired in the old country, not their actions when here. I shall try to show that many of them had never seen active service. Yet they all used the practice of the day, with the weapons of the time. What were the practice and the weapons?

An English army, according to English law and custom, was drawn from three sources. The first was the militia, the second the remains of the feudal levy, and the third (since volunteering seems never to have been considered) was the impressing of men.

For home defense there might be raised territorial armies, the equivalent of the militia of much more modern times. Such armies Queen Elizabeth had summoned for defense against the Scots, against the Catholic rising of 1569, and particularly against the expected Armada in 1588. She completed the county organization under lord lieutenants, whose first military function was to set up the trained bands, or trainbands, in every parish to meet such general emergencies. Historically, these bands were to represent the "general levy," which went back to the *fyrð* of Anglo-Saxon times; and long afterward they still included, with certain exceptions, all able-bodied males from sixteen to sixty. There were, or were supposed to be, musters yearly or more often, at which even the clergy and propertied widows were to be represented by armed substitutes. From time to time Charles I commanded his lord lieutenants to call special musters and viewings of arms; and the business of his Council was often cumbered with reports of the backwardness of the unwilling people. These, seeing no emergency, felt the musters to be a nuisance and the expense of maintaining arms and mustermasters

¹ This paper was read at the November, 1941, meeting.

to be a burden. The strange provision that even a minister must send a substitute explains why in recent times there have emerged from forgotten storage places in English parish churches pieces of armor of this period (Elizabethan, Jacobean, or Carolean), helmets, breast and back pieces, and the like, commonly poor enough in quality, but sometimes providing valuable data for students of the last stage of a footman's armor.

In 1637 it was estimated that the trained bands had eighty-eight thousand footmen, to be mustered four times a year,¹ in which case five thousand additional might be a high estimate for the cavalry, which sent out but a few from each parish.² The men were supposed to provide their own equipment; but it would appear that in some cases the King made up the deficiency, for in 1628 he prohibited the buying and selling of his arms and ammunition. He prohibited also the borrowing of arms.³ This little trick by neighboring bands to eke out each other's equipment was met by one of James I's lieutenants by holding musters all on the same day. Defaulting was frequent, but as frequently punished. Men of landed property often complained of having to attend musters (or send substitutes) in more than one county. Everywhere the musters were unpopular, and whenever it could be safely done, they were neglected.⁴ There is a little irony, therefore, in the usual mention of men in the trained bands as "trained men" when from any rigid standard they were scarcely trained at all. For even had they come together in yearly musters, under drillmasters trained on the Continent, the musters were too far apart to produce real soldiers, especially of men typically reluctant to submit to the discipline.

The first real test of this militia came in 1639, when, to meet the threat from the Scottish Covenanters, Charles summoned his nobles and gentry and a certain proportion of men from the trained bands. Many of the latter were unwilling to go, and Earl Lindsey reported that "at Boston a woman presented unto me the great toe of her husband in a handkerchief, which he had cut off that he might not be able to march. . . ."⁵ However, as those who were well-to-do were

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (1637-1638), 9. The volumes in this series are subsequently cited as *C.S.P. Dom.*

² Devon in 1629, for example, had 6,400 footmen and but three troops of horse; while Dorset with 2,350 footmen had but a hundred horse. *C.S.P. Dom.* (1629-1631), 80, 95.

³ *C.S.P. Dom.* (1628-1629), 10.

⁴ *C.S.P. Dom.* (1633-1634), 281.

⁵ *C.S.P. Dom.* (1639), 20.

permitted to send substitutes, the numbers were, in general, made up. But there were complaints on both sides. The "trained men" complained that their substitutes charged too much. In some places they were paid as much as twelve pounds.¹ In Cambridgeshire, however, the deputy lieutenants managed to effect a uniform rate of three pounds, with an extra forty shillings in case the substitute was not properly clothed.²

There was also dispute as to the quality of the substitutes. Sir Simon Harcourt complained that those who came under his hand were "almost all hired, raw and inexpert in the use of their arms. . . ."³ Yet the deputy lieutenants of Cambridge affirmed that the substitutes were, "for their persons," better than the trained men.⁴ This is likely to be true when one considers that the stout citizens were probably literally so and, like Hamlet, "fat and scant of breath," while the substitutes, however slight their training, were likely to be young and agile.

An equally serious question concerned the arms of the men who had to go. Earl Lindsey complained that divers of the gentry of his county petitioned to be permitted to keep their arms at home. The militia had to be armed, however, and the natural result was that whenever a man sent a substitute, desiring to keep his own weapons for emergencies, he gave the man the cheapest to be had. On one occasion when a Kent company was examined, most of the arms were found to be

very unserviceable, many of their muskets having no touch holes, and some others having them so large as one might turn ones thumb in them, and the pikes were so rotten as they were shaken, many of them, all to pieces; some few of the muskets were reasonably good; the captain commending one of those muskets wished they had been all so good. Nay, saith the musketeer, my master sought to have found a worse musket, but he could find none in all the town, if he could, I should have had it.⁵

This Kent company, and more like it, had to be detained till better arms could be supplied. Sir Simon Harcourt reported that while the men sent him were generally able-bodied, their arms were often unserviceable, "their muskets being old ship-muskets, and too heavy for the soldiers, the corslets are old fashioned, helmets indifferently good, and the pikes of unequal length and decayed."⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

² *Ibid.*, 187.

³ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

This levy of the trained bands in 1639, with the substitutes, had but a few months' service, not in the field, but in camp. If they had their mustermasters with them, or if their officers were zealous and capable, they may have had a certain amount of drill; but of that nothing is heard. It was admitted that Charles's half-hearted army could not have stood against the hardy and experienced Scots. On the other hand the Scots, though they might have won in a pitched battle, would only have brought upon themselves the whole might of England. The two opponents, therefore, drew apart and dispersed—and that was the chief experience of the English trained bands in the field. Not all of them had been called, and of those, many had sent substitutes.

This was the so-called First Bishops' War. In the Second, a year later, Charles called out only the Northern trained bands, from sections which sent very few men to Massachusetts. The rest of his army were pressed men. There was almost no fighting, but in what there was, the English were beaten by the Scots. In this army there was much discontent for lack of pay, much desertion, and among the pressed men from the South a great dislike of their Catholic officers, who could preserve no discipline among them.

Certainly the trained bands, by this record, were far from soldierly. The field practice of the whole body would not have enabled them to resist for an hour an equal number of European veterans such as at that time were fighting in the Thirty Years' War.

The trained bands could not legally be called out, however, for service on the Continent. Nor could the ancient feudal levy, the second source on which Charles had tried to depend for the campaign against the Scots, supply him with a real army at home or abroad. Feudalism had decayed, and the yeomen, who had provided the archers for Crécy and Agincourt, had for generations been freeing themselves of the old manorial tenure which required them to serve with their lords. It is worth noting that the nobles who followed Charles to the field in the First Bishops' War demurred at taking the feudal oath to support him with their lives and property. Their lives they would freely risk, but not the estates of their heirs. Two of them, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, of the Puritan faction, would not swear at all.¹ Similar obstacles in 1625 and 1627, when

¹ Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, IX (London, 1904), 11; *C.S.P. Dom.* (1639), 96-97.

Charles needed an army for his campaigns which landed men on the Continent, had compelled him to fall back on impressment, the third source from which an English army of that time could be drawn.

Pressed men were, generally speaking, the scourgings of the population. Members of the universities and the professions were exempt, with taxpayers and the sons of taxpayers of a certain small income, men of the rank of esquire "and upwards," members of Parliament and the officers and servants of both Houses, men under eighteen or over fifty, and particularly members of the trained bands. That left mostly small tenants, day laborers, and (always readily snapped up) rogues and vagabonds. Nor could those who were pressed learn much by their experience in serving Charles. The troops who landed at Cadiz spent but three days ashore, and their performance while there, most of them returning drunk, was anything but military.¹ They were kept in camp during two winters, with what training we know not, and were sent in the summer of 1627, with others, on the expedition to Ré. Half the troops died there; the rest returned with only the experience of a bloody repulse from the walls of a citadel and the vivid memory of the slaughter of their comrades on a retreat.

There is one more class of men with military experience to take into account. For many years the Low Countries, in their interminable struggle with Spain, had been a school of war for all adventurous Englishmen and Scots. Of these many had long been serving for Continental pay. The men were simply mercenary soldiers, younger sons or wanderers, together with those who for their own reasons found it best to leave England. The use of mercenaries goes back to ancient times, comes down through the Middle Ages, and is very prominent in the wars of the Renaissance. Readers of Scott's *Quentin Durward* remember the Scottish archers who fought for Louis XI. Swiss, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, whether as pikemen, tercios, condottieri, landsknechts, or reiters, maneuvered and fought all over Europe. And from the year 1572, fifty years before the period under review, the revolting Netherlands had in their pay both Scottish and English regiments. These were volunteers, paid by the Dutch; but in 1585 Elizabeth took over the three "cautionary" towns (Brill, Flushing, and Ramekens) and put in them voluntary garrisons which she paid herself—and disgracefully badly. These regiments long were schools of English fighting men, so that when in 1616

¹ Gardiner, *History of England*, VI. 18-19.

James I released the towns for a money payment, a protest was made that thereby Englishmen might lose their only chance to train for a military life.

For this purpose there still remained, however, the English regiments in foreign pay. Further, in 1620, when the imperial troops were invading the Palatinate, James permitted Sir Horace Vere to raise a body of a few thousand English volunteers to go against them. This must have been felt to be a patriotic venture, for into the levy flocked many young nobles and men of property, equipping the whole splendidly and crowding out the more experienced officers from the Continent. This force was probably in Continental pay; but four years later James sent over four regiments in his own pay, six thousand men and all volunteers.

Men of this type, trained in foreign service, became seasoned veterans. They had chosen the life themselves, or had escaped into it from worse circumstances, and followed it willingly. They had mastered the complicated technique of the drill of that day and knew how to handle the clumsy weapons. Recruits taken into the service were speedily shaped to the rules and routine of the life. Some of the regiments had records and histories of which they were proud; and the organizations, new and old, were held in respect by their opponents. The English soldier was a grumbler, he must have his meat and beer, but he was a hard fighter.

There can be no doubt that certain men of this type, if also they were Puritans, came to Massachusetts during the Great Migration. Some came even before, notably Myles Standish, trained in the Low Countries. The more of these that came, the better for the strength of the colony. But no men of high military rank came: we should know of them else. Captains, lieutenants, enlisted men must have come, though of them we know little. Doubtless also the colony must have received certain of the 2,989 pressed men who came back from Ré. But the total of all these classes cannot have been large. Speaking therefore of the mass of the colonists of military age, one seems safe in assuming that the large part of their knowledge of war they obtained in the perfunctory and harmless ranks of the trained bands.

And this knowledge, as has already been seen, was little enough. To be sure, it was imparted to all of a certain standing, city men and country men alike. The men of some education surely studied the books and became officers, with a sort of academic knowledge which

we have known in our own militia of recent times before the Great War transformed it into the National Guard. All received a certain amount of training from drill sergeants and mustermasters who had fought on the Continent. But the trained bands were never a body of trained men. What they knew of tactics they learned by outside compulsion, to avoid fines and punishment, and never willingly. For, after all, they were not soldiers. However, something of the military art they knew, and of the weapons.

Infantry of that day, no matter what its origin, was armed chiefly with pike, sword, and matchlock. Variants of these existed here and there, for the pike had not yet entirely displaced the halberd and the brown bill, while on the other hand better guns than the matchlock had appeared. But at least the bow was definitely of the past. Charles I, it would appear, had a liking for the bow and to revive its use made various attempts to enforce the old statute of Henry VIII. To one such attempt a protest was made from Newcastle-on-Tyne: "The Statute has long slept, and is very penal; since the use of muskets, the use of bows and arrows is quite gone out; the town and country are utterly destitute of bowyers and fletchers, and bow-staves and all other necessaries. . . ."¹ This was in 1631; yet six years later Charles repeated the attempt. It was hopeless. The old archer, trained from childhood and able to shoot accurately at five or six score yards, was to be found but seldom, and then only in the districts bordering on Scotland. "Very rare and hardly to be gotten," wrote Sir William Becher in 1627. Except for one other experiment that failed, the bow was gone.²

For horsemen the lance had all but gone out; they carried swords, with pistols or a light firearm.³ Footmen were either pikemen, armed with sword and pike, or musketeers, armed with sword and matchlock. On the comparative value of pikemen and musketeers there

¹ *C.S.P. Dom.* (1629-1631), 493.

² Charles I tried in 1628 and 1637 to revive the old statute of 33 Henry VIII, by which all from the ages of seven to sixty were to practise the bow. Charles M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown*, II (London, 1869), 401-402, where the statute is printed. In 1627 the Duke of Buckingham, then in the Isle of Ré, asked that of each fifty men pressed for his reinforcements twelve should be archers, which brought out Becher's protest. For this paragraph see *C.S.P. Dom.* (1627-1628), 322, 328, 338; (1628-1629), 181; (1629-1631), 465, 493; (1631-1633), 134, 462; (1637), 66.

³ Sir Charles Oman, in his *History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1937), writes of the previous century (page 387): "The English were the latest of all the military nations save the Scots and the Spaniards to drop the [cavalry] lance."

was an increasing controversy in the surprisingly large military literature of those days.¹

Until about this period the main body of any European army was considered to be the pikemen. Chosen for their size and strength, they were a privileged class, like the grenadiers of later days, though in proportion far more numerous. They were the mass on which the lighter musketeers rallied; their solid squares, sometimes grouped as twenty-five men deep and broad, could hold ground taken, while the musketeers skirmished to defend them. On the approach of cavalry, the musketeers retired within the shelter of the square, or even under the outer pikes, braced at a charge to receive the horsemen. In earlier times cavalry found it difficult to assault such a mass of men bristling with sixteen-foot pikes; but the coming of firearms changed that. Cavalry could ride up within point-blank range of a pistol and could themselves be safe from the pikes.

As this began to be evident, the value of the pike was questioned. Those who wished to retain it appealed to the example of the ancients; but the simple answer was that there were no firearms in those days. It was pointed out that in the field the pikemen were largely passive: they could withstand a charge, and they could advance slowly and heavily against footmen, but they were not a mobile force. Moreover, they could serve only the one purpose, for they were valueless as sentinels, they could not scout or skirmish, and they were useless in a sortie unless they left their pikes behind and used their swords.

And it hath been seene, when young Striplings have upon Commands gone resolutely forth by Sallies, in a dark, cold, blustering, rainy, tempestuous night,

¹ A great many books on the military art were printed in the reigns of James I and Charles I for the use of officers in the trained bands or in the European levies. The prolific Gervase Markham, sensing the need, was more successful than any, perhaps, with his *Souldiers Accidence* (London, 1625) and his *Souldiers Grammar* (Part I, London, 1626; Part II, London, 1627), small books, both of which appeared in various editions. Equally for popular use was *Instructions for Musters and Armes*, issued by the Privy Council in 1623 (there was another edition in 1631) and illustrated by engravings of postures. More thorough and more extensive were *The Yong Souldier* by John Raynsford (London, 1642); *The Military Garden* by the Scot James Achesone (London, 1629); *The Principles of the Art Militarie* by Henry Hexham (London, 1637); and perhaps best of all was *Militarie Discipline, or the Young Artillery-Man* by William Barriffe (London, 1635, and later editions). The last had nothing to do with artillery as we understand it but was entirely for "the Exercise of the Foot in their Motions, with much variety: As also diverse and severall Formes for the Imbattelling small or greater Bodies." The artillerist would find his instruction in *The Gunner. Shewing the Whole Practise of Artillerie* by Robert Norton (London, 1628), with its strange explanations of the chemistry of powder, or in *A Treatise of Artificial Fire-Works* by Francis Malthus (London, 1629).

whenas a lusty, tall Pikeman hath been glad that he hath had such Armes allotted him, which kept him from such dangerous Onsets. Nay, upon suddaine Alarmes in the Night, when the Sergeants have come to fetch men out of all Companies to march out, with their usuall word, Up Musquetiers up; 10 or more out of every Company: At these times the lusty and able Pike-man hath said, Well, I would not be a Musquetier, I am glad of my Corslet, I had rather lye still in my Quarters, let the Musquetiers get the honour, I desire it not at such times as this is.¹

To meet the fact that a pikeman was largely a defensive soldier and that he was becoming useless against cavalry with pistols, one William Neade, about 1625, invented the pike-and-bow, or the bow with the pike, to make the pikeman a "double-armed man."² The bow was fastened about midway of the pike, and by its means the men in the interior of a square were expected to shoot over the heads of the outer ones against an enemy. Charles I, in 1633, encouraged Neade with a proclamation³ and with advice to the trained bands to try out the new weapon. But although by 1635 poor Neade had invested the whole of his estate of three hundred pounds, the experiment was a failure. Not even a single example of the weapon remains as a curiosity in the collection of the Tower of London.⁴

The pikeman, therefore, began to disappear before the plain fact that he needed the protection of the musketeer more than the musketeer needed his. Even the economics of the situation was against him when it was realized that the cost of his equipment, which included steel headpiece, breastpiece, and backpiece and tassels for the loins and thighs, was more than that of the musketeer, who had discarded all defensive armor. Further, under the weight that he carried the pikeman soon tired on the march or in battle. He gave way, consequently, to the musketeer, who for a long period remained a matchlock man though better types of firearms had been invented.

¹ [Donald Lupton], *A Warre-like Treatise of the Pike* (London, 1642), 130-131. (Quotations here are from the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library.) Lupton says: "after ten a clock at night . . . [the pikeman] is not reputed to be a sufficient Sentinell, especially in any out-workes." The pikeman could only shout an alarm, while muskets could shoot. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

² William Neade, *The Double-Armed Man, by the New Invention* (London, 1625).

³ C.S.P. Dom. (1633-1634), 180. A copy of this proclamation is in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

⁴ A petition of Neade and his son to the Council in 1637 refers to one occasion when Neade's invention was demonstrated before the King in St. James's Park by three hundred of the Artillery Company. C.S.P. Dom. (1637), 127. The evolutions with the bow-and-pike were printed in Francis Grose, *Military Antiquities* (London, 1801), I. 354-357. Grose also reproduces engravings showing the drill with the weapon.

The wheel lock, the snaphance, and even the earliest flintlocks had appeared; but they remained the weapon of the cavalry, the sportsman, or the private man. Perhaps the military type of mind clung to the older weapon, as in the American Revolution the troops preferred the smoothbore to the rifle. On the other hand the matchlock, with the simplest mechanism of the day (a burning slowmatch pressed into a pan of powder), was cheap, it rarely got out of order, and it was the surest weapon in the hands of the average footman.¹

It is worth notice, therefore, when thinking of our colonizing ancestors, to remember that by their time the bow had completely gone out and is never mentioned in our military annals; that the pike was losing ground; and that the matchlock was the coming weapon of the average man.

At this point in the development of arms, what was the Englishman's training in the tactics of the field?

The many books of instruction for soldiers do not come to any exact agreement as to methods and systems in sizes of units, the manual of arms, and formations for battle. The march is never properly explained;² dressing or alignment is not described; and there is

¹ The matchlock was a heavy and clumsy gun of large bore, but not with the flaring muzzle of the later blunderbuss. The barrel was loaded with powder and ball. The lock, by which fire was admitted, consisted of a pan holding a little powder. The burning slowmatch was held on a cock. When the pan was opened and a trigger pulled, a simple mechanism pressed the match into the powder, the flash of which shot into the barrel through a tiny hole. The original matchlock was so heavy that it had to be supported on a rest, a forked stake which the musketeer either carried or dragged after him on a string. About 1927 a historic pageant of the Honourable Artillery Company at Bunhill Fields, London, showed a group of archers laughing at a musketeer, who, after elaborate preparations with his rest, could not make his matchlock fire. In the day of Charles I those who began to argue against the pike proposed to fit the musketeer with a half-pike which, having a crossbar below the head, would serve as a rest, a palisade, and also as an offensive weapon. Cf. Lupton, *Warre-like Treatise of the Pike*, and Barrieffe, *Militarie Discipline*. The first bayonets merely plugged the barrel and were impractical. But the development of a lighter arm and the socket bayonet settled for good the question of the pike and the rest.

The story of the matchlock and early forms of other musket locks is told in the early part of Hugh B. C. Pollard, *A History of Firearms* (London, 1926). "The matchlock," he says (page 11), "endured as standard military weapon throughout the whole period of the wheel lock, and was only finally superseded by the flint lock at the beginning of the 18th century." It must be remembered, however, that the matchlock was never the weapon of the horseman, and it was the development of the lighter firearms with sparking locks that allowed the improvement of the cavalry of the seventeenth century. The horsemen that Charles I called out in 1638 had pistols, arquebuses, or carabines, all light arms. *C.S.P. Dom.* (1638-1639), 193.

² "The English March" was apparently a drummer's cadence, and a slow one, changed by Charles I to a quicker pace. "The ancient custome of nations hath ever beene to use one certaine and constant forme of march in the warres whereby to be distinguished one from another." Charles Dalton, *Life of General Sir Edward Cecil* (London, [1885]), I. 233-234. The drummer of those days was much more important than now, for he ought, said Markham

only a slight suggestion of the later squad formation, which is to be deduced rather from its necessity and the fact that corporals and sergeants commanded definite groups than from any explanation of it. It seems as if in these books that have been mentioned there are the conclusions of different men; only one, the *Instructions for Musters and Armes*, issued by the Privy Council in 1623 and again in 1631, was official, and that is slight and rudimentary. It is safe to say that different regiments, or even different companies in the same regiment of the trained bands, might drill by different systems. Even in the manual of arms there was no uniformity in orders or in exactness of action, though of necessity all, in this particular, were very similar.

Many of the books refer, if only indirectly, to the methods of the ancients and particularly to the descriptions of Aelian. Gervase Markham gives ancient terms and methods, though stating that the use of firearms has put most of them out of date. There is a certain pomposity in this as well as in his analysis of the use of colors, of which for military purposes there were nine: "two which be called Mettalls . . . and seaven, which are called proper Colours, . . . and of these . . . mettall may not be carried [in ensigns] upon mettall, nor Colour upon Colour."¹ But apart from this antiquarianism, in which many of the military writers indulge, these writers eventually get down to the complicated business of the study of arms, the manual, and battle formations.

The pikes, according to Markham, should be "strong, straight, yet nimble, of Ash wood, well headed with Steele, and armed with plates downward from the head, at least foure foot, and the full size or length of every Pike shall be fiteene foote, beside the head."² The muskets should be "good and sufficient, of true size and bore, with cleane Barrels, and straight scowring stickes." The rests should

(*Souldiers Grammar*, Part II, 3), "to be a Souldier of much experience and judgement, and (if possible) a good Linguist, that being sent to the enemy upon any occasion, he may be able to deliver his Message without any interpreter or assistant, and also, to take notice of such things of importance as he shall encounter with his eies or eares." Of the ceremonial importance of the drum, see in Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* (Act III, Scene 6; Act IV, Scene 1) Parolles' vexation at losing his drum, as if it were as important as a standard.

¹ *Souldiers Accidence*, 31.

² *Ibid.*, 3, 4. Without the protecting plates the pike was easily made useless. Against Swiss pikemen with pikes "ready charg'd, did not then two Soldiers of Collonell Burlacyes Regiment with their swords only enter by force into that body, and cut off divers Pike-heads, and came off againe with three or foure of them in their hands, which in fury and great derision they flung againe amongst them, with this jeere to boot, Oh doe us no harme good men!" Lupton, *Warre-like Treatise of the Pike*, 51.

be "of Ash wood, or other tough wood, with iron Pikes in the neather end, and half Hoopes of iron above to rest the Musquet on, and double strong stringes fastned neare thereunto, to hang about the arme of the Souldier when at any time he shall have occasion to traile the same." The musketeers carried charges of powder in little tubes of wood or horn hanging by strings from bandoleers; bullets were in bags, in which were also their "Moulds, Wormes, Screwes, Rammer, and Pryming Iron."

The sergeant carried a halberd, the ensign the company flag, with his sword, the lieutenant "a faire guilt Partizan"; and the captains' "weapons to lead with, shall be Featherstaves; But their weapons to serve or encounter the enemy with, shall be faire Partizans of strong and short blades, well guilt and adorned, according to their owne pleasures."¹

The manual for the pikeman was comparatively simple. He had but to manage the one long shaft—to order or advance it (the pike upright, the butt on or off the ground); to shoulder it; to comport it; to slope it; to trail it; to cheek it (shortening it for close quarters); and to charge it. To charge was to point it as against footmen, level; or as against horse, sloped, with the butt braced against the right foot and the sword drawn. In their armor the pikemen must have been a showy body, and the sergeants must have given much attention to making the long shafts stand exactly parallel.²

The manual for the musketeer was much more complicated. Not only had he to manage his musket in the many actions of loading and firing, but he was bothered by his rest, or later his half-pike, and by his match. The latter was a cord steeped in saltpeter or something similar, which had to be kept dry. If this was unlighted, the weapon was useless; but when lighted, the match was always in danger of setting off the "loose corns" of powder which might spill from barrel or pan, or it might set off the neighbor's gun. Its dangling length had to be managed in some way, whether by the hand or by looping it round the gun. On the march the soldier shouldered his gun; on parade he ordered, ported, or poised it; and the many motions for loading and firing must have been very difficult to learn.

¹ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, 2-4. A partisan was a form of halberd; a featherstaff ended in a triple spike.

² The often coarsely printed books sometimes had good little engravings showing many postures. See particularly *Instructions for Musters and Armes*; Hexham, *Principles of the Art Militarie*; and the good reproductions in Grose, *Military Antiquities*, 1.

In battle the orders for firing were but three: to make ready, present and fire. The drill expanded these to the thirty-three motions of preparing and testing the match; securing it on the cock; guarding, blowing, and opening the pan; propping the gun on the rest and firing; taking the match off the lock; clearing, priming, and shutting the pan; casting off and blowing off the loose powder; charging the barrel with powder and ball and ramming home; putting up the ramrod; putting the musket on the rest; attaching the match to the cock again, blowing it and trying it; opening the pan; and then presenting and firing once more. All this was slow and clumsy, and one does not wonder that the old-fashioned sometimes longed for the bow again and the many flights of arrows in the same space of time. But the arguments for the musket were too strong.

To exercise infantry the basis was the company, in which ranks and files were carefully distinguished. "Now these Files," writes Markham,

in some discipline[s] are called Flankes, because they doe flanker, or wall in the Battalia, and the Rankes are called Fronts, because they stand formost and doe as it were affront the Battailes, and looke upon the Enemie, but in truth none can properly be called the Front but the Ranke which standeth formost, nor any File be called a flanke, but those which stand outmost, yet all are Ranks, and all are Files, and therefore those two names are without contradiction.

He goes on to say that a rank could be as many men as you please, but a file no more than ten.¹

Markham admits that there were different opinions on the latter point. The whole had bearing on the size of a company, which varied in different places, and necessarily in the trained bands, where uniformity could not be secured in parishes or groups of parishes. Even in regular armies there were some who argued that a company might be as many as "300, nay at this day, 500." This irregularity was extended to the size of regiments, so that the English regiments in Dutch service in 1626 varied from Lord Vere's 4,090 to Lord Willoughby's 1,500, and the companies from 200 to 115.² Nevertheless, as five hundred were too many and fifty too few for a captain

¹ *Souldiers Accidence*, 6.

² Henry R. Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs* (London, 1905), 68-69; Markham, *Souldiers Grammar*, Part II, 13-14. Theoretically Markham builds up his army by various steps to an ideal total of 32,000, "the Maine Battaile, and the Chiefe or Leader thereof is called the King, or Generall, who hath also supream Authoritie over all the whole Armie, how great or puissant soever." *Souldiers Grammar*, Part I, 58.

to handle, Markham contends that "200 men is the only perfect number whereon to compound a private company." On that basis he built up his system of tactics.

As Markham's ideal company had but ten in each file, it would have twenty in each rank. But as he (and most others) would have pikes and "shot" in equal numbers, there would be one hundred of each. The pikes would then, in the ordinary formation of a company, be a solid square of ten on a side, flanked on either side by five files of musketeers. From that as a standard basis he would break the company into various formations to meet the emergencies of battle, chiefly a charge of cavalry. In all these formations and maneuvers, illustrated with confusing variety in different books, the pikemen seem to be largely on the defensive, and attacks seem scarcely to be planned; nor are there directions for aggressive action. There must have been such, however, and a body of pikemen may well have been a stationary or a moving fortress, ready for assault, or spitting fire by the musketeers between its ranks. Battle pictures of the period, such as Callot's huge engraving of the fighting at Ré, show small groups of pikes always huddled together and surrounded by musketeers, even in one case appearing to land at a beach in such order, as if preserving it while wading.

The pikeman's task was comparatively simple, consisting largely of maneuvering in large or small bodies until it came to "push of pike." "The use of Pikes," wrote Markham, "is either in receiving or giving a Charge; By being taught the first, the Souldier learns to withstand Horse; By the second, to encounter with the enemies Pikes, in which the use of Armes is most in knowing when and how every Man, and so every Ranke should give his push."¹ A slow charge was evidently possible, for "in charging with Pikes, halfe the Rankes are but to charge their Pikes, and the other halfe to carrie them advanced, or ported, so neare the heads of the formost as they may doe them no annoyance, either in Charging or Retyring."² Designed almost always to keep their squares, no matter what the emergency (sometimes breaking them up into smaller or recombining into larger), the pikemen had practically no individual initiative, even though their ability to hold the field might decide a battle.

The musketeer, however, who in spite of what would be regarded

¹ *Souldiers Accidence*, 9.

² *Ibid.*, 21.

as a heavy and clumsy gun was considered the light-armed man, had to take various positions, in small squares or separate files or extended ranks, always ready to defend the pikemen. Markham's explanation of his reason for stipulating files of ten shows that by his time there had already been developed that system of maintaining a continuous fire which persisted until the introduction of the breech-loader. Grose, in 1801, compares it with the "street firing" of his day, which was used by the British at Concord Fight in 1775 and lasted many more years in the book of tactics. By Markham's method the first man in a file fired, marched to the rear, and should have reloaded by the time it was his turn to fire again. Markham wrote: "It is found by the experience of all well Judging Souldiers, that the depth of Tenn men is the absolute best Number, For the first man Discharging in the Front, in the space that nine more shall come and doe the like: The first shall make his place good againe, and so continue the Volley *ad infinitum*." This, he further explains, is to give plenty of time to green men, who, by failing to be ready in their turn, might break the fire and so "*overthrow the whole Battalia*."¹

Musketeers thus trained could issue from the protection of the pikes and in small squares or in lines could annoy, attack, or resist enemy foot or horse before themselves retiring within or behind the pikes. The success of the complicated diagrams in the books, if put in practice, would depend upon the musketeers. As for achieving some of these geometrical schemes, Markham gives no orders whatever; and the commonest and most necessary commands, "March" and "Halt," do not appear in his or indeed in most books. We can only suppose that the drill sergeants of the day had methods and used commands which do not appear in the books, for when commands do appear, they seem hopelessly confusing because so long.

Consider, for example, Barriffe's commands for forming the "sconce battell," the diagram of which represents four small squares of pikes placed in the form of a Greek cross, the ensign standing in the hollow center, while on the front and rear angles are extended four small squares of musketeers. One can only assume that the original formation is that of the solid mass of pikes, with half the muskets on either side. Beginning with this

¹ Grose, *Military Antiquities*, I. 360; Markham, *Souldiers Grammar*, 10-11. Cf. Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, 6.

The words of *Command* and direction which produce the *Figure*, are as followeth.
Half Files of Muskettiers, face to the Reere.

That being done,

Command all the Muskettiers to march to the Angles of their Pikes.

Next cause,

The two first and two last ranks of Pikes to stand.

The rest to face to the right and left; and march, untill they are cleere of the other Pikes, then stand.

Lastly, command,

The Two first and last ranks of Pikes, which did not move, to double their Files to the right.

These words of *Command* and *direction* being executed, perfect the *Figure*. . . .¹

A study of diagram and orders shows that to "perfect the figure" required much shifting of those on the left, much dressing to keep the alignments, and doubtless considerable activity of sergeants and corporals. Yet the value of this so-called sconce, or little fort, is not at all clear.

The noncommissioned officers, as they are called now, were as useful then, doubtless, as today. A corporal headed a square or squadron of twenty-five men; his subordinate was a lampresado, about whose authority Markham contradicts himself, but who shall, says he,

in the absence of the Corporall doe all the Corporals duties, and in the time of rest he shall call upon his Squadron, and see them dresse, trimme, and scoure their Armes and Weapons, and teach them how best to doe the same. And also he shall see them cast their Bullets, if need require, and to such as are ignorant, teach them how to do the same, and shew them how to scoure their pieces, and oyle them, and in time of necessitie, or upon Cloying, how to unbreech them.²

The sergeant, set over fifty men, was both to "teach the Shot the use of their Armes, and be their Leader in Service, if by an especiall commandment, a superior Officer be not appointed." The soldier was to be taught "how to carry his Piece, then how to present it, and to take his levell, and how and when to give his volley with those in his Ranke." To level the piece, then, was all that was required,

¹ Barrieffe, *Militarie Discipline*, 274 (from the London, 1643, edition in the Henry E. Huntington Library).

² *Souldiers Accidence*, 7-8; *Souldiers Grammar*, Part 1, 56. Cf. *Instructions for Musters and Armes*, leaf B3, recto. The lampresado (a word with many spellings, in dictionaries under *lancepesade*, perhaps the ancestor of the modern *lance-corporal*) was also called middle man.

and aiming was no more taught the British musketeer in 1625 than a hundred and fifty years later. The volley was to be given only by men in a rank, never, as has been seen, by men in file, lest they wound each other; and there were methods of leading out two ranks ten paces in front to give their volleys one after another, or of allowing rank after rank to fire and fall back through the rest.¹

Ranks and files were, upon command, spaced at differing distances or orders (open order, order, and close order) "in which all doe move, and yet none doe march," yet in the spacings of which the books differ. Simple marching, Markham contends, was easy after every man knew his rank and file; even countermarching, in which the files turned and marched through each other (like a modern military band upon parade) was not difficult "if the Leaders of the fyles be well chosen, and that every man observe well him that goes next before him. Besides, if there be any little disorder, the Officers keeping a good eye, and being every one of them in their due place, will easily reforme it." For all these, and more, Markham gives general advice.

I would wish every industrious Teacher, first to respect his men, then their Armes, and to sort and place each man according to his worth and cunning, not his wealth or birth; Then for his lessons, first to bring him to an exquisite readiness in the *Postures*, and true manage of weapons; next to make him know all the Sounds of Beatings of the Drumme. Thirdly, the true distance of places and orderly proportions: Fourthly, the execution thereof in all manner of Marches and Motions. And lastly, a generall performance of all that hath beene spoken in the practice of Skirmishes and alteration of Battalions. So shall men become readie and not confused, as many are by silken and simple Tutors, who strive to teach many things together, but nothing in order.²

The small proportion of cavalry to infantry, already noted in the case of the English militia, was not much greater in the army of Holland. In 1626, to meet the formidable preparations of the Spaniard, the Dutch enlisted 5,853 horse as against 61,670 foot, and the English in this array were but 400 horse to 14,140 foot.³ In a list of 1630 the English had 400 horse to 9,560 foot.⁴ There is no record, in

¹ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, 9-11.

² *Souldiers Accidence*, 14, 16, 26. Of the drumbeats Markham says nothing; but occasional references to them in the books make them seem of importance in the field as well as on the march.

³ Knight, *Historical Records of the Buffs*, 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

these lists, of regiments of cavalry but merely of troops of horse, always of a hundred men each. Markham accepts this number as customary: "sixteene in Ranke, and sixe in Fyle, which maketh nintie sixe men, to which adde three Corporalls, and the Clarke of the Troope (who is the Captaines continuall attendant) and there is the full Troope of one hundred Men and Horse." These were divided into three squadrons, under the captain, the lieutenant, and the cornet, as compared with the captain, the lieutenant, and the ensign of the infantry. Their drill was not so complicated as that of the foot: Markham speaks feelingly of the difficulty of bringing "ignorant man and more ignorant horse, wilde man and madd horse, to [the] rules of Obedience."¹

By this time the lance had gone out, and the cavalry, according to their weight of horse and armor (in which there was much consideration of social grade) were variously armed. When in 1638 Charles I called out the horse militia, they were cuirassiers with a sword and two pistols each, or arquebusiers with pistols and arquebus, or carabiniers with carabine. These, it will be remembered, were not matchlocks but guns with sparking locks. The arquebus was the heavier, with seventeen bullets to the pound (the musket having twelve); the carabine was lighter, with thirty bullets to the pound. The pistol of those days was a formidable weapon, the barrel eighteen inches long—twenty-six inches with the stock—and twenty-four bullets to the pound. Empty pistols could be hurled at an enemy, while, held by the barrel, they could be used as short clubs, the brass mounted stock making them dangerous weapons.² Contemporary pictures of cavalry fights show them used in just this method.

But until the Civil War, cavalry scarcely seemed natural to the English. Such was the opinion of Colonel Edward Harwood, distinguished in the Dutch service in command of his English regiment.

¹ Markham, *Souldiers Accidence*, 37, 48. Markham gives the last part of his *Accidence* to the cavalry. Grose (*Military Antiquities*, I, 364–365) merely condenses him but reproduces a series of old pictures showing the manual with the pistol.

² "Notes for Perfecting the Musters," *C.S.P. Dom.* (1638–1639), 193–194. These "notes" give a few more facts. Thus the cuirassier's sword was to be four feet long as against the footman's sword of three feet. A musket was to be five feet, two inches long, the barrel four feet; the arquebus was three and three-quarters feet, the barrel thirty inches; the carabine was of the same length, but of smaller bore. The cuirassier, doubtless of good family, "hath likewise a boy on horseback to carry his spare arms." The notes tell a little about their armor: the cuirassier fully armored; the arquebusier with buff jerkin, headpiece, and cuirass; the carabinier with the jerkin alone. Markham goes more into detail.

He doubted whether the English could put into the field two thousand horsemen equal to as many French, and gave advice for strengthening that arm. But his countrymen continued backward in that particular until first Prince Rupert with his cavaliers, and then Cromwell with his Ironsides, showed what English horsemen could do.¹ That, however, was later than our period.

All this, as we look back upon it today, is so curiously and quaintly outmoded that it may seem mere antiquarianism to present this sketch of the military science of our first colonists. Yet those soldiers of long ago were the moderns of their day, their weapons and science were the best that could be devised, and the fighting of the English Civil War was as desperate as any that is being waged this minute in Russia. As to our own colonists, it was their good fortune that they were not immediately called upon to fight a well-trained enemy. It is true that at its best the military system of that day developed excellent soldiers, and in the field formidable armies. But before the Civil War veteran regiments were to be found upon the Continent only. Charles I had not one at his disposal. One must believe, therefore, that, except for a few trained and seasoned soldiers scattered among the first New Englanders, the men were but green in the art of war. It was fortunate, then, that sickness had decimated the Indians among whom they settled. One of the first acts of the settlers was to set up trained bands here. But even with such a precaution it was well for them that they did not have to meet such a numerous force as King Philip brought against their sons forty years later.

¹ "The Advice of That Worthy Commander, Sir Edward Harwood, Colonel," *Harleian Miscellany*, William Oldys and Thomas Park, Editors (London, 1809), IV. 273.

The Restoration Press

By WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT¹

REMOTE as it may seem from the problems of our time, the story of the English press during the last half of the seventeenth century not only has an interest in itself but is related to the present in more ways than are apparent at first sight. The seventeenth century, like the twentieth, was vexed with European, even with world war; with social, economic, political, and spiritual crises not inferior even to those of today; with a conflict between philosophies of government and society not unlike those which disturb our time; and even a dictatorship comparable to those which this generation experiences. In all these the press played a leading part, and the problems which it faced were both in kind and degree akin to those which confront modern mediums for the dissemination of news and opinion.

Those problems arose in large measure from that great movement which we call the Puritan Revolution. That struggle was waged in the name of liberty, but its course, especially with respect to the press, gives point to the cynical observation that "Liberty is that which we demand of you when you are in power, on the ground of your principles, and which we deny to you when we are in power, on the ground of our principles." Nowhere is that truer than in the field of freedom of speech, especially freedom of the press, upon which, in the last resolution, most, if not all, of our other freedoms depend. The restrictions laid on it by the old Star Chamber, which still enjoys an evil name it did not wholly deserve, were among the chief grievances of the Puritans. Yet there is a certain irony in the fact that when those Puritans were in power, the freedom of the press may be described with the same brevity as the famous chapter on snakes in Iceland which consists of one sentence: "There are no snakes in Iceland." From the moment that Oliver Cromwell assumed what was called the "supreme authority" in the British Isles until he died, there was no such thing as freedom of the press in that quarter of the world in so far as his government could prevent it. The only news-books permitted to survive were virtually the Thursday and Monday editions of the same paper, edited by the same man, Marchamont

¹ This paper was read at the March, 1943, meeting.

Nedham, under the supervision of the head of the intelligence service, John Thurloe. Moreover, in addition to the retention of severe Parliamentary regulations and the still more rigorous Treason Ordinance, there was set up a board of commissioners to regulate printing whose character may be judged by the fact that its head was Colonel John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower of London and, in effect, the head of the military police of the capital. As the historian of English journalism says, somewhat superfluously: "There is nothing further to report of the subject during the Cromwellian period." In respect to freedom of the press, at least, it is apparent that the great Protector had little to learn from even the most recent of dictators.

But what happens when a dictator dies or is overthrown? In Cromwell's case we know. His death was the signal for a feverish struggle for power among the elements upon which he had managed to impose an uneasy peace while he was alive. Almost every party in English political and religious life saw in his passing an opportunity to shatter the whole scheme of things and mold it nearer to its heart's desire. Army leaders struggled with the new Protector, Richard Cromwell; with the Parliament he called; and among themselves. Anglican joined with Presbyterian Royalist to plan the recall of the King. Men like Milton pleaded for the restoration of a Parliament which they had once so bitterly denounced. Anabaptist and Fifth Monarchist strove against them all. The new Protector was driven from a post to which he had never aspired and for which he was eminently unfitted. Authority descended into anarchy, and within twenty months the stately fabric of the Protectorate, which it had taken nearly as many years to complete, went down in ruin, mourned by only a handful even of its old supporters. And while politicians of every sort, civil and military, fought for power, every champion of every cause sharpened his pen, every printer hurried to his press to flood the country with news, true and false, appeals, arguments, denunciations, and panaceas for the salvation of society. In the general breakdown of authority all substance of censorship disappeared, and it was a golden age for printers and publishers. Milton's plea for an unlicensed press was answered in full, heaped up and running over—and no one liked it less than he. It should make us all careful what we pray for—for, like him, we may get it.

That situation lasted until the grim, silent, shrewd commander in Scotland, General George Monk, purging his army of untrust-

worthy elements, led it to London toward the end of 1659 and began to bring order out of chaos. One of his earliest steps was to take charge of the press. The old regicide Thomas Scot, "the intelligencer," who had aspired to resume his former authority over the news, was dismissed, together with the editor of the official news-books, Nedham. They were replaced by Monk's own nominees. The Stationers' Company was ordered to permit no "books of intelligence" to be printed save by these men, who, it was said, had "an allowance on that behalf from the Council of State."

Such was the situation when Charles II ascended the throne in 1660. But what was to happen now? It is one of the oldest and one of the newest of political problems. How far is a people entitled to know what goes on in government and to express opinions on it? Until within the memory of men now living, as Macaulay would have said, the answer to that question would have seemed simplicity itself. It was that they were entitled to both. But at the accession of Charles II, news, like opinion, was still reckoned, as it had been for many years, as the property of the government, whether Stuart "tyranny" or Cromwellian "dictatorship." Yet it was perceived even then, however dimly, that great questions of liberty were involved in this matter of news and opinion, and while the more dramatic conflict for power went on among the politicians, the struggle for what is called, somewhat euphemistically, the "freedom of the press" took its place in the long and bitter warfare between the Crown and its opponents.

It was not regarded then, nor much thereafter, as a part of history; for history, like mistakes—we will not say other mistakes—is one of those things which men make, as it were, unconsciously. Men are not apt to regard themselves as historical characters. They do not ordinarily pose for posterity. It is not probable that William the Conqueror was accustomed to say to his followers: "Come, let us now go out and make some history." William Shakespeare was probably no more conscious of making a place for himself in literary history when he was earning his living writing and putting on plays in the Globe Theater than Henry Ford was conscious of making a place for himself in social history when he was developing an inexpensive motor car. Much less is it true that lesser men realize their historical importance as they go about their daily tasks, and nowhere is this more evident than in this struggle for the freedom of the press in the reigns of Charles II and his successors. To the men engaged in it, it seemed no

great crusade, but, like most of our actions today, merely an effort to make a living, defeat their competitors, impress their opinions on their fellow men, and in general have their own way in so far as possible. Yet their activities in the fifty years after the accession of Charles II comprised, in effect, the whole great question of liberty—that news and opinion were not “regalities” of government but a property right of the people. A great living dictator is reported to have said that the principal purpose of control of news and opinion is the “decomposition” of the mentalities of those opposed to him. Whatever we may think of the spirit of that utterance, it comes from an expert in what we now call propaganda, but despite the improved terminology, that idea was as well known to the seventeenth century as to the twentieth, and by none better than by the men of the Restoration.

To most of us, even to most historians until of late, the character of that period was determined by the superficial qualities of the young King who landed in England on May 25, 1660, welcomed on every hand by a nation weary of civil strife. It is symbolized in the writings of that group of somewhat second-rate, salacious writers known as the Restoration dramatists, in Gramont's *Memoirs*, in Pepys's *Diary*, in Marvell's satires, as an amusing, immoral interlude between the noble experiment of the Commonwealth and Protectorate and the lofty patriotism of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It glitters with court scandals and intrigues. It is crowded with clever, unscrupulous politicians, dissolute courtiers, and the fair, frail beauties whose charms the too flattering brush of Lely immortalized. It is the Restoration of Sedley and Rochester, of Nell Gwynne and Barbara Palmer. In it a witty, cynical, depraved monarch, aided by a French pension and inspired by a French mistress, somehow managed not to set out on his travels again, meanwhile using his position to betray the interests and the honor of the country which he misgoverned. In it the leading part was played by Whitehall, where the music of a new French orchestra replaced the godly, if somewhat dolorous, hymns with which it had recently resounded; where halls which had lately echoed with the fervent exhortations of pious, if long-winded, ministers resounded with the livelier, if less improving, sounds of dance and revelry; where all ten commandments, but especially the seventh, were honored only in the breach. It was a time when the groom-porter's lodge of that palace was no longer

filled with buff-coated Ironsides guarding their General, the Protector, but with gayly clad courtiers gambling away their estates in endless games of chance.

There are in that picture some elements of truth, but the reign of Charles II as a period of history was not like that. The dalliances of the King, the frivolity of the court, concealed much of the realities of politics not only from the men of that time but even from the penetrating gaze of later historians. Behind, or beneath, or outside of the wit and wickedness of the court went on one of the longest, the most desperate, and the most important struggles in English history. The Restoration period was no comic interlude between heroic tragedies of revolution. It was a grim conflict between two great political forces, what we have learned to call philosophies of government. It was the birth time of political practices which have endured until our time—the party system, the control of expenditure as well as of revenue by the legislative branch of government, and through it the control of every activity of the administration which had previously been the prerogative of the executive. It was an age of transition from government dominated from above to government directed, if not controlled, from below. It saw that conflict fought not only in the precincts of the royal palace of Whitehall and on the floor of the Houses of Parliament at Westminster but in the City of London, in remote country districts, in market places and town halls, in polling booths, and most, and perhaps greatest of all, in printing offices.

That struggle took many forms and involved many issues, but among them not the least was the seemingly simple right to print the news and to comment on it. It involved, indeed, much more than that, for it comprehended the whole of the business of printing, publishing, and even selling not only newsbooks and pamphlets but books of all sorts. It was a struggle against the old principle of monopoly, patent, and censorship which had come down from an earlier time. The University of Oxford had a monopoly of printing the Bible—which in some measure it still retains though by different means and in far different circumstances. The great Stationers' Company opposed that, even while endeavoring to maintain its own control of other publications and to wrest from one Atkyns his patent for printing law books. The Archbishop of Canterbury retained his old privilege of censorship of theology; the chief baron his privilege of supervising legal publications; the secretaries of state their control of the

news; the Surveyor of the Press his oversight of pamphleteering. Wherever one turned one found the principle of patent, licensing, and censorship—and wherever one turned one found, as well, the evasion or defiance of that principle. For many years the press had been the chief weapon of those opposed to authority, whether of Charles I or of Oliver Cromwell, and that situation was not changed by the accession of Charles II.

It was, if anything, intensified. Though Oliver Cromwell died and in a sense brought one era to an end, his contemporaries, both friends and enemies, for the most part lived on and carried over into the Restoration their principles, prejudices, and passions left over from the days of revolution and civil war. These naturally found expression in print, and the breakdown of authority which accompanied the transition from Protectorate to monarchy, together with the dramatic circumstances of that transition, contributed to a flood of publication in these eventful years when the press was, for the moment, free. The two newsbooks which had been permitted by the Protector in 1658 increased to some fourteen in 1659 and to nearly double that number in the *mirabilis annus* of 1660 which saw Charles's return. The dramatic events of that year, the arrival of the King, the pageantry of his coronation, the appearance in London of hundreds of newly elected Parliament men and of still more hundreds of old Cavaliers, petitioners, and place hunters, men and women anxious to become courtiers—or even courtesans—contributed, perhaps, to the glory of Whitehall and certainly to the perplexities of the new administration, but also to the prosperity of tradesmen, tavern keepers, and even journalists and printers. The elegies over the old Protector were succeeded by eulogies of the new King. There was a plethora of news and a people avid for it, and in consequence the flood of publication saw no diminution. If anything it actually increased, for there was as yet no machinery to check its flow.

This was not due, of course, to the politicians and journalists of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, for they had gone into hiding, into jail or exile. Scot went to prison, thence to the scaffold as a regicide. Thurloe, unlike Scot not connected, openly at least, with the death of Charles I, made his peace, according to report, by putting his unrivaled knowledge of Cromwellian policies at the disposal of his old antagonist, now Lord Chancellor, Clarendon. Milton concealed himself in the house of a friend until the activities of those

who admired his poetry more than they disliked his politics combined with his comparative insignificance to exempt him from punishment. Nedham, finding it impossible to change his coat again in time, fled from his creditors to the Continent, whence he returned to be pardoned, as Wood said, by "virtue of money given to a hungry courtier," and turned to his former practice of medicine—or at least doctoring people—and so for a time disappeared from politics and journalism.

These, like the administration in general, came into new hands. The formation of a royal council, chiefly Anglican but with a strong Presbyterian element, the election of a new Parliament, again strongly Anglican but again with a considerable Presbyterian minority, confronted the great problem of the reconstruction of government. In the words of its leader, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Hyde, presently created Earl of Clarendon, its aim was not only to restore the old constitutional system, modified by the events of the preceding twenty years of reform and revolution, but to return to that "integrity, good-nature and generosity that had been peculiar to it and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world," in short to that golden age to which, though it had never really existed in his lifetime, he looked back so longingly. Yet as the world has learned from bitter experience, reconstruction is always difficult, and restoration to a former—if illusory—state of blessedness is always impossible. In this case, as in others, it faced the practical problem not only of restoring the old constitutional system of King, Lords, and Commons, but of reconstituting the administration, both national and local, of the judiciary, even of adjusting legislation to meet the changed circumstances of the time.

As always in such cases, the first consideration was peace, and for that the Clarendonians strove as mightily as for reconstruction itself. In that they were not only supported but driven forward by the strongly Royalist-Anglican Parliament elected in 1661, which contained many men who desired not merely restoration but revenge. In that spirit they pushed forward an attack upon that element known as Puritans, Nonconformists, or Dissenters which in the preceding twenty years had crushed monarchy and episcopacy, killed the King, abolished the House of Lords, and outlawed the Anglican clergy. The Nonconformists were still a powerful force in the nation. They still held most of the posts in national and, especially, local adminis-

tration. Their ministers had replaced the Anglican clergy in most of the parish churches; their conventicles had multiplied; their preachers still thundered anathemas against King and bishops; their more extreme members plotted the overthrow of the new government. They were still a danger to the state and they seemed, perhaps, a greater danger than they were, for most men then living had seen a government apparently far stronger than that of Charles II then was overthrown by a party apparently far weaker than the Dissenters were at the Restoration.

In consequence Parliament set itself to prevent another such catastrophe. It endeavored to drive the Dissenters from the borough corporations which returned a majority of the House of Commons; to drive from the parish churches nonconforming ministers who had earlier replaced the Anglican incumbents and to prevent them from preaching or teaching within five miles of corporate towns; to outlaw religious assemblies save those of the Anglicans. Nominally religious, these measures were, in fact, political, and though they came to be known as the Clarendon Code, neither Chancellor nor King approved of them. Before they were passed, the former had endeavored, without success, to bring about an accommodation at least between the Anglicans and the Presbyterians; and after they passed, the latter tried to break their force by royal Declarations of Indulgence which only served to antagonize Parliament by insistence on the prerogative and to infuriate the Dissenters by including the Catholics in the royal clemency. These acts were in large part the product of fear; and their passage was at once explained and facilitated by the discovery of plots against the government. The first week of 1661 saw the rising of a handful of fanatics in London under the lead of the cooper Venner, which, however hopeless, terrified the capital. Scarcely a month thereafter but brought forth its information of conspiracy, culminating in the great plot of 1663, when armed bands appeared in various parts of the country, indicating a widespread and dangerous design which involved, among others, the King's favorite, the great Duke of Buckingham himself, who was arrested and preserved from trial only by the fact that all the witnesses against him providentially—if it was providential—died before he could be brought before a court.

But what, one may ask, had this to do with the press? It had, in fact, much to do with it, for of the various elements which went to

produce these disorders the printers were among the most active if not the most important, as they had been under Charles I and even under Cromwell. That fact was early recognized by the new government, and almost at once measures had been taken to control them. An act to that effect introduced in the first year of the reign failed of passage, and for the moment the printers went on unchecked save by the sporadic and more or less unavailing efforts of the Privy Council to limit their more outrageous activities. But it became increasingly evident that something must be done, in the face of the increasing seriousness of the plots, to check what we have learned to call the "subversive" influence of a certain group of printers, publishers, and booksellers.

That group, virtually unknown to history until recent years, was composed of various men—and women—well known under the Protectorate. There was a certain Livewell Chapman, sometime an ally of Nedham, who twenty years earlier had published a "most extremely Presbyterian" newsbook, and had more recently sponsored some of Milton's pamphlets. There was Thomas Brewster, who was responsible for *The Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant* and the dying speeches of the regicides. There was Frank Smith, "that chosen vessel of sedition," better known by his nickname, derived from his sign, "Elephant" Smith, who despite continual arrests and imprisonments—to quote one of the warrants against him—for "having a hand in printing and compiling dangerous books," managed to go on with his seditious activities throughout the reign just inside or just outside of the law. There was Giles Calvert and, after his death, his wife Elizabeth, who were responsible, among other things, for the appearance of the books of *Prodigies*, foretelling the downfall of monarchy as evidenced by the strange and mysterious happenings throughout the kingdom. All these were so-called "Confederate Printers" and most of them died in prison, or next door to it, with even lesser men, Benjamin Keach, Thomas Creak, and John Twyn. From presses such as these flowed not only the books of *Prodigies*, the *Phoenix*, the "dying speeches," the "farewell sermons," the so-called *Wise Virgins*, and other inflammatory and seditious publications, but the manifesto of the mysterious Council of Six which met at the Wheatsheaf Tavern in London and there devised its plots. That manifesto, written apparently by the same Fifth Monarchy hands that had composed *A Door of Hope*, which prefaced Venner's

rising, urged the Saints to sell their garments and buy swords to execute justice on judges and magistrates, kill the King, and exterminate the House of Stuart. It was apparently sent to Twyn by Elizabeth Calvert; it was seized by the government, and for it Twyn, among others, was sent to the scaffold for treason, refusing to save his life by revealing the names of the Council of Six, which it may be questioned he even knew.

Such, briefly, were some of those—now names, and less than names—who dreamed of overthrowing the government of Charles II by inspiring their fanatical readers to deeds of violence. None of them was connected with the business of the collection and dissemination of news, whether for profit or otherwise, at this moment, though some of them took part in that activity later. But from the welter of politics and publication which accompanied the accession of Charles II there presently emerged two men, each characteristic of one side of this activity and each destined to play a large part in the events of the succeeding generation.

The first of these was a certain Henry Muddiman, long unknown to fame. The second was Sir Roger L'Estrange, whose memory was better served by his pen and whose writings still occupy a minor place in English literature. Few men could have been more different in antecedents, character, beliefs, and talents. Muddiman, the son of a London tradesman with a shop in the Strand near Charing Cross, was educated first at the choir school of near-by St. Clement Danes, then for a time at St. John's College, Cambridge. Too young or too indifferent to play any part in the civil wars, he returned to teach, probably at his old school in London, whence he found a place in affairs by one of those seemingly incredible but not uncommon accidents which so often determine our destinies. Among his father's friends was a certain Dr. Thomas Clarges, a physician-apothecary with a shop not far from the Muddimans' in the Strand. Clarges had a sister Anne, who married a milliner named Radford with a shop in the near-by New Exchange, and few things could have seemed less probable than that this typical London shopkeeping family would ever play a part in public affairs, especially since Radford died and his widow was forced to support herself as a seamstress. In that capacity she did sewing and mending for prisoners in the Tower, and thither, as it happened, came a certain Royalist colonel, George Monk, captured in a skirmish at Nantwich, who became one of Mrs.

Radford's employers. Failing exchange, Monk took service with the Parliament, first in Ireland, then in Scotland, where in time he became commander in chief. Meanwhile he married Mrs. Radford, and her brother forsook his pills and potions for politics and became a kind of secretary for his brother-in-law, whose education, excellent soldier as he was, had been, as it was said, only "Dutch and Devonshire," and whose literary gifts, especially his spelling, took tone from that circumstance.

As the political pot boiled higher in 1659, Monk needed what we call a "publicity man" in London, such as the other commanders, especially Cromwell, had employed. He sent Clarges to the capital to secure one, and Clarges, turning naturally to the people whom he knew, found what he sought in the son of his old friend Muddiman. Thus when Monk arrived in London with his army, bringing with him a certain Giles Dury as secretary, Muddiman and Dury set up a newsbook, the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, taking as their motto a Latin phrase which might be translated as "Never too late to mend," and concealing as best they could their connection with Monk as they all concealed their predilection for monarchy until the time was ripe to reveal it. Meanwhile though Muddiman, like Monk, paid lip service to Parliament, he lost no time in extolling his patron's character and abilities. Samuel Pepys, who met Muddiman about this time, noted that he was "a good scholar, an arch-rogue, and owns that though he writes news-books for Parliament, yet he did declare that he did it only to get money and did talk very meanly of many of them"; but even Pepys, with all his curiosity, seems not to have suspected Muddiman's connection with Monk. But the young journalist did far more than edit his patron's organ. He not only published the address from the army officers pledging themselves to obey whatever a new Parliament should order—which was almost certain to be the recall of the King—but he corrected for the press the draft of that address which, so far from being the product of the officers' own fertile invention, was inspired by Monk and written by Clarges. In such fashion did this journalistic novice begin his career, contributing in his fashion to the restoration of the King.

In sharp contrast to the career of this shrewd, cautious, London-bred, Presbyterian cockney was that of Sir Roger L'Estrange. Member of a county family settled at Hunstanton in Norfolk for some six hundred years—"three times the life of Presbyterianism," as he

once boasted—strongly Royalist and Anglican, he had been educated first privately, then at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, which had sheltered Oliver Cromwell in the year L'Estrange was born. He had played a part, though a sorry one, in the Civil War in East Anglia and in the later rising in Kent. He had written various bombastic declarations and letters in behalf of his party, which had done that party more harm than good. He had been deprived of his liberty at one time or another; he had stood to lose his life; and he had spent some years in exile. Most recently he had committed an error of taste by replying to Milton's *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Commonwealth* by a tract entitled *No Blind Guides*. He came to the Restoration with a bitter hatred of Puritans, Presbyterians in particular, and though he was in no very good repute with many of his own party, he became their literary champion and aspired to some reward for his services, preferably supervision over the press and possibly a monopoly of the news. In both he was disappointed, partly because of Muddiman, partly because the old Cavalier journalist, John Birkenhead, was made so-called Master of the Faculties and in some sort official censor. Thereafter L'Estrange devoted himself to attacks on what he called the "Confederate Printers," from whose presses issued attacks on the government, and to urging the passage of a press law as a means not only of checking unlicensed printing but, what was more important, of preventing the spread of sedition by means of the press.

Thus while Muddiman went on with the monopoly of the news for a time, he attached himself to the secretaries' offices, first to that of the Presbyterian Secretary, Sir William Morice, a relative of Monk's wife, who had made the first motion in the Commons that the government of England should be by King, Lords, and Commons and had come up from Devonshire to be the General's "elbow counsellor," then to that of the Anglican Secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, who had returned from exile with Charles II, whom he had served in a similar capacity on the Continent. Though his privilege of printing the news under the authority of the old Council of State expired, after some struggle with rival claimants, Muddiman's monopoly was confirmed under the nominal supervision of Birkenhead, and he went on for a time as the "King's journalist," the only official news publisher in the kingdom. Meanwhile L'Estrange devoted himself to urging the passage of a press law—and incidentally his

own appointment as Surveyor of the Press. The first proposal failed in 1661 amid the press of other business, but in 1662, inspired largely by the output of the "fanatic press" and by the plots, Parliament gave way and passed an act to control the printing business, and the King appointed L'Estrange to see that it was carried out.

He entered on his duties with enthusiasm and success, and it was none too soon. To the inflammatory literature of the *Phoenix* and the *Prodigies*, the *Wise Virgins* and the *Lord's Loud Call*, had been added first the so-called "dying speeches" of the regicides, written not by them but by skilled pamphleteers, and to these the "farewell sermons" of the ejected ministers to rouse the people against King and bishops and Lord Chancellor. These appeals were reinforced by political events. The sale of Dunkirk, however defensible as a matter of policy, infuriated the masses against Clarendon. The passage of the Hearth Money Act, however necessary to recruit the finances of a government which inherited from the Protectorate debts of two million pounds or more and a treasury which contained exactly £171 9s 4d, increased the unpopularity of a court whose extravagance and immorality, however exaggerated by its enemies, left it open to attack. Moreover, to these was added presently the Dutch war, which was forced on Clarendon, and whose miscarriages were used by his enemies to discredit him. There followed on top of all this the Great Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of London in the year following, and though neither could be charged to the Chancellor by even his worst enemies, his position presently became impossible, and he was driven from office and fled from the country.

All these events conspired to throw the defects of the government into high relief, and they roused to still more bitter attacks its opponents, especially the more extreme Dissenters, further infuriated by the King's marriage to a Catholic and the favor shown that communion at court. In this their press and their pulpits were their principal weapons. The Nonconformists were fond of painting themselves as meek and silent sufferers for the Word, and many of them were. But their more advanced elements were, in fact, extremely, even excessively, vocal about their silence and their meekness. They were ready, even eager, at all times and in all circumstances, to offer testimony not only to their own peculiar virtues but to the defects of their opponents. Their pamphleteers were productive penmen, and they were, in consequence, not only a thorn in the side of the government

but a godsend to the printing business, in which, incidentally, their members played a considerable part. Printing establishment and conventicle and even schoolroom, like the Bull and Mouth in Aldersgate, were sometimes housed under one roof, and there were men who, like Keach and William Hicks, combined their preaching and publishing with more mundane activities as cobblers, tailors, and bricklayers. The tract was their great weapon, as it became in time their symbol, and though they talked much of the "good old cause," not a few of them had opposed Cromwell as bitterly as they now opposed Charles.

In consequence the government proceeded against them in every way possible. It not only executed regicides and plotters; it increased its secret service; it shut up illegal conventicles; it issued proclamations; and, above all, it supported Sir Roger L'Estrange in his efforts to stamp out seditious literature. He hunted out hidden presses; he enlisted peace officers, even at times soldiers, to suppress their activities; and he had his reward. He became known as the "Bloodhound of the Press." He furnished material for some of Macaulay's most vitriolic passages, and he led Edward Arber, who later published the Stationers' Registers, to observe that the years of his activity form "the most oppressive time that the English press has ever had to endure since Caxton brought printing to England." That, of course, is true only if we do not reckon the Protectorate as part of English history. But even Mr. Arber admits that "the amount of unauthorized printing . . . in his time was very considerable." It was so considerable, in fact, that in one week in July, 1664, L'Estrange reported that he had confiscated 130,000 books and pamphlets more or less directed against the government. As he complained bitterly,

Scarcely a regicide or a traitor has been brought to justice . . . whom either the Pulpit has not counted for a saint or the Press recommended for a patriot and a Martyr. . . . Since the late Act of Uniformity there have been printed nearly 30,000 copies of Farewell Sermons (as they call them) in defiance of the Law. . . . It is noted for a very rare thing for any Presbyterian pamphlets to be seized and suppressed unless by order from above.

To a generation like our own, accustomed to the decorum of the Congregationalists, the devout severity of the Presbyterians, the peaceful pietism of the Quakers, and the free expression of opinion, however preposterous, such activities as these must seem unwarranted and tyrannical. It was easy for eminent historians like Hallam

and Macaulay, living in the tolerant and peaceful Victorian era, to condemn such measures. It is perhaps still easier for the twentieth century, which views all this as merely expressions of what William James called "varieties of religious experience," to regard these policies with pitying contempt. But seventeenth-century Dissenters, whether Congregationalists or Quakers, much less Baptists and especially Fifth Monarchists, were neither so peaceful nor so loyal as their descendants became. The terms Anglican and Nonconformist not merely concealed or symbolized religious convictions, they had strong political implications. The Anglicans, and in scarcely less degree the Presbyterians, were the party of order; what even the Presbyterian champion, Richard Baxter, called the "intolerable" sects were the party of liberty, yet it could not be forgotten that when only lately they had been in power, they had oppressed both Anglican and Presbyterian as much as or more than they were now being persecuted.

Nor was that persecution successful in stamping out Dissent. Both their presses and their conventicles went, so to speak, underground, and there ensued a period of what may be called in modern phrase "bootleg" preaching and publishing. Nor can a generation which has experienced an attempt to suppress the use of alcoholic beverages and still has before it the example of Jehovah's Witnesses afford to throw the first stone against the Restoration Anglicans. Moreover, except for frankly seditious or treasonable elements, the Nonconformists on the whole seem to have suffered annoyance rather than persecution—though we all know that a grievance is politically more effective than an abuse in rousing animosity. Attending conventicles was punished, in general, by a fine ranging from perhaps a shilling or two to a pound, depending on the status of those arrested, and it was not unusual for one or more wealthier members of a congregation to pay the fines for the whole body. There was never a time when Nonconformists were excluded from holding public office, as the Anglicans had been under Cromwell. The terrors of an oath, a great historian has observed, have never been effective in preventing men from doing what they desire, much less the formal taking of sacrament once a month or less. And there is reason to believe that some officers of the law were then as amenable to reason in religion as some of their successors proved in regard to prohibition. The general public was not greatly disturbed. Its attitude is perhaps

best expressed by the worthy Pepys, who, seeing some Quakers carried to prison for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, observed: "I wish to God they would conform or else not get caught."

But what, one may ask again, had all this to do with the question of the collection and dissemination of the news? It had, in fact, much to do with it, not only in the activities of L'Estrange in his efforts to suppress seditious publications, but in his endeavors to control the news, in his relations with the King's journalist, and in the relations of that functionary with other rivals, which form an important chapter in the history of what we call nowadays the newspaper press, its development and especially its freedom. While on the one hand there went on the conflict between L'Estrange and the subversive publishers, there was no less active rivalry between him and Muddiman and various other aspirants for the control of the news. Sustained by the Council, which found in him a responsible, serviceable, though not subservient, public servant, Muddiman was not only connected with the secretaries' offices but he was granted the right of free postage, which consolidated his position and put any potential rival at a hopeless disadvantage. But that extremely favorable situation was too good to last, and after two or three years it came to an end by a series of events peculiarly characteristic of Restoration politics. The first of these was the retirement of Secretary Nicholas, who was displaced—or bought off—by one of the King's favorites, Sir Henry Bennet, presently created Earl of Arlington. Though Bennet retained the services of Nicholas's undersecretary, Joseph Williamson, who left an Oxford donship to make his fortune at court, he paid little attention to his industrious subordinate's activities. Those activities, like Mr. Weller's knowledge of London, were extensive and peculiar, but all devoted to one end—that of the profit of Mr., presently Sir, Joseph Williamson. He was an official, and no office was alien to him. He held such divergent posts as Latin secretary, keeper of the royal library, and contractor for the Royal Oak lottery, as well as that of undersecretary of state. He was, as John Evelyn, who knew him, reported, a man of "subtlety, dexterity and dissimulation," and he became Muddiman's superior and presently his rival.

The second circumstance also arose from the court, for L'Estrange was granted a patent for "all narratives not exceeding two sheets of paper," that is to say sixteen small quarto pages, which might be in-

interpreted as extending to newsbooks, which then had that format. In consequence Muddiman's papers came to an end in 1663 and were replaced by L'Estrange's *Intelligencer* and *News*. This might well have brought the career of the King's journalist to an untimely close had it not been for the fact that he had found his niche in life, he liked it, and he revealed an extraordinary talent for it. For while he had been editing his papers, taking advantage of his position, he had begun a "service," a series of letters to individual subscribers, covering the "inside stories" or "the news behind the news," notably the proceedings of Parliament, which it was unlawful to print. It was very good and it became extremely profitable, for his clients ran into scores, then into hundreds, and he charged from two to ten pounds a year, depending, apparently, on the distance from London and the number of communications. He prospered greatly; he had an income of between one and two thousand pounds a year; he bought a semicountry house at Earl's Court, whence he rode into his City office every day, armed, we are told, with a sword and a brace of pistols "because of footpads at Knightsbridge."

His rivals, though they surpassed him in the art of intrigue, found him indispensable. He was asked by the authorities to help L'Estrange, who, with all his pamphleteering, knew little of the news business, and he consented—though at the price of more than half of L'Estrange's profits. Even then his letters were so much superior to L'Estrange's newsbooks that the Surveyor's business fell off, and the arrangement soon came to an end. But Muddiman had scarcely got rid of L'Estrange when he faced a more dangerous rival, his superior, Undersecretary Williamson, the more dangerous in that the Post Office came into the hands of Williamson's superior, Lord Arlington, and so presumably was administered, or at least supervised, by Williamson. Muddiman's obvious prosperity suggested to that astute gentleman a new source of revenue, and in connection with one James Hicke, a Post Office employee, who was suborned to secure a list of Muddiman's clients, he endeavored to set up a rival service.

In this he was aided by the Great Plague, which, among its other results, led to the removal of the court to Oxford, Arlington and Williamson with it, leaving Muddiman and L'Estrange in London. This seemed Williamson's opportunity. On the one hand he wrote a letter for Arlington to sign depriving L'Estrange of his newsbooks;

on the other he joined with others in starting the *Oxford Gazette*, designed to be the only newsbook in the kingdom, and so, with the aid of Hickes and his newsletter service, became the monopolist of the news. But he found himself in the same predicament which had earlier confronted L'Estrange. He could not run a newsbook, and he was compelled to summon the only man, apparently, who could, that is to say Henry Muddiman, to come from London to edit the new venture. So far from regarding this as a misfortune, Muddiman welcomed it as an opportunity and took occasion to revolutionize the whole principle of such publications. They had previously been of the same size and shape as pamphlets—eight to twenty-four pages, small quarto, or, in printers' phraseology, one to three sheets folded. Muddiman, possibly getting his idea from the French, transformed this into a single sheet, or rather half-sheet folio, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 11 inches, or a little less than a modern typewriter page, printed in double columns on both sides, with a bold-faced head—in effect the same form which newspapers have kept from that time to this, making allowance for their Gargantuan growth. Muddiman's device had one further advantage. It was of the same shape and size as his newsletters, which could thus be posted with it, and which contained the real news of the day.

To crush their competitor each of Muddiman's rivals endeavored in his own way to put this enterprising newspaperman out of business. L'Estrange tried to start another paper, but he could not, like Muddiman, send a newsletter with it, for he had none to send. He was distant from the seat of government; he had no such facilities for distribution; and he soon gave up the venture. On the other hand he was rewarded by Arlington out of the profits of the *Oxford Gazette* for his suppression of seditious publications. On his part, Williamson turned to a long and not very creditable intrigue to gain control of the newsletter business, in which, despite the aid of that second graduate of Harvard College, Sir George Downing, who played a prominent if not very honorable part in diplomacy and gave his name to a famous street, Williamson was as unsuccessful as L'Estrange had been. The effect of these various more or less disreputable maneuvers was, however, considerable. The King returned to London—or at least to Hampton Court. The *Oxford Gazette* was renamed the *London Gazette*, which with some alterations still retains most of its original character and form, and, though not strictly speaking a

newspaper, remains the oldest of such publications in the world. Muddiman, who left Arlington's office for that of the other secretary of state, Morice, ceased to edit it, but conducted another journal under Morice's undersecretary, John Cook. Arlington, who seems finally to have discovered his subordinate's intrigues, was disgusted and washed his hands of the whole business. Morice was delighted, and after some intermission Muddiman regained his privilege of free postage for his newsletters and with them his new paper, the *Current Intelligence*. The *London Gazette* suffered accordingly, and only another catastrophe saved it from extinction.

This was the Great Fire of London, which in the year following the Plague not only laid waste a great part of the City but burned out nearly every printer in the capital. The Post Office was destroyed. The *London Gazette* could not be printed for a week and then, as the story goes, only outdoors in the Savoy churchyard, which was filled with the graves of the newly dead. Among its other results, the fire seems to have brought Muddiman's paper to an end, and the long struggle ended, as it were, in a draw. Williamson controlled the *London Gazette*; L'Estrange pursued his activities as Surveyor of the Press; and Muddiman continued his newsletter business. But there was one great result which explained Muddiman's success. The news of the time is not to be found in the *London Gazette*, which declined into what it has remained—the organ for official proclamations, appointments, and the like, of interest chiefly to those whose names are there embalmed. Muddiman's letters contained the real news. Williamson's rival service failed, and his ally Hickes disappeared from the contest. L'Estrange was absorbed in his duties as Surveyor, Williamson in those of his office, of which, in time, he became the head; and Henry Muddiman increased in wealth, influence, and, no doubt, in grace.

Such are the outlines of the struggle between the various interests which sought to control the press in the first years of the Restoration. In one view it may be regarded as having only the quality implied in the damning phrase "academic interest," if even that. Yet if one looks about the world today one may perceive the same problem in another medium. What the conflict over the control of the press was to the seventeenth century, a like conflict over the radio is to the present day. We need to do little more than change the names to perceive that the same ideas and the same kind of personalities run

through them both, for the question who is to control the news is still almost as far from a final answer as it was in 1667.

But at that moment there came a change in the English political situation which was in time to have a powerful influence on the press, for Clarendon was driven from office, chiefly by his opponents in the Council, and he presently fled to the Continent. He was succeeded by a group known from the fortuitous combination of its initials as the Cabal—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale—none of them Anglicans, one an avowed and one a suspected Catholic, and one what was to be known as a Deist. They relied more on the Crown than on Parliament; they favored toleration, not only for Protestant but for Catholic Dissenters; they were suspected of being not unfriendly to France, with which the King was more and more bound up; and they definitely were opposed to Holland. It has been said that the King was, in fact, his own minister during the period of the Cabal, and unquestionably the Crown gained in authority in that period, whatever it lost in popular support. The signature of the so-called secret treaty of Dover, the acceptance of a French pension, and the acquisition of a new French mistress bound Charles to more dependence on his cousin Louis XIV. The Stop of the Exchequer served as an introduction to a new Dutch war. The issue of another Declaration of Indulgence and the introduction into Parliament of a toleration bill aimed at conciliation of the Nonconformists failed. Not only were the Dissenters not conciliated, they were outraged, and politics redivided on somewhat different lines than in the Clarendonian period. To the Nonconformist terror of that time succeeded the Catholic terror, fanned by fantastic stories of the starting of the Great Fire by the Catholics, and by the very real circumstance of the conversion of the King's brother, James, Duke of York, to Rome and the prospect of a Catholic successor to the throne. And though the new ministers had been united against Clarendon, they were divided among themselves and far from unanimous in their support of the King. Still less did they control the Parliament, which presently began to move against them. In consequence the ministry broke up. The Catholic, Clifford, killed himself. Most of the others were called before the Commons to defend themselves, which they did with indifferent success; and in 1673 Shaftesbury and Buckingham resigned—or were dismissed—from the ministry.

With that began a new phase of political activity. Shaftesbury

removed to his town house in Aldersgate Street and there began to organize the City against the King after the manner of the years preceding the civil wars. Under his patronage and that of Buckingham was organized the mysterious Green Ribbon Club, which met at the King's Head Tavern in Chancery Lane and became a focus of agitation and possible conspiracy throughout the country. A new wave of opposition swept the land. Shaftesbury turned to head the Country Party, which fought the new minister, Danby, in Parliament even more fiercely than it had earlier fought Clarendon. Every device of rabble-rousing and political organization which Shaftesbury had learned from his earlier experience in the Civil War period was adapted to the policy of opposition to the new minister, the King, and especially the Duke of York. The battle cry of the party which he headed was "No popery and arbitrary government." Its program was anti-French and anti-Catholic, and there were few devices of political agitation unknown to it, as there were few devices of political, especially Parliamentary, management not known and practised by the new minister, Danby, strongly Anglican and anti-French, to defend the position of the Crown and the Establishment.

In consequence both sides girded themselves for the fray with all the weapons at their command, and it is to this period that we owe the definite beginnings of organized political parties. It was naturally a benefit to the printing business, for the press was early enlisted in the struggle especially by what were called "the men of Shaftesbury." Again the country was flooded with the products of the pens of party pamphleteers, though now of a different nature from those of a decade earlier. And at about this time there entered into the struggle another element of much importance to both politics and the press. This, curiously enough, was the introduction of coffee to the English taste, with the consequent establishment of coffeehouses and their concomitants, the clubs. Before their formation there were, in effect, but two public centers of influence in public opinion, the taverns and the churches or conventicles, appealing, it may be assumed, to somewhat, though far from wholly, different sections of society.

There is an old saying that no one ever got drunk before the time of Queen Elizabeth. That is almost certainly not true, but it must be admitted that it was far more difficult in a day when the progress of society, or science, or civilization, or whatever it may be called, had not yet attained the increase of the alcoholic content of beverages

which makes that achievement as easy as it presently became. That success, it may be noted as a curious, if unrelated, circumstance, coincided roughly with the development of Puritanism in England, as to wine and beer were added rum, gin, whiskey, and brandy, to say nothing of champagne. Beside this development, as the Protectorate rose into power, came the rise of "clubs" and the coffeehouses where people were accustomed to meet. The first of these of which we have any very definite knowledge seem to have had their origin in politics, especially of the more advanced, radical, or, as we say, the "left wing" elements. Then arose such groups as James Harrington's Rota, a club which met at Miles's coffeehouse in Palace Yard and took its name from Harrington's fantastic scheme of a Parliament of 1,050 members, one-third of whom were replaced every year. It included such men as the poet-politicians Milton and Marvell, the Republican wit, Henry Nevill, and that universal genius, the "father of statistics," Dr. William Petty. Apparently of earlier origin and of far more radical character was the Commonwealth Club, which met at Nonsuch House in Bow Street and included such men as John Wildman the Leveller; Sir Arthur Haselrig, who, like Wildman, found his advanced opinions no bar to making a fortune out of revolution; Cromwell's bitter enemy, the "debauched" Henry Marten; and Colonel John Okey, who opposed the Protectorate no less than he had earlier opposed monarchy.

To this development the introduction of tea and coffee, especially coffee, contributed mightily, and the coffeehouses which sprang up in London and elsewhere became the centers almost at once not of gossip and good fellowship but of news and political discussion. They were, in fact, not confined to the dispensing of coffee, and were rather, if one may put it so, of a higher social rank than the taverns. This movement soon penetrated the university towns, and Roger North has recorded how it affected Cambridge:

Coffee was not of such common use [in the first years of Charles II's reign] as afterwards, and coffee-houses but young. At that time and long after there was but one [in Cambridge] kept by one Kirk. The trade of news was scarce set up; for they had only the public *Gazette* till Kirk got a written news-letter circulated by one Muddiman. But now the case is much altered, for it is become a custom after chapel to repair to one or other of the coffee-houses . . . where hours are spent in talking and less profitable reading of newspapers . . . and the scholars are so greedy after news, which is none of their business, that they neglect all for it.

It is apparent from this not only that what was called the "itch" for news had spread widely but that Henry Muddiman was one of the chief purveyors of that commodity, and that, as Pepys had noted, Muddiman used the coffeehouses both for the collection and dissemination of that commodity. Coffeehouses, indeed, multiplied apparently in proportion to the increase in public interest in politics, to such an extent, in fact, that they presently became the subject of a heated discussion between the King and his Chancellor. After 1675, when the issues between Court and Country became more acute, the subject was brought up in Parliament, and the government presently felt itself compelled to close them, and when they were reopened it was only under bonds of £500 for good behavior.

It is apparent that the fortunes of the press and the coffeehouses rose and fell with those of politics. The period of the Cabal ministry, on the whole, saw a comparative lull in the news business. Muddiman went on with his newsletters, and though he ostensibly took no sides in the controversy, like Dr. Johnson in his reports of Parliamentary debates in the eighteenth century, he saw to it that "the Whig dogs did not get the best of it" in his accounts. L'Estrange pursued his activities of Surveyor with such success that for a time seditious publications were more or less checked, and he was able even to attack the privileges of the powerful Stationers' Company itself. On the other hand with the appearance of the so-called "prorogation libels" in 1675, denouncing the fifteen months' prorogation of Parliament by the King, the party of Shaftesbury began its formal attack on the government. It was strengthened by the curious fact that though Louis XIV had bought off Charles II from participation in Continental war, as the tide seemed about to turn against the King, the French envoys took occasion to get in touch with the opposition leaders and contribute to their purses also.

In consequence there began one of the bitterest struggles in English political history. The genius of Macaulay has painted a masterpiece of Stuart tyranny and the heroic efforts of the newly forming Whig party to defeat the design of arbitrary government. But whether we regard the conflict of the last ten years of Charles II's reign as a conspiracy of the Crown against the liberties of the people or a conspiracy of the Whigs against the government, even accepting Macaulay's thesis and all that the Liberal leaders of the past generation claimed for their Whig ancestors, we must admit that in many

cases what was said of Henry VIII and the Reformation is more or less applicable to Shaftesbury and his followers: they "accomplished blessed ends by means which better men might well have thought accursed." Seldom, if ever, in English history, short of armed revolution, has England been so stirred by fierce and vengeful politics as in this period, and seldom, if ever, has the press played a more important part. The struggle began in form with the pamphlets written by the leading lawyers of that party which was presently to be called Whig, opposing the long prorogation of 1675, and a more purely political pamphlet called *A Letter from a Person of Quality to His Friend in the Country*, attacking the government policies, attributed to Shaftesbury and probably written by his secretary, the political philosopher John Locke. But almost at once the controversy descended to lower, even the lowest, levels. "As to the business of lies and libels," wrote Roger North, they became "in those days an intolerable nuisance to the court." His advice, like that of Halifax, was to combat them with writings on the side of the government. But, as always is the case, this had little effect. As Edmund Bohun—who tried it in his *Address to the Freeholders*—confessed, "you shall sometimes find a seditious libel to have passed through so many hands that it is at last scarcely legible for dust and sweat, whilst the loyal answer stands in a gentleman's study as clean and as neat as it came from the press."

At first neither of the great figures of the early years of the Restoration press took any great part in this new conflict. L'Estrange had, in fact, been deprived for a time of his post as Licensor by Williamson, who had succeeded to Arlington's secretaryship and held an old grudge against the Surveyor. Muddiman, however, went on his way, safe, cautious, loyal, and dependable, but his rivals, especially the rising school of what were to be called Whig writers, were enabled to compete with him on more favorable terms in the capital where the introduction of a penny post deprived the King's journalist of the advantage he had earlier held. The activities of the pamphleteers of the Shaftesbury faction, encouraged by their leader from his city residence, Thanet House in Aldersgate Street, and by the Green Ribbon Club, began to turn the City against Charles II as it had once been turned against his father, and the government was forced to recall L'Estrange to check their activities. A new press law was framed. The Stationers' Company was investigated by Parliament. Arrests

were made not only of printers but of authors, notably one Jenks, who had made an inflammatory speech at the Guildhall which was printed and circulated throughout the country. A new set of so-called "libels" appeared based chiefly on the charge that the Great Fire of London had been set by the Catholics. *London's Flames*, *London's Wonders*, and *London's Flames Revived* threw the capital again into flames, not this time of fire but of fear. It was fed not only by pamphlets but by pictures, and as in later years Paul Revere's print of the Boston Massacre became one of the most potent engines of revolution in America, so now few booksellers' shops were without one or more prominently displayed engravings of the Great Fire with appropriate inscriptions ascribing it to the Catholics. No device of agitation was omitted, and there was even evolved a system of reporting every fire of whatever origin as attributable to the Catholics.

With this came a new crop of printers and publishers to profit by this agitation. Calvert and his wife were dead; Twyn had been hanged; most of L'Estrange's old enemies, the "Confederate Printers," like Brewster, Creake, and Keach, were gone; Chapman had disappeared. But their places were taken by worthy successors, equally disposed to print attacks on the government, though of a different character from those of the *Phoenix* and the *Prodigies*, and to them, as to the cause they represented in 1678, there came a gift—though certainly not from heaven. On August 13, 1678, as Charles II was starting for his accustomed walk in St. James's Park, a certain Christopher Kirkby, an assistant in the royal chemical laboratory, in which, among other things, the King interested himself, approached the monarch with a note and an appeal for an audience, meanwhile warning Charles against assassination. The walk went on, the interview was granted, and Kirkby laid before the King an information of a plot which had been communicated to him by one Ezreel Tonge, long engaged in anti-Catholic propaganda, and his colleague, one Titus Oates, self-styled Doctor of Salamanca. Thus began, obscurely and unobtrusively enough, one of the greatest scandals and mysteries in English history, the so-called Popish Plot. In the beginning it impressed the King but little and his minister, Danby, still less; and had it not been for the fact that Tonge and Oates swore to their information before "the best justice of the peace in England," Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, and that some days later Godfrey's corpse was found at the foot of Primrose Hill near London, with every evi-

dence of murder, it might have ended there. It is not necessary here to go into the events of the next two years which saw the frenzy of the Popish Plot rise to heights of popular fury unprecedented in English history, the execution of some fifteen persons, almost certainly innocent of either the murder or the plot, and the effort of the Shaftesbury party to use this madness to overthrow the monarchy. But one may be permitted to note two things in connection with it but lightly touched upon by historians. The one is that it did not come out of a clear sky, as has often been assumed, but was only the climax of a campaign which had been waged for at least four years. The other consideration is the effect it had upon the press.

Seldom, if ever, had journalists been presented with such an opportunity for the exercise of their talents as by the dramatic circumstances of the Oates revelations and Godfrey's murder and by the consequent developments in politics, and they utilized it to the full. It was reinforced by a peculiar circumstance. In the midst of the Popish Plot agitation, whether by accident or design or mere forgetfulness, the Press Act, which had done so much to limit the activity of the journalists in preceding years, was allowed to lapse in 1679 and, for the time being, printers, publishers, politicians, and pamphleteers enjoyed a liberty they had not experienced since the great days which followed the death of the Protector. Informer after informer burst into print with tales each more fantastic than the last. Pamphleteers vied with each other in their denunciations of the other side. Even judges joined in with their reports of the trials; and amid this welter of publication, new journals raised their heads, especially on the side of the Whigs. Then appeared Henry Care's *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, John Smith's *Current Intelligence*, Benjamin Harris's *Domestick Intelligence*, and "Elephant" Smith's *Protestant Intelligence*, with others of like sort; and finally L'Estrange's *Observer*, the greatest of them all, which took the other side.

L'Estrange's entry into the fray was due in part at least to the advice of the Chief Justice to the court to employ writers against its enemies; and though L'Estrange complained that "a gentleman and an old fellow of sixty-eight" ought not to be compelled to "descend into the kennel to lash a pack of curs," he undertook the task with extraordinary skill, if not, indeed, with a certain enthusiasm. At first indirectly, then more and more directly, he voiced his suspicion of the reality of the Plot. He met his opponents on their own ground of

vituperation and scurrility, and their pens were to his, as he had once said of Nedham's, "as wands to a weaver's beam." Though it cannot be said that he made an end to Oates and the Plot, he contributed much to their discrediting. On the other hand, though Muddiman took no such direct share in the struggle, he was moved to write to his clients that "Every day produceth a spawn of the most villainous libels against his Majesty and the Government," adding with an animus unexpected from a staid Presbyterian: "The ranker sort come generally from under a sister's apron or a brother's pocket, and are sometimes conveyed to parties in the country at the charge of the faction here," that is to say the Whigs.

But apart from this bloodless war of tract and pamphlet, there was plenty of material to fill the pages of newspapers and newsletters. They told of the various events in connection with the Plot, of its effects in Parliament, of the dissolution of that body in the midst of the agitation, of the petitions which poured in demanding a general election and counterpetitions supporting the position of the King, who refused to allow an appeal to the country in the midst of such fury. They told of the commitment of the chief minister, Danby, to the Tower; of the movement to exclude the King's brother, James, from the throne; of the trials and executions of those accused by Oates and his fellow informers; of riots and disturbances in the capital; of the struggle there between the adherents of Charles and those of Shaftesbury to control the City; of the Oxford Parliament where more than one group, but especially that of Shaftesbury and his "brisk boys from Wapping," came armed; of its sudden dissolution and the King's appeal to the country, with its loyal response, which marked the beginning of the end of the designs of Shaftesbury.

Nor, as the months went on, was this all their tale. They recorded the semiroyal progress of Shaftesbury's candidate for the throne, the "Protestant Duke" of Monmouth, Charles II's illegitimate son. They told of the revenge of the King; how the Exclusion Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords; how Shaftesbury was charged with treason, and, though the bill was ignored by his faithful London juries, how he fled to Holland. They told of the *quo warrantos* by which it was proposed to reconstitute the borough corporations in the royal interest; of the Whig Rye House plot against the King's life; and of the consequent execution for treason of William, Lord Russell, the death of his companion in the Tower, the Earl of Essex,

and the fate of the old Republican Algernon Sidney, who returned from his long exile on the Continent to die at last upon the scaffold.

All this they told, and more, yet even this was not all the tale; for in its very telling, though they were not aware of it, was the story of the press itself in these hectic years of unlicensed and more or less uncontrolled printing. The King won his fight for his life and throne and for his brother's succession. The country revealed its preference for monarchy over revolution, and the press contributed in more ways than one to both sides of that great conflict. It was reflected in the printing world in many curious ways, as one instance may serve to demonstrate. In the course of the struggle Norwich and Bristol, the second and third cities of England, led the way with loyal addresses to the King, as London supported Shaftesbury. The Middlesex officials were infuriated, and, not being able to prosecute the Norwich corporation, indicted its printer in London, one John Smith, for publishing what they called a "scandalous libel." Infuriated by this, the Norwich officials, in turn, ordered Smith to reprint their address in his newspaper, *Current Intelligence*, not forgetting to add that to call a loyal address by the "frightful name of libel" was a piece of insolence, and suggesting, incidentally, that the grand jury of Middlesex had been engaged in what might be called in plain English "the late horrid rebellion." It may be added that the Norwich men triumphed. The Middlesex grand jury, Whig as it was, refused the challenge; so that the printer, like the corporation, remained unpunished.

Thanks to the Liberal historians of the nineteenth century, especially Macaulay and Gardiner, the story of the struggle against "Stuart tyranny" is one of the best known in the "folklore of democracy." In it the opposition or Whig press played a part which—depending on the point of view—may be described as either patriotic or treasonable; but it is certain that as Parliamentary government went on to triumph in the end, the Whigs and their champions of the press have gained as much in reputation as the Tories like L'Estrange lost in repute, though the twentieth century has already done something to redress the balance. With that difference of opinion we are not now concerned, but there is in that connection what may be called without exaggeration a somewhat illuminating footnote to the history of that struggle in the press which is not without some interest of its own and may even throw some light on the general subject. Among those

who were numbered in the list of Whig press champions was one Benjamin Harris, who, coming into prominence first in the Popish Plot agitation, issued an antigovernment newspaper called *Domestick Intelligence*. He was arrested; found opportunity to insult the Chief Justice before whom he was brought; was illegally liberated; and took part in various movements against the government, including the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth after the death of Charles II. In common with others of like sort, he fled, first to Holland, then to America. There he seems to have opened what he called the London Coffee House in Boston, whence in 1690 he issued through the medium of Richard Pierce, a printer, a newspaper known as *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*, the first publication of its sort in this country. Its days were few and full of trouble, for there seems to have been only one number ever issued. The only copy that has been found is in the Public Record Office in London, sent presumably by the Massachusetts authorities to the secretaries of state as evidence of their zeal.

But it seems further that in 1679, at the height of the Popish Plot and in connection with it, Harris published a little spelling book for children, known as *The Protestant Tutor* and adorned with bad woodcuts of "Dr." Titus Oates and "Captain" William Bedloe, two of the leading informers of the Plot; a picture of the strangling of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, presumably by the Catholics; and a title page representing, among other things, the burning of London by the Papists, the Gunpowder Plot, and the assassination of Henry of Navarre by the monk Ravaillac. The book was successful, and apparently Harris took copies of it with him to America where, in modified form, it was printed under the well-known title of *The New-England Primer*. In its American version it proved even more successful than in England and endured in one form or another for more than a century and a half. One of its biographers or bibliographers, Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, estimated with professed conservatism that it sold more than three million copies in its long lifetime; while another, Mr. Charles F. Heartman, has estimated the sales to have been between six and eight million copies. In addition to this Harris was, in 1692, appointed "Printer to His Excellency, the Governour and Council," and during the course of the year in which he held that post printed the first laws of the new Province of Massachusetts. He returned to England in 1695.

The date of his return is not without significance. Much had happened while he was away. For a brief period after the expiration of the Press Act in 1679 printers and publishers, especially of the Whig party, reveled in their new liberty, which they promptly abused. But that liberty was much limited by the government after the dissolution of Charles's last Parliament and the resumption of royal authority. It was virtually abolished at the accession of James II in 1685 and the passage of a new Press Act as part of that monarch's attempt to turn back the hands of the clock not only to the practices of the early Stuarts but to some which had scarcely been known in England since the days of that devout Catholic sovereign whom her Protestant subjects called "Bloody Mary." Three years of "Popery and arbitrary government" proved enough, and more than enough, for James's subjects. The attempt of the Duke of Monmouth to seize the throne was defeated, but the King's stubborn attempt to ensure not only toleration but predominance for the Catholics was too much for any of his subjects save his own immediate and misguided advisers to endure. Anglican and Dissenter joined in an invitation to William, Prince of Orange, to come to save the liberties of England, the petition being signed not only by the Whig leaders but by the Bishop of London and the head of the Tory party, the Earl of Danby. With his advent and the flight of James, the Whigs finally triumphed over the Stuarts.

But the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had other results not generally emphasized in history, among others its influence on the press. It provided new masses of material for the pens of the journalists and pamphleteers, and, despite the Press Act, they were little disturbed in their increasing activities. And though the Bill of Rights, which was the Revolution's great contribution to the liberty of the subject, did not specifically mention freedom of the press, printers and publishers gained practical immunity, save for the treason laws. The circumstances of James II's reign, the events of the Revolution, and, almost at once, the European war in which England became involved through William III provided them with an enormous amount of material in the form of news, of controversy and sensation. This naturally had a stimulating effect on the news business and on the printing trade in general. Moreover the Whig triumph brought back to England a horde of *émigrés* who, like Harris, had left the country, if not for their country's good, at least for their own,

and among them some, like him, who had played much part in the newspaper business. And it is not without importance to note that he returned in the year in which the Press Act expired, and Parliament refused to renew it.

The immediate consequence was a great increase of newspapers. Harris himself, in fact, started three in quick succession, of which two failed; and others soon entered into the competition. And it may be noted as a minor but interesting fact that the word "Post" now first took the place it has since occupied in the newspaper world among the titles of "Diurnals," "Mercuries," "Intelligencers," and "Occurrences," which had earlier held the field. It was only one symptom of the fact that newspapers now found themselves firmly established as a part of English life, and the number and variety of them which appeared in the last years of the seventeenth and the first years of the eighteenth century testified to the importance of this new field of enterprise. They ceased to be a luxury, they became the necessity which they have since remained. They developed new forms, and among their other results demonstrated that there were, as there have since remained, publics for two types of news: the newspapers and the newsletters. Yet as time went on, it appeared that the former had overpowered the latter. Muddiman had died in 1692 and he found no capable successor. There was no one left who could bend the bow of Ulysses, though many tried, and the newsletter more or less disappeared from the scene, though at least one enterprising publisher, Dawks, endeavored, without success, to combine the two by printing news on one side of his sheet and leaving the other blank for a newsletter to be written by his subscriber. L'Estrange's *Observer*, on the other hand, had a sort of posthumous success. Though it disappeared about the time of the accession of James II, and its author took little or no part in the later developments which occurred before his death in 1704, it inspired notable successors. It was, as L'Estrange always declared, not a newspaper but observations on the times, and in that capacity it was followed by those products of the weekly press in the form of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* essays of Steele and Addison which still delight us, the more so in that the sting of L'Estrange's bitter animosity was drawn. And from them, in time, flowed that stream of periodicals which, beginning with *Fog's Journal* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, were the forerunners of those monthlies and quarterlies only now disappearing from the scene, to the loss of us all.

Only one thing remained to complete the cycle of the development of the modern newspaper. It was to give it security from unscrupulous competitors and to make it responsible for what it printed. That was accomplished by the Copyright Act of 1709, which helped to serve both purposes. Thenceforth the newspapers were, in effect, in much the same situation as they are today. They were protected from pirates, and they were made responsible for what they printed. News ceased to be a "regality" of government. It was recognized as a right of the people, a commodity which could be bought and sold and was protected like any other property. There still remained the laws of libel and those against sedition and treason, which differentiated it from most other commodities. There still remained the general warrant, which it took three generations more to dispose of. There still remained accomplished journalists like Addison and Swift, who wrote for Whig and Tory, and like Defoe who wrote for them both on occasion. There still remained vituperation and scurrility, which three centuries have not been able to eliminate wholly. But journalism was on the way up. It was no longer considered somehow more or less disreputable to be a journalist. Addison became a member of the government; Swift, a dean; and that pattern of social eminence, Lord Chesterfield, did not disdain to write for such periodicals—however anonymously.

So in fifty years this business or profession rose in reputation, in influence, and in such stability as was compatible with its character. But most of all it became free, as it contributed to the freedom of others. This was not due to the two men whose lives more or less coincided with its development. Neither Muddiman nor L'Estrange, with all their contribution to the development of the newspaper, was responsible for that freedom. That was due to men whose very names are now forgotten, men who skirted the edges of the law, who spent most of their lives just inside or just outside of jails, and always on the borders of bankruptcy, whose chief efforts were directed to the overthrow of the government, whose wild fancies and whose outrageous language continually brought them into conflict with it. It is no doubt a natural and perhaps commendable thing to heroize the past. It makes us feel that man is possibly nobler than he sometimes seems. But it is seldom wise to look too closely into the origins of the blessings we enjoy, even, or especially, into what we call "liberty." For if one thing emerges from even such a slight study as this, it is

that the struggle it seeks to portray was not carried on by men who were or who regarded themselves as heroes, however much they might claim the crown of martyrdom. They have for the most part been forgotten, perhaps deservedly: their chief aim was not to achieve liberty so much as to make their living by their pens and presses, to overthrow their opponents, whether in church or state, and to have their own way—whatever that was. So we must end as we began: too often they sought blessed ends by means which better men might well—and did—think accursed.

Samuel Sewall and the New England Company

By GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP¹

THIS is a report to the Society, by a member of its Library Committee, on a recently acquired manuscript volume. It is a book of some eighty pages creating an interest on two scores: most of it is in the handwriting of Judge Samuel Sewall, while interlarded amongst his entries are nearly four hundred autograph signatures of New Englanders dated between 1708 and 1719.

Most of these people signed more than once and a number of them every year during this period on the occasion of being paid money by Sewall. These men and women represent every class in the community, and the volume provides an interesting test of the literacy of the population in eastern Massachusetts at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one of the English names misled me until I identified it from other evidence. This was that of a trader, Seth Pope, finally identified from Sewall's reference to him in his diary as a man from whom he had had to borrow money while on his way from Woods Hole toward Bristol.² For the rest, the autographs compare favorably in legibility with those of their descendants today.

What gives the manuscript its special significance as a part of the Society's collections is the fact that it was used by Judge Sewall regularly for a dozen years in connection with his duties as the active commissioner and disbursing agent for a London missionary society which, except when its English representatives were referred to as the Corporation, was known as the New England Company. Parliament created the society in 1649 without precisely expressing a name for it; but when a new charter was secured after the Restoration, the name became the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America. The original charter is an act of Parliament of 1649, which provided that the money raised in England for the society's work should be expended in New England by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. This organization had been formed in 1643 in order that the English set-

¹ This paper was read at the October, 1942, meeting.

² 5 *Collections*, VI. 167.

tlements might deal as a unit with the natives, and until the outbreak of King Philip's War it served this purpose admirably. The Commissioners met once a year for a week in September at Boston, Plymouth, New Haven, and Hartford in rotation; for the rest of the year matters that had to be attended to were referred to the Massachusetts members. When Indian difficulties lessened after the death of Philip, the need for the Commissioners ceased. The New England Company in London then named a new group or "commission" of Massachusetts men well-disposed to the missionary effort and, equally important, known to and respected by the London merchants who composed the active nucleus of the Corporation of that Company.

It is important, in order to understand the part played by the New England Company in the colony, to remember that this missionary society was created for a financial and not a spiritual purpose, with an intention to benefit the English settlers and not the Indians. When Edward Winslow was in London in 1649 for the purpose of securing money to tide over a serious financial crisis in Massachusetts, he hit on the scheme of organizing a missionary society and raising funds with which to protestantize the New England natives. The plan worked, thanks largely to John Eliot's consummate skill in appealing to charitable English men and women. In five years the London Corporation, to which the control of the money collected had been entrusted by the 1649 charter, was in possession of city lots and country estates with an income nearing a thousand pounds a year. The Restoration, the plague, and the fire of 1666 cut the rents in half, but the property was carefully administered, and in fact its income is to this day being devoted to the chartered purposes in parts adjacent to New England still under the British crown.

Between 1660 and 1675 Eliot's renderings of the Bible and various religious tracts into a language for the Indians were printed at the cost of the fund; salaries were paid to him, to John Cotton of Plymouth, and to Thomas Mayhew on Martha's Vineyard, and there were smaller payments to a steadily increasing number of other clergymen and to deserving natives. It is probably not entirely accidental that the field work of the Company is the side of its organization that was neglected, at least in the records. Its affairs were in the hands of active business men, whose clerks kept scrupulously careful accounts, those from America being regularly balanced for submission

to London. There are more signs in London than in Boston of concern over the spiritual balance sheet, and in London the anxiety is apt to be traceable to criticisms of the lack of visible returns, with its consequent threat of shrinkage in contributions. On both sides of the ocean things had settled into a routine by the time of the outbreak of the Indian war. In London the investments were being looked after by the powerful Ashurst firm, while Boston merchants could count each spring season on a few hundred pounds of new money which would gradually seep out into circulation.

King Philip's War, with its inevitable disturbance of the missionary efforts, coincided with a period of neglect on the part of the Corporation in England. The political situation at home was unstable, and the charitable investments there continued to give trouble which led the Londoners to send some of the money for which there were no satisfactory openings in England to Boston for investment. Private English investors were doing very well in the colony, and the London financiers pointed out that as the income was to be expended in the colony, the colonists should have no difficulty in finding safe as well as profitable ways of putting the capital to use. After King Philip's War there was a revival of interest at both ends. Robert Boyle, who had become the London Governor of the Company as part of its reorganization after the Restoration, was appealed to by John Eliot to support a new edition of the Indian Bible. New members were enrolled, and attendance at the meetings of the Corporation increased.

In Boston the Commissioners were reorganized also, and the care of the remittances from the Corporation was assumed by William Stoughton. No one could have been better than he if the purpose was to impress the London correspondents with the importance which was attached to this undertaking or with the high standing of the individual to whom it was entrusted. Stoughton, a "rich dour old bachelor," held many high political offices during his career and in other ways was overloaded with more matters than he could be expected to look after during the hours he could be in Boston from his home on Dorchester Hill. Accordingly he employed a clerk to attend to details, and one can be sure that it was this clerk who in the fall of the year 1680 purchased the record book that has now come to rest in the Massachusetts Historical Society library. It is also more than likely that he bought it because he did not know where to find an-

other similar book in which he had been told to make certain entries. However that may be, once he had the new one, he turned over seven leaves in it before making the first entry. On November 12, 1680, or shortly after, he entered "Indian Stock," comprising on the debit side "To Stock put out as per order last Yeare containing Mr. Mouches gift," £2,000; "To so much ordered printing the New Testament in Indian," £250; "To Bill of Payments ordered this year (ordered) herewith sent," £350 19s; "To so much added to Stocke," £230. This gives a total of £2,830 19s. This is balanced on the facing page by a balance of £25 brought over from the previous year; the amount put out for investment the previous year, £2,000; remittances of £250 sent in bills of exchange to Mr. Stoughton, of £187 10s to Peter Sergeant, and of £250 to Humphrey Davie; and "Intrest due since the last accompt until February 13, 1680[/81]," £118 9s.

The next page is headed "Att a meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at Boston. Novr. 10, 1680. Payments ordered to be made and satisfied of the Indian Stock by William Stoughton Esqr." The twenty-three entries on this page, as may be seen in the accompanying facsimile, are a summary of the distribution of the money received in the year 1680. Five of these entries are for administrative charges or for unusual outlays consequent on the Indian war. It is interesting to compare with this picture of the Company's activities that provided by Sewall's entries in this book between November 19, 1708, and November 19, 1709, the first full year of his recorded receipts for expenditures of the Company's income. In the later year there were thirty-eight disbursements listed. Each of these represents a direct contact with the beneficiaries, showing a considerable increase in the charitable activity during this twenty-eight-year interval. Presumably this was due largely to the more sympathetic zeal of Sewall and the others who were induced to serve as Commissioners in the reorganization which followed Stoughton's retirement from that board.

The year's outlay for 1680 is followed on the opposite page by a statement of the disposition made of the capital funds that had been sent to Boston for investment in the colonial money market. It is headed "An accompt of Moneys to Remain in Stock Containing Mr. Mouches Gift £450, The Honble. Mr. Boyle's Gift £375 and the remaining General Stocke at severall times Transmitted." The state

All a meeting of the Commission^r of the
United Colonies, at Boston. Nov^r 10. 1680.

Payments ordered to be made & Satisfied of the
Indian Stock by William Stoughton Esq^r.

To the Worp th Major Gooken	£. 15 " 00 " 00
To Mr John Elliott	£. 50 " 00 " 00
To Teachers & Rulers under him	£. 30 " 00 " 00
To Major Linkley of Plymouth Colonie	£. 16 " 00 " 00
To Schoolmasters in Plymouth Colonie	£. 5 " 00 " 00
To Mr Bourne	£. 25 " 00 " 00
To Teachers & Rulers	£. 25 " 00 " 00
To a Saconett Teacher	£. 2 " 00 " 00
To Mr John Cotton	£. 16 " 00 " 00
To a Saconett Teacher	£. 1 " 10 " 00
To Mr Thomas Mayhue	£. 28 " 00 " 00
To Mr John Mayhue	£. 5 " 00 " 00
To Mr Treat	£. 6 " 00 " 00
To Rulers & Teachers of Martins Vineyard	£. 20 " 00 " 00
To Rulers & Teachers at Nantucket	£. 12 " 08 " 00
To Mr James Fitch	£. 30 " 00 " 00
To Major John Pinchon	£. 10 " 00 " 00
To a Teacher at Mattachusetts	£. 3 " 00 " 00
To the Christian Indians of Plymouth Colonie as part of the £100. due for their Service in the late Warr.	£. 10 " 00 " 00
To Ditto, of the Massachusetts Colonie	£. 10 " 00 " 00
To Ditto of Connecticut Colonie	£. 4 " 05 " 06
To Sundry perticulars since Last Bill for Amunition, paper, Cookes, Coats &c.	£. 25 " 15 " 06
To Petty Charges for Scribe & Waiters	£. 1 " 00 " 00
	£. 350 " 19 " 00

of the Boston market for money can be judged from the amounts and names: Messrs. Woodmancy, Waite, & Ingraham, £100; the college stewards, £100; Joseph Whiting and John Pynchon, £100; Daniel Turell, £150; Major John Pynchon, £475; Edward Rawson, £300; Captain Lawrence Hammond, £544; Sampson Sheafe, £100; Mr. Greenough, £100; James Sherman, £25; Messrs. Brentner & Platts, £6. This accounts for the £2,000 already entered in the condensed balance sheet, and to it is added the current year's balance of £230 "not yet put out."

There remain to be accounted for on the next two facing pages the money received through Peter Sergeant and Humphrey Davie mentioned above, the sum of £151 11s in the hands of John Richards, and the year's income from investments or "rents of stock," £118 9s. A note provides for money that might come in during the ensuing months for which most of the interest had been paid: "What Rents may appeare within the above said time [to February 13, 1680/81], please to bring to the Creditt of the next Acco. which wee suppose to be £14 07s 06d." The year's receipts of £707 10s were balanced on the facing page:

Per Contra to pay	
The Remainder of the bill of Payments	£306 13 06
To Printing the New Testament	
Whereof is paid	£ 79 10 0
Remaining complement	£250 00 0
	£170 10 0
Ballance to bee added to Stock	£230 06 06
	£707 10 00

Two of the entries on this last page of Stoughton's report await an explanation. "The Remainder of the bill of Payments" could be an unsatisfied balance of the "Payments ordered to be made and satisfied of the Indian Stock" (£350 19s) shown in the facsimile. The "Ballance to bee added to Stock" (£230 6s 6d) may be the same as the two entries each of £230 on preceding pages: "To so much added to Stock," and the more informative entry supplementing the list of borrowers, already quoted, to whom the stock had been lent:

To Remainder of monies this year sent over to be	
Received by William Stoughton Esqr. not yet put	
out	230 00 00

It is permissible to suspect that Stoughton's clerk, when he came to

balance the last page of this report, discovered for the first time that there was an additional six and a half shillings unaccounted for, to be slipped into the money available for investment.

By 1680 many things had come to be more important than the matters referred to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The stated September meetings usually failed for want of a quorum, and they came to be held at Boston whenever representatives from the other colonies were at the metropolis for other reasons. For the same reason the meeting on November 10 of that year had no relation to any opportunity of sending mail to London, so that it is uncertain when the Company report and balance sheet found a conveyance. It apparently had not reached London on January 28, 1680/81, for nothing was said about it when the Corporation then met for the first time since September 28, 1680, to settle with a delinquent tenant and to audit the account of Henry Ashurst, the deceased treasurer. Nothing more shows on the record book of the Corporation¹ until the following September 21, when there was a meeting at the East India House to order that £600 be sent to New England. This order is interesting because it provided that the money should be sent through a number of channels that had not previously been patronized, breaking the established connection with Peter Sergeant and Humphrey Davie.

... The 21th of September 1681. It was this day Ordered that the somme of 600*li* sterling be this yeare remitted to New Engl. And that 100*li* thereof be paid to Mr. Wm. Condey vpon his Bills of Exchange to be charged vpon Mr. Tho. Kelland Merchant in Boston in New Engl. for payment of 125*li* New Engl. money to Mr. Joseph Cox or Order at Sixty dayes after sight and endorsed vnto Simon Broadstreete and William Stoughton Esqrs. Two hundred pounds more thereof to Mr. Wm. Browne vpon his Bills of Exchange to be charged vpon Mr. Paul Dudley Merchant at Boston in New Engl. for payment of 250*li* New Engl. money to the said Simon Broadstreete and Wm. Stoughton at Sixty days after sight 200*li* sterling more to Mr. Edmond White vpon his Bills of Exchange to be charged vpon Mr. Humphrey Davie of Boston in New Engl. Merchant for payment of 250*li* New Engl. money to the said Simon Broadstreete and Wm. Stoughton at three Months sight and 100*li* sterling more to Thomas Papillon Esqr. vpon his Bills of Exchange to be charged vpon Mrs. Elizabeth Saffin now the wife of Mr. John Saffin for payment of 125*li* New Engl. money to Edmond Rolfe or Order at 30 daies after sight and Indorsed vnto the said Simon Broadstreete and Wm. Stoughton.²

¹ Printed in *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*, George P. Winship, Editor (Boston, Prince Society, 1920).

² *Ibid.*, 194.

The Corporation met again on October 14 at the same place, when, for some reason that is not apparent, "all the severall Orders made . . . on the 21 of September last were confirmed and ordered to stand ratified and confirmed. . . ." ¹ It was then voted to send another £100 to New England upon William Ashurst's bills of exchange to be charged upon William Stoughton, which seems to be a return to normal financing. It was further ordered that of this year's remittances £250 sterling, calculated to give £344 in all in New England, should be allotted for defraying the ordinary charges of carrying on the work of propagating the Gospel, and that £450 should be "put forth vpon improvement and managed as a further addition to this Companies Stock . . . it being this Companies endeavor that there may be such a Stock in New Engl. as that the improvement thereof may carry on the work if a Supply should fail from hence." ² The Corporation also had reason at this time to suspect that its last letter to the Commissioners had not reached Boston, and ordered duplicates sent. It completed its business by electing to the Corporation, among others, Henry and William, sons of Henry Ashurst and nephews of William Ashurst, thereupon choosing the younger William to succeed his father as treasurer.

Things were not going any more smoothly in Boston than in London in the spring of 1681. This is shown by a letter written by John Eliot to Robert Boyle on June 17:

RIGHT HONOURABLE NURSING FATHER, Your Fatherly Care doth extend itselfe not only untoe the poore Indians; but also to our plantations, and to our Churches and Com[mon]w[ealth] in that Fatherly and prudent Council which you are pleased to give in the poynt of present toleration, which counsel you propose with such Fatherly care and love, that it is without the least staine or touch of any byas. I have communicated your letter unto such as are concerned. Amos 5. 13. the Prophet saith the prudent shall keepe silence in that time, for it is an evel time. for my owne part I keepe off from meddling in those matters. there is a time to be silent, and a time to speak. the Adversary seteth instruments on word to poyson our praying Indians with that cruel and mercylesse opinion of the Anabaptists, to instigate and instruct parents to thrust away their owne children from Jesus Christ, to make barren and kill the Lords vinyard, by breaking off and spoyling the buds. We resist them by the word of God and prayre. Sinc the returne of our Captives who escaped away from the Mauquaogs, I have had no intimation from our Western parts but I doe daily cry, pray, waite. Lord open a Gospel dore! Untill we have Bibles, we are not furnished to cary the Gospel unto them for we have no means to cary religion thither, saving by the Scriptures.

¹ *Ibid.*, 194.

² *Ibid.*, 195.

this very argument (beside all the rest which are many and weighty) doth continually instigate my heart, to have the Bible printed. I see that the charge doth somewhat surmount, (by some accidental impediments) my expectation, but I beseech your honour let not yt be so much as named to be an impediment of such a work. the Dutch Bible is a glorious work, and the charges of it are an honour to Religion. This work is small, as to humane work, but the charges of it, will be, (as the former impression was) an honour unto the honourable Corporation. I know that a word from your honour will raise a contribution to such a work, that will supersede all demurre about charges. a willing heart shall not want a full hand, sufficient to goe through with this holy and good work. So I speak to ours, into whose hands your honours have committed it. the Lord put it into your hearts to make thorough work of it. pardon my boldnesse, honourable Sir I shall plead no further at present but committing yourselves and the cause to God, I rest Your honours to Serve you in Jesus Christ

JOHN ELIOT

Roxb: this 17t of the 4t 81

Major Gookins (who is my only cordial assistant) doth present his service to your honours with this request, that the evil reports of the malevolent, taken up by the miscaryage of the worser sort, may be no stumbling block to your honours for where is the people, where all are good?¹

It is a legitimate inference that Mr. Stoughton's clerk found the other record book in which the financial report for 1680 should have been entered, and that if this were to turn up now it would be found to contain the similar subsequent reports for the remaining sixteen years of Stoughton's treasurership of the missionary work. It is equally clear that the book we have, with its single entry for 1680, was put away with the other impedimenta of the New England Company in its Boston treasurer's hands, for it next appears in the possession of Stoughton's successor, Samuel Sewall. It was then, however, still serving as a makeshift substitute for another record book. Sewall became a Commissioner for the Indian work in October, 1699, and presently thereafter was appointed its secretary-treasurer. Fifteen months later, on January 10, 1700/01, he succeeded in getting Stoughton to show him the bonds belonging to the Company "but brought none away. . . ."² Doubtless he was more successful in getting his hands on the empty record book, although it was April 23, 1702, when Sewall made use of it for the first time to write on the

¹ *Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America, the Missionaries of the Company, and Others between the Years 1657 and 1712* (London, 1896), 65-67.

² 5 *Collections*, VI. 29.

second page following the 1680 entries a receipt to which one James Smith affixed his signature:

Boston Aprl. the 23th 1702

Rec[ei]ued of the Honor: Samuel Sewall twelve pounds money for acct. of the reverend James Laborie Minister of the Gospel in new oxford by his order I say Re[cei]ued per me

JAMES SMITH

Nothing else was put on this page until seven years later. Why this particular receipt was put in this book is puzzling. The only other entry in the book that concerns the French Huguenot refugees was made much later, after Sewall had begun to be less careful to use it only for payments on account of the Indian work. The Huguenots did not come properly under the Indian charity, and this entry does not prove that Sewall intended it to be so credited. It could have been a personal gift, which the messenger receipted for in a book that happened to be within reach. At the same time it is not impossible that Sewall and his associates decided to use some of the Indian money for this worthy charity. Of the funds sent to Boston to be held as "stock" or invested principal, £450 had come as a gift from a French Protestant, Mr. Mouche, and there could have been no impropriety in diverting a portion of the income from this sum to the refugee clergyman at New Oxford.

Two years after James Smith went off with the money for Mr. Labourie the book was again put to use to hold something that did not belong somewhere else. The Corporation had met in London at the house of Sir William Ashurst, now Governor of the Company, on August 3, 1704, and authorized a new commission, naming as its New England representatives Wait Winthrop, Increase Mather, Gabriel Bernon, Nehemiah Walter, Samuel Sewall, Peter Sergeant, John Foster, Thomas Banister, John Higginson, Edward Bromfield, Eliakim Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, Jeremiah Dummer, and Simeon Stoddard. After this commission reached Sewall, he duly entered it on the second and third pages following the one with only James Smith's receipt of 1702 at its top. The book then went back on its shelf to gather dust until November, 1708. Sewall seems to have acknowledged the receipt of this new commission without keeping a copy of his letter, but he wrote to Sir William Ashurst again and more fully on March 19, 1704/05:

HON[OURA]BLE SIR, In my last I omitted to take notice of the Diversity in the style of the Company. Your Honor's hitting it so right in the Appointment of John Higginson Esqr. a person very acceptable and servicable, maketh it appear you can be very well informd in England of the Circumstances of persons here. If the Hon[oura]ble Company should see cause to make any alteration, and should Appoint Mr. Daniel Oliver, and Mr. Thomas Fitch Merchants in Boston to be of the number of your Commissioners; I hope you would never have any cause to repent it; nor I to be ashamd of my suggestion; it being the first I have ever made of my own accord; I crave your Honors pardon for this, and leave to say that I humbly conceive the most inoffensive order of naming the persons last added, might be this; Eliakim Hutchinson Esqr., Penn Townsend Esqr., John Higginson Esqr., Edward Bromfield Esqr., Simeon Stoddard Esqr. All these are of Her Majesties Council. Mr. Jeremiah Dummer is a Justice of Peace and one of the Judges of the Inferior Court, and servicable as a Goldsmith. Leaving all to the hon[oura]ble Company with a full Submission to your Authority and Prudence!—I am etc.

S. S.¹

The suggestions were doubtless acted on and a revised commission drawn up with the names in proper order, for on November 12 following, Sewall's diary records: "New Commission for the Indian Affairs comes to hand."²

When Judge Sewall became the active American representative of the New England Company, this missionary society secured for the first time a distributing agent who was cordially sympathetic with its purposes and its methods. For half a century the business of the Indian work had passed through the hands of the Massachusetts members of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. They were men of the highest standing and of irreproachable integrity and Christian character. They occupied positions of public and private responsibility and they had to attend to many matters of greater civic and personal concern than the praying Indians. They appreciated the value to the community of the English money that arrived regularly to bolster the local economic structure and they valued even more the good opinion of London merchants who controlled the Corporation of the Society. What these New Englanders would have done with this money if they could have directed its expenditure will never be known because John Eliot took this out of their hands. He was the trump card who took all the tricks, and the Commissioners were beaten every time they attempted to interfere with

¹ 6 *Collections*, I. 311.

² 5 *Collections*, VI. 142.

his designs. As Eliot aged, John Cotton of Plymouth and the Mayhew family on Martha's Vineyard took over the principal portion of the work, which spread to most of the native groups on the Cape.

Sewall, like the earlier Commissioners, was a prominent citizen, more active than most of them in church affairs and regular in his attention to civic duties, patrolling the rounds with the watch at intervals, serving as captain in the militia. He was a member of the Governor's Council and a judge holding court at Plymouth and Salem, Bristol and Springfield. He was withal not of the inner Boston circle which had grown up around the administration of the colony, as the earlier Commissioners had been.

Sewall introduced a new factor into the social and civic life of Boston. It is a factor which has had a large share in the development in this community of the amenities of comfortable living, the refinements of affluence. He was the first noteworthy instance of a youth from an outlying community who graduated from Harvard into the arms of a Boston heiress. Sewall's family was fully as good as that of his wife, Hannah Hull, even though her mother was a Quincy. He would have been better off in worldly goods if there had been fewer sisters and if his father had remained at Newbury instead of going back to Hampshire during the Commonwealth, leaving that home again after the Restoration. Some property remained in England for Samuel to inherit, and despite the mischances of absentee ownership and management by cousins, it yielded a sterling income sufficient to pay for books, Mrs. Sewall's occasional outfits, and a daughter's trousseau.

Sewall was designed by his family and by nature for the ministry, but the pulpit was not his forte. After Hannah Hull selected him for a husband, her father introduced him to the life of the merchants, at which he did well enough under a father-in-law's guidance. When this prop was removed, his mercantile correspondence declined, as his letter book shows, drifting into futile efforts to arouse neglectful debtors to a realization of their obligations. An illuminating entry in the diary on January 24, 1703/04, throws light on the domestic financial situation and bears out other less definite hints that Sewall was not a good manager of his wife's property:

I paid Capt. Belchar £8-15-0. Took 24s in my pocket, and gave my Wife the rest of my cash £4.3-8, and tell her she shall now keep the Cash; if I want I will borrow of her. She has a better faculty than I at managing Affairs; I will

assist her; and will endeavour to live upon my Salary; will see what it will doe. The Lord give his Blessing.¹

The last recorded meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was held September 5, 1684, but there may have been another on October 23, 1685, for this is the date on a separate printed leaf which was placed in the copies of the second edition of the Indian Bible that were sent to England, dedicating the work to Governor Boyle and the New England Company. This dedicatory letter is signed by William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, and Thomas Hinckley, representing Hartford and Plymouth as well as Boston. It was four months after this, on February 15, 1685/86, that Sewall wrote in a letter to his cousin Stephen Dummer in England: "The best News that I can think to speak of from America, is, that Mr. John Eliot, through the good hand of God upon him, hath procured a second Edition of the Bible in the Indian Language. . . ."² This is the first surviving expression of Sewall's interest in the natives. Equally characteristic of him, and more distinctive, was his persistence a few years later in following the work on a new meeting-house at Sandwich for their use. It is possible that he was interested in this locality through the possession of land in the vicinity inherited from John Hull. On September 26, 1687, he wrote to Edward Milton, a carpenter at Sandwich, to say that he had been told the building had been contracted for and that he would guarantee the payment.³ The next July he wrote again to agree to pay for ceiling the house as it ought to be, and to make sure "that it be well filled between the clapboards and the ceiling" lest the house be cold.⁴ The cold was still on his mind, and the house unfinished, on December 3, 1690, when he wanted the walls filled with shavings or other suitable matter for warmth, and the doors well hung. At the same time he wrote to Mr. Faunce of Plymouth agreeing to pay the Boston price for glaziers to put in sixty feet of glass.⁵ On September 14, 1691, he wrote to Thomas Tupper to "hasten finishing the Meetinghouse."⁶

During the summer of 1697 Sewall's letter book shows that much of his attention was devoted to the equitable allotment of food grains and bread among the English settlers north of the Merrimac River, where Indian marauders had destroyed most of the stored supplies.

¹ 5 *Collections*, VI. 93.

² 6 *Collections*, I. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

But more remote thoughts were revolving in the back of his head. As early as March 30 of this year, in the first of the letters in which he thankfully reported to the people of Connecticut who had furnished the sorely needed foodstuffs how he was distributing these, he remarked: "The continuance of Brotherly Love [between Connecticut and Massachusetts], confirms me in my Opinion that these Provinces are Cousen German to the Citizens of the New Jerusalem."¹ This idea germinated while more immediately important matters were in the doing, and it bore fruit in a half-filled blank book which Sewall had bought from Edmund Ranger on September 15, 1676, just when John Hull began his efforts to instill the ways of merchandising into his daughter's husband. In this book the husband wrote out the title, dedication, and about half the final text of an apocalyptic treatise on the possibility that the prophetic passages in the Book of Revelation might reveal what was foreordained to come to pass in New England. Its title reads: "Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica ad *per* [*sic*] Aspectum Novi Orbis configurata Or Some few Lines towards a Description of the New Heaven, as it makes to those who stand on the New Earth." Confirmatory evidence in support of his thesis was deduced from a belief that the American natives were descendants from the lost Jewish tribes, and this aspect of the argument enabled the author to dedicate the treatise in its published version to Sir William Ashurst and the other members of the Corporation of the New England Company. None of these had met him, but Sewall knew that the Ashursts had heard of him. He had received a letter from Sir Henry on May 15, 1697, and in December, Peter Sergeant, returning from a business trip to England, brought Sewall another letter from Sir Henry dated August 25. It is permissible to guess that Sergeant, through whom much of the money remitted by the New England Company reached Boston, had talked with the Ashursts about Sewall as a possible successor to Stoughton, whom they were anxious to replace.

The guesswork continues to what Sewall heard of conversations in London, for all concerned were discreet in what was confided to surviving letters. It is observable, however, that there can have been no delay in the rewriting and printing of the *Phænomena*, for it was off the press on November 10, 1697. On that day the *Anne*, Captain Jonathan Foy, was tied up to the wharf in Boston, preparing to

¹ *Ibid.*, 181-182.

sail for England. But winter weather set in early and severely, so that it was not until March 3, 1697/98, that Sewall dated the letter that accompanied the dedication copies sent by the *Anne*. She also took six more copies for Sir William's brother Henry with a letter dated March 5. Foy fell down to Nantasket on the ninth and set off next morning.

Sewall's lucubrations on the availability of New England as a landing place for the Lord's second advent were not allowed to hibernate while the dedication copies were awaiting the sailing of a mail boat. When the Massachusetts Council assembled on November 10, 1697, he presented to Lieutenant Governor Stoughton seven copies of his *Phænomena*, making appropriate remarks which are preserved in his diary.¹ In addition, eight of his fellow Councillors each received a copy, according to a list headed "Phænomena given away" which overruns two pages following the preliminary draft of the work mentioned above. Four days later eighty-four copies had been distributed to sixty-four individuals including two Jews not named. November 14 must have been a busy day, for twenty-three recipients are named under that date. The next day started off well, but the inevitable distractions left the list open, doubtless because he was to ride to Salem on the sixteenth, when "As went along in Boston I saw Sheriff Bradford; and gave him one of the *Phænomena* for his Father, as was on horseback."² The list notes the names of a dozen people in Salem who had copies, and as many more in Hartford. In all, 230 copies are accounted for, the latest dated 1701.

Sewall's letter to Sir Henry Ashurst dated March 5, 1697/98, had a hopeful postscript, dated the seventh, addressed to Sir William: "In the last page please to insert 1629 between 1628 and 1630. And if there be any mistake in your Honours Title, I ask pardon for one unversd in things of that nature; and pray it may be amended; especially if any Bookseller should desire to print it: as here it meets with some Acceptance."³

There is, in a long letter to the Reverend John Wise from the author written a month later, on April 12, further comment on the acceptance of the copies distributed locally: "You have exceedingly grattified me in being, I think the first, who has moved any Question to me, or favoured me with an objection."⁴ The copies sent to London did not arouse the Corporation to immediate action, for it

¹ 5 *Collections*, I. 463.

² *Ibid.*, 463.

³ 6 *Collections*, I. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 196.

was a year and a half later before, Stoughton's financial reports being still long overdue, new blood was introduced into the New England Commissioners. The only account of what took place then that has come to light is in an entry in Sewall's diary dated October 14, 1699:

I meet with the Governour [Bellomont], Lt. Gov. [Stoughton], Mr. I. Mather, etc., about the Indian Affair, which is the first time. The Lord make me faithfull and usefull in it. Govr. Ashurst's Letter was read wherein Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Neh. Walter, S. Sewall, Jno. Foster, Mr. Peter Seargeant, and Mr. Thomas Bannistor were added.¹

It was not until the following May 3 that Sewall opened his official correspondence with Sir William by notifying him that "The last Fall, I had notice of my being entrusted with a share in managing the Indian Affairs, And presently upon it, the Commissioners were pleasd to appoint me their Secretary."² He may have delayed writing in a hope of being able to report that he was getting the business in order, for he wrote Ashurst again on August 2 "to enclose Mr. Stoughton's Accounts for the years 1698 and 1699, which are approved and Recorded here. . . ."³ The new secretary was not yet free of the old one, however, for he recorded in his diary on January 10, 1700/01: "This day I waited upon the Lt. Governour at Dorchester and spent about two hours in looking over and ordering Corporation Bonds, but brought none away with me."⁴

The new officer succeeded in getting his predecessor to complete his financial reports, but he neglected to leave a record of his own first statement of the missionary outlay or of the date when the Company's New England securities came into his possession. Governor Ashurst may have animadverted on Stoughton's accounts for his last two years, 1698 and 1699, which Sewall forwarded on August 2, 1700. Sixteen weeks later, on November 20, no more than time for one good round-trip passage, Sewall wrote Governor Ashurst's brother to this effect:

Are not all one Mother's Children. Give the softest words you can devise, when write to the Publick. Am sorry such Returns were not made as might be to your Satisfaction. Entreat that no discouragement may hinder your improving your Interest in behalf of the college, etc.⁵

The Earl of Bellomont, whose governorship also included New

¹ 5 *Collections*, v. 502. ² 6 *Collections*, I. 231. ³ *Ibid.*, 239. ⁴ 5 *Collections*, vi. 29.

⁵ 6 *Collections*, I. 245.

York, may have reminded the Boston Commissioners that their funds were available for the promotion of missionary work in that portion of his territory, for Sewall reported to him on January 21, 1700/01, that there had been a meeting on December 30 at which £40 had been allotted to Mr. Freeman at Schenectady "to encourage and assist him in Gospellizing the Indians," and £30 to Mr. Lydius of Albany, adding of the Commissioners that

Their year begins in October last. The Stock is considerably sunk by bad debts, which occasions the allowing no more. The Corporation have sent over Bills of Exchange drawn on Mr. Peter Sergeant, Mr. Epaphras Shrimpton, and Mr. Francis Clark, for six hundred pounds, But tis at 3 months sight, and so not to be demanded till March, 30, 1701. I shall send the Books as opportunity presents.¹

These books may be mentioned in two letters written on August 4:

Writt to Mr. Abraham Dupeister at New-york, inclosing Mr. Belchar, Pemberton, and Willards Sermons. Prayd him to convey Mr. Vreeman's Dictionary and Grammar to him which I send per Lucas Kersteed.

Letter to Mr. Vreeman of Scenectady informing him of the Cambridge Dictionary,² Grammar and Confession of Faith; that might examin and see if there were any affinity between their Indians and ours in their Language. Inclosed a *Joseph sold*, $\frac{1}{2}$ Duzen verses opening the 18th Century. Capt. Davis conveys my Letters.³

On September 29, 1701, Sewall waited on Increase Mather to desire his appointment of a meeting of the Commissioners, but without success as Mather was going to Lynn the next day.⁴ On December 9 a meeting is reflected by another remittance of £40 to Mr. B. Freeman through Abraham Du Peister, in a bill drawn by Thomas Palmer of Boston on William Janeway in New York.⁵ The payment made in April, 1702, to the Huguenot pastor at New Oxford has already been considered. The chance entry in Sewall's letter book of a note dated December 4, 1703, desiring the company of Nehemiah Walter at a meeting of the Commissioners at the Council Chamber at two in the afternoon the next Monday⁶ is interesting as showing that Sewall personally attended to these details although

¹ 6 Collections, I. 250.

² John Eliot's *Indian Grammar Begun* was printed in 1666, and two editions are known of a broadside, *The Christian Covenanting Confession*, of uncertain date but Cambridge printing, in which the Indian and English texts are given in parallel columns. A Cambridge-printed Indian "Dictionary" is new to bibliographers.

³ 6 Collections, I. 257.

⁴ 5 Collections, VI. 41-42.

⁵ 6 Collections, I. 265-266.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 287-288.

he employed the Council's official messenger, James Maxwell, to deliver the notices.

There is sufficient evidence that Judge Sewall was not an accomplished accountant. He had more time than his predecessors for the business of the missionary cause, but he did not find it easier to attend to. He told of his troubles in the diary on January 14, 1703/04, when he succeeded in getting the Commissioners together to attend to the business of the new year of the Indian work which began at the end of October:

Got an Overseers Meeting at Col. Fosters [*torn*] render and pass my Account but could not get through with it; met with some gross mistakes or such as fear'd were so; and had not time. Col. Foster offers me to carry all I have done, into Leger parcells.¹

The aftermath of this trouble appears in the diary a year later, on January 29, 1704/05:

I buy the two Folios of Mr. Flavell's works for £3.10-0 and gave them to Mr. Foster for his helping me in my Account last winter, to send to the Corporation.²

Like other nonprofessionals who have to deal with accounting problems, Sewall apparently found it easier to try to balance his books once a year than to keep a ledger promptly entered up. This produced its own set of complications, some of which found their way into his diary on March 6, 1707/08, in a reference to a report for the year that had ended six months before:

Feria Septima, March 6. 1707/8. Having the Company's Account written out; I went to Col. Foster to pray him to be present to examin it; went to the Majr. Genl. [Wait Winthrop] to acquaint him that I design'd a Meeting at my house which he consented to: Then I went to Maxwell to order him to warn the Commissioners; which he immediatly took in hand. Then going up the prison-Lane I met Mr. Sergeant, who told me of Mr. Arthur Mason's Funeral, which I knew nothing of before; neither did I suspect it; thinking it would be defer'd till next week for sake of Mr. Norton and his wife. But now I could not go back for fear of losing my opportunity of finishing and sending my Accounts. As soon as ever had Sign'd, left other important Business; and went all away to go to the Funeral; but when we came to the Schoolhouse Lane end, we saw and heard the Funeral was gon; and so came back. I even despair'd of finishing my Account the Ships threatn'd to sail so soon; and I was taken up so much with my Inventory. But by the Kindness of God, I got well through it, made two fair Copies of the Original, and had them Subscrib'd by the Commissioners attesting

¹ 5 *Collections*, VI. 92.

² *Ibid.*, 122.

their examination and Allowance of them. Not one error discern'd. *Laus Deo Adjutori*.¹

The money that was sent to America annually from 1655 to 1775 by the New England Company crossed the Atlantic as commercial goods consigned to Boston merchants who placed them on sale and at the same time credited the exchange value agreed upon in London to the financial representative of the Commissioners who acted for the Corporation in the dealings with its individual beneficiaries. The bills of exchange covering these shipments gave two amounts, the value of the sterling funds which were remitted and the equivalent thereof in Massachusetts money which the New England merchants had agreed to pay. During the years covered by Sewall's receipt book, Massachusetts paper bills of credit were steadily and rapidly sinking in value, as may be seen most clearly in the summary of Sewall's payments to the Treasurer of Harvard College on account of Robert Boyle's bequest held by the London Society as trustee. At one time the amount Sewall handled for distribution was in nominal amount twice the sum that was turned over by the Corporation in London.

One link in these financial transactions does not appear in the manuscript volume—the way in which the actual cash paid out by Sewall came into his possession from the merchants who received the goods shipped from England and acted as the colonial bankers. There were difficulties at times. The bills came from London at sixty or ninety days' sight, and the merchants on whom they were drawn sometimes refused to discount this interval by a prompt payment of cash, although on one occasion when this happened there is room for a suspicion that the fact that the money was wanted for shipment to Manhattan may have influenced the refusal. Another year the regular remittance from London did not arrive, but there was no apparent hesitation in arranging for a loan of the whole amount required for carrying on the missionary work and paying promptly all the usual salaries and other benefactions. The memoranda of these arrangements provide a useful glimpse of banking practices in Boston at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

One of the incidents of more than weekly frequency in Sewall's life at this time was so much a routine matter that he never found occasion to mention it in his diary. This was the appearance at his office

¹ *5 Collections*, VI. 218-219.

door of applicants for money that had been promised them as a gratuity from the London missionary society. They were of every social class, and they appeared when they needed the money or when they happened to have an occasion for being in Boston. One of those who came most often was a fellow Commissioner, Edward Bromfield, a leading Boston merchant who did a considerable business supplying the local shopkeepers and traders throughout the province. Many of these traders, in turn, especially those in the region of the Cape, regularly furnished supplies to the natives who were on the books of the Commissioners, accepting their signed orders which were collected by turning them in to Bromfield in lieu of cash. Other traders applied directly to Sewall with orders from their Indian customers. Several of these traders were themselves in receipt of regular payments for keeping an eye on the Indian settlements. Another considerable group receiving money from Sewall were the ministers in the outlying districts, many of whom supplemented their less dependable salaries by regular cash payments for exercising a supervision over the natives who lived near them. All these were in some measure under the general oversight of the regular salaried missionaries: John Eliot, whose special care was the district north and west of Boston, John Cotton for the Cape, and the Mayhew family on Martha's Vineyard.

The Indians who came to Boston to claim their pay divided roughly into two groups: those who were working for the Company as preachers and schoolteachers, and those who received a regular stipend in recognition of their influence among their people. A number of these latter appear to have been persons of character who co-operated with the English in adapting the native way of life to the changing conditions. There were others, like Hercules of Harwich, who may have been paid as an inducement to keep themselves and their intimates from getting into trouble. Closely linked with these individual native beneficiaries were a number of English settlers, many of them country housewives living near Indians, who were paid for charitable as well as educational services to the natives.

Judge Sewall was never a busy man but, like other useful citizens of his social rating, he was always occupied. At the same time he was rarely too much engaged to attend to all the functions of community life. The callers who came to the side door of the office in his house must often have found him out. When they caught him, as most of

them eventually did, they must also have taken more of his time than he would have chosen to give to this particular good cause. All of them had much to tell him which it was well for the administrator of the missionary work to know, but his circumstances were such that they and not he usually had the choice of when to leave as well as come. Most of these callers who came to get money represented other beneficiaries as well as themselves, bringing signed orders which had to be examined before they could be accepted. When the money, and occasionally supplies in kind, had been agreed upon, Sewall wrote out in his own hand a formal receipt in the book kept for this purpose, and this receipt was signed by the recipient before the money was handed over. These receipts served as vouchers and likewise as daybook entries. The evidence seems to show that it was Sewall's practice to let them accumulate until the end of the year, late in October, and then, at a convenient time or when it could no longer be postponed, to make up from these entries his annual report of the year's outlay.

This practice in transacting the missionary business had in all probability been established by the earlier Massachusetts Commissioners who were responsible for the Indian work. They had regularly been men of affairs who were in business or, like William Stoughton, kept a business office where the beneficiaries could apply for what was due them and be attended to by a regularly employed clerk in accordance with business routine. When Sewall succeeded to this responsibility, he had an office, a room in his house where he kept his books and papers and saw those who called on business, but he had never so much to attend to as to require clerical assistance. Perhaps if he had realized what was ahead of him when he took over the accounts from Stoughton, he would have provided that the missionary fund should pay for a clerk to look after these details, but thereafter the time for this never arose. He took it upon himself and for all we know carried it without interruption from 1699 to the autumn of 1708. Then it seems certain that he entered a receipt which was signed on the last vacant space on the last page of the receipt book which had been in use when he took over the New England Company impedimenta from Stoughton's clerk. Sewall then had to have a new book in which to enter receipts. What he did undoubtedly gratified an ingrained Puritan fondness for wasting nothing, but it may have satisfied equally a desire to get rid of something that had

long been in the way, doing nothing, and it spared him the necessity of going abroad at a moment when he had use for the book. He began to use the book in which Stoughton's accounts for 1680 had been entered and which is now on the shelves of the Society's library. He proceeded to fill in chronological order the recto of the six leaves which Stoughton's clerk had passed over, then filled the blank space below the single receipt taken in 1702, and went on from the page after the Commission of 1704 until, on June 18, 1719, the old man's shaky hand wrote out the last receipt, one for three pounds paid to James Gillkrist for a reason unstated. It was not his last entry in the book. Two years later Harvard College had to name a new treasurer, and some question may have arisen regarding the amount of money paid to the College from the New England Company funds in compliance with the terms of a bequest to the College by Robert Boyle held by the Company. After listing the amounts paid each year from 1711 to 1721, amounting in all to £1,301 15s 2d, Sewall wrote:

Mr. John White, or John White Esqr. Treasurer of Harvard College died Decr. 11th 1721. *Ætatis* 52.

*Præceptor dulcis, nunquam rediturus, abivit:
Plorant Australes, ordine quisque suo.*

S. S.

Twelve years is a long while for a man in public life, with more important matters that must be kept in mind, to spend his time attending on the wants of country housewives and Indian converts. Sewall was not a great jurist but he was a dependable judge, and the Governor's Councillors relied on him to prevent their making inadvertent mistakes. He was not shirking in 1711 when he wrote to a fellow Commissioner, Sir Charles Hobby, in command at Annapolis Royal: "My Treasurer's place is too burdensom to me. I have thought of laying it down at the next commissioners Meeting."¹ It was easier thought than done, for retirement had to be preceded by the provision of a successor, and he still held the office ten years later. But his zeal for gospelizing native Americans waned. He became less careful in making out the receipts that had to be signed if he was to make up a correct annual report to London. In New England there were other indications that the missionary work among the aborigines living in eastern Massachusetts had not been in vain. Many of the natives had moved away in search of happier hunting

¹ 6 *Collections*, I. 412.

grounds, but a goodly number remained, and most of these had adapted themselves to the dominant way of life of the folk who had intruded upon the land. The Indians no longer gathered to feast about their kitchen middens. Instead, clambakes and corn roasts had become a characteristic of rural church calendars, many times prepared with a skill inherited from a long past that tended the fragrant and succulent fires of the new Gospel life.

As the years passed, the receipt book was used occasionally for other than strictly missionary payments. On March 7, 1715/16, Eleazer Derby received from Sewall "Fifty pounds in Bills of Credit freely given towards building the Meetinghouse to be erected in Church-Green Boston." A new meetinghouse was a worthy local charity, but it is not easy to see that it had a legitimate claim on money that had been given for converting the native heathen. Another entry six days later is probably personal, but so little is known of the changes that had taken place in the management of the Society's funds that it is impossible, in view of a curious reference elsewhere to a company wharf in Charlestown, to say confidently that none of the money had been invested in Boston real estate.

March 13, 1715/16. Receiv'd of Samuel Sewall by discount for Rent six pounds and Ten shillings, Bills of Credit, Twelve pounds nineteen shillings and 4d in full for my Disbursements in Repairing the House where I dwell, according to Agreement upon my taking a New Lease: I say Receiv'd in full per me

JOHN DUPEE

The possibility that contributions were made to the Huguenot refugees from the income from Mr. Mouche's gift, which had been transferred to Boston for investment, is revived by another entry this same spring, when the silence of the diary implies that Sewall was preoccupied:

Boston June 19, 1716. Received of honorable Samuel Sweall [*sic*] five pound for his subscription towards building the French Church per

STEPHEN BOUTINEAU

Another group of receipts entered during the last two years of this book have a tenuous connection with the Indian work that does not explain their presence there. They began on December 11, 1717:

Receiv'd of Samuel Sewall One Speckled Silk Bag containing One larg Packet of Paper seal'd up, One Silver Can and Spoon; with other Plate pind up in a

Linen Cloth by itself: All which was left with the said Sewall to keep for the use and by the Direction of Madam Bridget Usher of Boston Widow. I say Receiv'd per me

LYDIA KAY

When the well-to-do Madam Usher returned to England to live with her daughter, she left Sewall as cotrustee in charge of her New England property. When he had to settle her estate, he used this book for his vouchers. The principal heirs, the daughter and her husband, at his suggestion made a gift of £100 to the New England Company in the mother's name.

Appendix

THE following Index lists the persons who appear in the Receipt Book (1708-1719) as having received money. In the cases where an entry under a person's name is preceded by "*See*," the money involved was paid to the recipient through a third person. In those cases where the money for which a receipt was signed was to be paid by the immediate recipient to a third person, the entries are preceded by "For."

The duplication of the amount of money paid under the name of both the immediate recipient and the ultimate beneficiary leaves a false impression of the total amount distributed by Sewall as the representative of the London missionary society. Yet it may be that this impression is realistic as a reflection of the effect of this largess upon the economic life, especially in that portion of south-eastern Massachusetts known as "The Cape."

		£	s	d
ABIGAIL FELIX				
Oct. 16, 1710	<i>See</i> Hiacoomes, John			
Oct. 14, 1712	<i>See</i> Hiacoomes, John	0	10	0
ADAMS, JACOB				
June 14, 1714	Loan	3	0	0
ALLEN, BENJAMIN, teacher at Martha's Vineyard				
Apr. 15, 1709	Salary	6	0	0
Oct., 1709	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	20	0	0
Dec. 15, 1709	Salary	3	3	4
Oct. 22, 1711	For Hercules of Harwich	4	10	0
ALLEN, EBENEZER, of Chilmark				
Feb. 23, 1708/09	For various persons at Martha's Vineyard	38	0	0
Dec. 15, 1709	For Elisha and others at Martha's Vineyard	14	10	0
Dec. 16, 1709	For Rhodolphus Thacher	5	0	0
	For Japheth Hannit	13	5	0
Jan. 14, 1709/10	<i>See</i> Winslow, Edward	10	0	0
Feb. 6, 1710/11	For Japheth Hannit	30	0	0
	For Josiah Torrey	20	1	4
	For Thomas Mayhew	10	0	0
	For Rhodolphus Thacher	10	0	0
	For Elisha and sundry other Indians	20	0	0
Mar. 21, 1711/12	For Japheth Hannit and others	31	0	0
Apr. 4, 1712	For Rhodolphus Thacher	5	0	0
June 28, 1712	For Experience Mayhew	10	0	0
Mar. 12, 1712/13	For Elisha	5	0	0
	For Souamog	4	0	0
	For John Talman, Nehemiah, and Hosea	3	0	0
	For Patience	1	0	0
	For Japheth Hannit's widow	12	0	0

Mar. 5, 1713/14	For salaries of Isaac Ompany and others at Martha's Vineyard	33	0	0
Mar. 12, 1714/15	For several Indians' salaries and for "making the Gay-Head Ditch that closed up the Neck" ¹	17	14	0
July 11, 1715	For Josiah Torrey	5	0	0
Apr. 9, 1716	For salaries at Martha's Vineyard and for "making the Corporation-Gate at the Entrance of the Gay-head Neck" ²	28	15	0
Apr. 11, 1716	For Josiah Torrey	5	0	0
Apr. 17, 1717	For several teachers, magistrates, and schoolmasters at Martha's Vineyard	33	0	0
Apr. 20, 1717	For Robert Cathcart	5	0	0
Aug. 2, 1718	For various Indians at Martha's Vineyard	38	15	0
Mar. 28, 1719	For Joash, Eliab, and other Indians at Martha's Vineyard	44	7	0
ALLEN, JEREMIAH, Province Treasurer				
Apr. 3, 1718	Fines before Sewall as a justice ³	2	0	0
ALLEN, JOHN				
Nov. 1, 1715	For Job Soomanan	6	0	0
Apr. 4, 1718	For Jonas Aososit alias Hasaway	3	0	0
Apr. 7, 1718	For three destitute women at Martha's Vineyard	2	0	0
ALLEN, JOSEPH				
May 13, 1713	"Received of Elisha Hutchinson Esq. by the hands of Samuel Sewall" ⁴	10	1	5
ANTHONY, JOHN				
Dec. 5, 1711	<i>See</i> Swift, John	6	0	0
AOSOSIT (HASAWAY), JONAS, Indian preacher and teacher at Nantucket				
Apr. 4, 1718	<i>See</i> Allen, John	3	0	0
APTHORP, CHARLES ⁵				
Dec. 14, 1716	For Eldad Tupper	34	0	0
Feb. 1, 1716/17	For Josiah Cotton and Josiah Shanks, salary	47	0	0
Mar. 27, 1719	For the creditors of John Neesnummin	15	0	0
AQUAS, JAPHETH, Indian teacher at Nantucket				
Ca. June, 1719	Salary	2	0	0

¹ 5 *Collections*, vi. 434, 435.

² *Ibid.*, 435.

³ This item possibly relates to Sewall's personal business.

⁴ This may not be New England Company business.

⁵ All Apthorp's receipts were signed for his "master," Thomas Fitch.

AQUITTACUS

Feb. 7, 1718/19	<i>See</i> Chandler, John, Jr.	0	10	0
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ASSOOWUT, ABEL

Oct. 14, 1710		7	0	0
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ATHEARN, JABEZ, teacher at Christian Town, Martha's Vineyard

Dec. 13, 1718	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	20	0	0
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Feb. 20, 1718/19	Salary	20	0	0
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AVERY, JAMES

July 11, 1715	<i>See</i> Winthrop, John	6	0	0
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BAKER, DANIEL, minister at Sherborn

Mar. 11, 1713/14	Salary for preaching to the Natick Indians	10	0	0
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Feb. 17, 1714/15	Salary	10	0	0
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Jan. 20, 1715/16	Salary	10	0	0
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Feb. 14, 1716/17	Salary	10	0	0
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May 29, 1718	Salary	10	0	0
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Jan. 1, 1718/19	Salary	10	0	0
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BALY, MARY

Apr. 13, 1709	For diet and clothing of Caleb Brand	7	18	0
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BASSETT, WILLIAM

Dec. 3, 1716	For Eldad Tupper	13	10	0
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BILLINGS, RICHARD, of Little Compton, preacher to the Indians

Oct. 24, 1709	<i>See</i> Dyre, Henry	36	0	0
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Oct. 29, 1714	Salary	16	0	0
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Feb. 10, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	9	0	0
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Feb. 22, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	5	0	0
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Feb. 14, 1715/16	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	25	0	0
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Nov. 22, 1716	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	25	0	0
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Nov. 15, 1717	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward			
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Nov. 22, 1718	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	15	0	0
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BORLAND, JOHN

Nov. 24, 1711	For Mrs. Isabel Lydius	15	0	0
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BOURN, N.

Jan. 5, 1708/09	For John of Falmouth	5	0	0
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Aug. 17, 1709	For old John's salary "for preaching to the Indians at Falmouth till the latter end of June last the time of his death," to be delivered to Mr. Metcalfe to dispose of	4	0	0
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Mar. 31, 1712	For Rowland Cotton, salary	25	0	0
	For Simon Papmonnit, Ezekiel, and Ephraim	18	0	0

Dec. 8, 1716	For Simon Papmonnit	6	0	0
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	For Widow Wampom	0	10	0
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Samuel Sewall and the New England Company 81

	For Manitwekit	0	10	0
Dec. 10, 1718	For John Neesnummin	2	0	0
BOUTINEAU, STEPHEN				
June 19, 1716	Subscription towards building the French church ¹	5	0	0
BRAND, CALEB, Indian scholar at Roxbury				
Apr. 13, 1709	See Baly, Mary	7	18	0
BRIANT, JOHN and WILLIAM, teachers at Dartmouth				
Dec. 30, 1713	See Pope, Seth	4	0	0
BROMFIELD, EDWARD				
Nov. 13, 1708	For Samuel Danforth, salary ²	15	0	0
Oct., 1709	For Benjamin Allen	20	0	0
Jan. 22, 1710/11	For Samuel Danforth, salary	25	0	0
	For Josiah Torrey	3	4	4
Oct. 7, 1713	"In part"	26	0	0
Dec. 25, 1714	For Eldad Tupper, salary	30	0	0
	For Samuel Danforth, salary	25	0	0
Feb. 10, 1714/15	For Richard Billings	9	0	0
Feb. 22, 1714/15	For Richard Billings	5	0	0
Apr. 4, 1715	For Eldad Tupper	10	12	0
Jan. 14, 1715/16	For Eldad Tupper, salary	40	0	0
	For salaries of Indians under Tupper's inspection	4	0	0
Feb. 14, 1715/16	For Richard Billings, salary	25	0	0
Nov. 22, 1716	For Richard Billings	25	0	0
	For Eldad Tupper's salary and for salaries of Indians working under him	50	0	0
Nov. 15, 1717	For Samuel Danforth and Richard Billings	70	0	0
Nov. 29, 1717	For Eldad Tupper	53	0	0
Nov. 22, 1718	For Richard Billings	10	0	0
Dec. 26, 1718	For Eldad Tupper	10	0	0
CATHCART, PHEBE				
July 28, 1718	See Cathcart, Thomas			
CATHCART, ROBERT, of Martha's Vineyard				
Mar. 19, 1708/09	For Rhodolphus Thacher	5	0	0
Oct. 18, 1709	For Josiah Torrey	25	0	0
Oct. 28, 1709	For Thomas Mayhew	10	0	0
	For Abel Wowompaqueen	5	0	0
	For John Hannit	5	0	0
June 20, 1710	For several persons at Martha's Vineyard	17	1	0

¹ This almost certainly was a personal donation by Sewall.

² 6 *Collections*, 1. 375.

Apr. 5, 1711	For several Indians at Martha's Vineyard	21	0	0
Mar. 22, 1711/12	For Abel Wowompaqueen	5	0	0
June 27, 1712	For Rhodolphus Thacher	5	0	0
Jan. 30, 1712/13	For Rhodolphus Thacher	5	0	0
Mar. 5, 1713/14	For John Hannit's widow and others at Martha's Vineyard	15	0	0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	For salaries of various Indians at Martha's Vineyard	13	1	0
Mar. 13, 1715/16	For various Indians	6	0	0
Apr. 12, 1717	For Abel Wowompaqueen and Daniel Shoko	10	0	0
Apr. 20, 1717	See Allen, Ebenezer	5	0	0
CATHCART, THOMAS				
July 28, 1718	For his mother, Phebe Cathcart, administratrix for Abel Wowompaqueen and Daniel Shoko	9	0	0
CHANDLER, JOHN, JR.				
Feb. 7, 1718/19	For Josiah Dwight	10	0	0
	For Aquittacus	0	10	0
	For Simon's blind daughter	0	10	0
CHAPIN, JOSIAH				
Ca. Nov., 1708	For Grindall Rawson	25	0	0
	Salary	2	0	0
Ca. Aug., 1709	For Grindall Rawson for Benjamin Larnell (Learnwell)	3	18	0
Nov. 18, 1709	For Grindall Rawson, salary	25	0	0
	Salary	2	0	0
Jan. 31, 1710/11	Salary	2	0	0
	For Grindall Rawson, salary	25	0	0
	For Grindall Rawson for his food and clothes and for teaching Benjamin Larnell ten months	14	0	0
Jan. 3, 1711/12	For Grindall Rawson, salary	25	0	0
	Salary	2	0	0
Feb. 15, 1713/14	Salary	2	0	0
Jan. 20, 1714/15	Salary	2	0	0
	For Grindall Rawson	11	0	0
	For the Widow Printer and the Widow Unkalolet's sister	1	0	0
CHASE, THOMAS				
May 25, 1719	For Experience Mayhew	20	0	0
CHURCH, BENJAMIN				
June 6, 1717	Payment for labor and expenses in laying out lands for Indians at Tiverton	2	13	0

CHURCH, SAMUEL, preacher and teacher at Fall River		
Nov. 10, 1711	Salary	5 0 0
Nov. 19, 1713	<i>See</i> Danforth, Samuel	
Jan. 6, 1715/16	Salary	3 0 0
Nov. 8, 1716	Salary	3 0 0
CLARK, SAMUEL, of Milford		
Jan. 22, 1708/09	<i>See</i> Phillips, Samuel	10 0 0
CLARK, SAMUEL, ruler of Assawomsett		
Nov. 28, 1718	<i>See</i> Clark, Sarah	
CLARK, SAMUEL, JR., ruler of Assawomsett		
Nov. 28, 1718	<i>See</i> Clark, Sarah	
CLARK, SARAH		
Nov. 28, 1718	For Samuel Clark, father of Quittecus, and Samuel Clark, the son, rulers, and for Isaac Wekum of Assawomsett, "superannuated ruler," to be equally divided	1 15 0
CLARK, WILLIAM		
Apr. 12, 1717	Repayment of loan made to Abel Wowompaqueen to buy corn	2 0 0
COCKNICHIT, JOSIAS		
Oct. 26, 1709	<i>See</i> Tupper, Eldad	
COFFIN, EBENEZER, of Nantucket		
Aug. 7, 1711	For Samuel Wiswall for the use of the Indians at Nantucket	2 0 0
Nov. 24, 1713	For the use of the ministers and schoolmaster at Nantucket, with a ream of paper and a parcel of books	26 15 0
Nov. 23, 1714	For the ministers and schoolmaster at Nantucket	20 0 0
COLE, EPHRAIM		
Nov. 25, 1715	For Josiah Cotton, salary	10 0 0
COOLIDGE, ISAAC		
Mar. 11, 1712/13	For Thomas Waban	5 10 0
Mar. 11, 1713/14	For Thomas Waban	3 0 0
May 22, 1714	For Thomas Waban	2 10 0
Jan. 14, 1714/15	For Thomas Waban	2 0 0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	For his mother, Mary Coolidge, for provisions and clothing she furnished Thomas Waban	5 8 0
COOLIDGE, JOHN, of Sherborn		
Aug. 21, 1712	<i>See</i> Rider, William (Thomas Waban's order)	3 0 0

COOLIDGE, MARY

Mar. 11, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Coolidge, Isaac	5	8	0
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CORQUIT, HOSEA

Nov. 2, 1710	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	5	0	0
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COTTON, JOHN, of Newton

Nov. 26, 1713	For his father, Rowland Cotton, salary	11	0	0
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Nov. 20, 1718	For Rowland Cotton, salary	25	0	0
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COTTON, JOSIAH, of Plymouth

Nov. 11, 1709	Salary	20	0	0
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Nov. 17, 1709	For Jacob Hedge for preaching and teaching school at Manomet Ponds	9	0	0
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Nov. 2, 1710	For Hosea Corquit	5	0	0
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	Salary	9	0	0
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Dec. 8, 1710	<i>See</i> Otis, John, Jr.	16	0	0
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Jan. 18, 1710/11	Money assigned to him by the Commissioners, December 27, 1710	5	0	0
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Oct. 25, 1711	Salary	35	0	0
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Oct. 26, 1711	For John Neesnummin and Bethiah Wanno	6	0	0
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Oct. 29, 1714	Salary	20	0	0
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	For Joseph Wanno	5	0	0
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Nov. 6, 1714	<i>See</i> Cutler, Peter	10	0	0
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Mar. 26, 1715	<i>See</i> Cutler, Peter	5	0	0
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July 6, 1715	<i>See</i> Cotton, Rowland	10	0	0
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Oct. 25, 1715	Salary	10	0	0
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	For Joseph Wanno	5	0	0
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Oct. 26, 1715	Salary	5	0	0
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Nov. 25, 1715	<i>See</i> Cole, Ephraim	10	0	0
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Sept. 29, 1716	Contribution towards building an Indian meetinghouse at Manomet Ponds	5	0	0
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Feb. 1, 1716/17	<i>See</i> Apthorp, Charles			
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Nov. 1, 1717	For Joseph Wanno	5	0	0
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Apr. 23, 1718	<i>See</i> Fitch, Thomas	35	0	0
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Oct. 30, 1718	Salary	10	0	0
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June 17, 1719	For Joseph Wanno	5	0	0
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	Salary	10	0	0
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COTTON, ROWLAND, of Sandwich

Dec. 3, 1708	Salary	25	0	0
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	For preachers and schoolmasters	18	0	0
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Nov. 3, 1709	Salary	25	0	0
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	For Indian salaries and "six Coats Charity"	15	0	0
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Nov. 7, 1710	Salary	25	0	0
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	For salaries of Simon Papmonnit and others under his inspection	17	15	0
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Mar. 31, 1712	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.	25	0	0
Sept. 17, 1713	Salary	14	0	0
Nov. 26, 1713	<i>See</i> Cotton, John	11	0	0
Dec. 14, 1713	<i>See</i> Metcalfe, Joseph	8	0	0
Sept. 23, 1714	Money for building of Mashpee meeting-house	50	0	0
Nov. 5, 1714	Salaries of himself, Simon Papmonnit, and Simon Pognit	37	0	0
July 6, 1715	For Josiah Cotton	10	0	0
Nov. 16, 1715	Salary	25	0	0
Sept. 20, 1716	Salary	25	0	0
Sept. 19, 1717	Salary	25	0	0
Nov. 20, 1718	<i>See</i> Cotton, John	25	0	0
Dec. 24, 1718	For Simon Papmonnit	2	0	0
CREESE, THOMAS, JR.				
Nov. 30, 1717	For Daniel Greenleaf	18	9	11
CROCKER, JOSIAH				
Oct. 28, 1718	For Simon Papmonnit	6	0	0
CROSMAN, ROBERT				
Apr. 7, 1719	Reward for defending Titicut Plantation against the claim of Bridgewater	10	0	0
CROWELL, JABEZ				
Mar. 13, 1715/16	For Jabez of Naushon	2	0	0
CUTLER, PETER				
Nov. 6, 1714	For Josiah Cotton, salary	10	0	0
Mar. 26, 1715	For Josiah Cotton	5	0	0
DAILLÉ, PIERRE				
Ca. June, 1713	For the Reverend Mr. Mars	1	0	0
DANFORTH, ELIJAH				
Aug. 29, 1718	For the heirs of William Hahaton, the amount due him July 21, 1717, the day of his death	3	15	0
DANFORTH, SAMUEL, of Taunton				
Nov. 13, 1708	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	15	0	0
Nov. 29, 1708	<i>See</i> Pope, Seth	20	16	0
Oct. 25, 1709	Salary	25	0	0
	Repayment of expenses "in assisting the condemned Men" ¹	1	0	0
	For William Simonds's board	0	5	0
	For messenger to Taunton	0	3	3
Nov. 19, 1709	<i>See</i> Pope, Seth	31	9	6
Dec. 7, 1709	<i>See</i> Momontaug, Jeremiah	2	0	0

¹ I.e., two Indians condemned at Bristol for murder. *See* 5 *Collections*, VI. 265.

Feb. 23, 1709/10	See Pope, Seth	3	12	0
Jan. 22, 1710/11	See Bromfield, Edward	25	0	0
Apr. 24, 1711	See Pope, Seth	7	10	0
Nov. 16, 1711	See Hodges, Henry	25	0	0
Dec. 25, 1711	See Pope, Seth	42	19	6
July 14, 1712	See Willis, Jeremiah	1	9	0
Nov. 19, 1713	For salaries of himself, John Hiacoomes, and Samuel Church and for miscella- neous expenditures	37	10	0
Dec. 25, 1714	See Bromfield, Edward	25	0	0
Oct. 27, 1715	"For myself and others"	27	12	0
May 24, 1716	See Hunt, Samuel	2	18	0
Sept. 19, 1716	Salary	25	0	0
Nov. 1, 1717	For Edward Richmond	2	0	0
	For Ruth Indian	0	10	0
Nov. 15, 1717	See Bromfield, Edward			
Nov. 5, 1718	Salary	25	0	0
DERBY, ELEAZER				
Mar. 7, 1715/16	"Freely given towards building the Meetinghouse to be erected in Church- Green Boston" ¹	50	0	0
DUPEE, JOHN ²				
Mar. 13, 1715/16	Discount for rent	6	10	0
	Repayment of expenditures in "Repairing the House where I dwell, according to Agreement upon my taking New Lease"	12	19	4
DWIGHT, JOSIAH, of Woodstock				
Apr. 21, 1715	See Eastman, Philip	5	0	0
Nov. 7, 1716		5	0	0
Feb. 7, 1718/19	See Chandler, John, Jr.	10	0	0
DYRE, HENRY				
Oct. 24, 1709	For Richard Billings	36	0	0
EARL, JEFFRY				
Apr. 2, 1717	See Hunt, Samuel			
EASTMAN, PHILIP				
Apr. 21, 1715	For Josiah Dwight	5	0	0
ELI MICAH				
Aug. 22, 1717	"Gratuity" for food, medicine, and nurs- ing furnished to Robert Indian, a Port Royal soldier, during a three-months fatal sickness at his house	1	15	0

¹ This entry may refer to a personal gift by Sewall.

² This entry may relate to an item of Sewall's personal business.

ELIAB, Indian preacher at Martha's Vineyard				
Mar. 28, 1719	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer			
ELIOT, BENJAMIN				
Jan. 1, 1713/14	100 reams of Genoa paper bought from Eliakim Hutchinson and Daniel Oliver	75	0	0
Apr. 19, 1714	25 reams of Genoa paper	18	15	0
ELISHA, Martha's Vineyard Indian				
Dec. 15, 1709	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer			
Feb. 6, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer			
Mar. 12, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	5	0	0
ENGLISH, SAMUEL				
July 21, 1710	<i>See</i> Fisher, John	4	2	6
EPHRAIM				
Mar. 31, 1712	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.			
ESTHER				
May 26, 1711	<i>See</i> Guild, Samuel			
EZEKIEL				
Mar. 31, 1712	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.			
FANILL, JOHN				
Nov. 20, 1713	For Joseph Wanno	4	0	0
FISHER, JOHN				
Nov. 23, 1708	For Thomas Waban	2	8	0
	For James Speen	0	18	0
	For John Wamsquon	0	18	0
	Payment for his "labor" with the above-named Indians	4	0	0
	Order on Thomas Fitch for six blankets for six Indians at Ponkapoag			
Nov. 4, 1709	For the interpreter and rulers of Natick and Dedham and for charity there	14	15	0
	Salary	4	0	0
July 21, 1710	Bills of credit to be delivered to the children of Samuel English, lately deceased in Her Majesty's service at Casco Fort, "two parts to his eldest Son; and to the rest, equal shares"	4	2	6
	One fuzee			
Nov. 21, 1710	Forty yards of duffel for the Indians at Natick	10	10	0
	Salary	4	0	0
Nov. 5, 1711	Salary	4	0	0
Dec. 9, 1713	Salary and money for several Indians at Natick	10	0	0

Dec. 21, 1714	Salary	4	0	0
Nov. 23, 1716	Salary and money for several Natick Indians	15	0	6
Dec. 4, 1717	For Samuel Abraham, Solomon Thomas, and Thomas Waban	3	0	0
	Salary	4	0	0
Nov. 25, 1718	Salary	4	0	0
	For Natick rulers	3	0	0
	For John Thomas	2	0	0
FITCH, THOMAS				
Nov. 23, 1708	<i>See</i> Swift, Thomas			
Aug. 28, 1714	Repayment of money lent for Indian affairs	200	0	0
May 16, 1715	"In full of accounts"	44	10	9
Dec. 14, 1716	<i>See</i> Apthorp, Charles	34	0	0
Feb. 1, 1716/17	<i>See</i> Apthorp, Charles	47	0	0
Apr. 23, 1718	For Josiah Cotton, salary	35	0	0
	"In full of accounts"	20	8	0
Mar. 27, 1719	<i>See</i> Apthorp, Charles	15	0	0
FLAGG, JOHN, Boston messenger				
Nov. 14, 1715	Payment for services done the Commissioners	1	0	0
	Money for wood and candles	0	12	0
July 8, 1717	Payment for calling a Commissioners' meeting	2	0	0
FRANCIS (FRANCES), HANNAH				
Nov. 30, 1710	Payment for boarding and schooling Joseph Daniel, four-year-old Indian	5	4	0
FULLAM, FRANCIS				
Mar. 13, 1718/19	For Thomas Waban, Abraham Speen, Samuel Abraham, and other proprietors of Natick	20	10	0
GALPIN, CALVIN, of Mendon				
Sept. 23, 1714	<i>See</i> Rawson, John			
GEORGE JONATHAN, of Little Compton				
Oct. 23, 1714	<i>See</i> Williston, Dorothy			
Nov. 20, 1718	<i>See</i> Williston, Ichabod			
GERRISH, SAMUEL				
Feb. 13, 1710/11	For Experience Mayhew	1	0	0
GILLKRIST, JAMES ¹				
Nov. 20, 1718	Payment for "fitting up" Sewall's tomb "in the new Burying place in Boston			

¹ The first of these entries certainly, and the second probably, relates to Sewall's personal business. *See* 5 *Collections*, VII. 292.

	with wrought Connecticut Stone, most of which I have already prepared"	6	0	0
June 18, 1719	"In part"	3	0	0
GOOKIN, DANIEL, of Sherborn				
Oct. 25, 1709	Salary	15	0	0
Oct. 10, 1710	See Gookin, Edmond	15	0	0
Oct. 24, 1711	Part payment for preaching a lecture to the Natick Indians	5	0	0
Mar. 20, 1711/12	See Gookin, Elizabeth	5	0	0
Aug. 22, 1713	See Gookin, Richard	1	0	0
June 8, 1714	See Perry, Nathaniel	14	0	0
GOOKIN, EDMOND				
Oct. 10, 1710	For salary of his father, Daniel Gookin, "for Gospellizing the Indians"	15	0	0
GOOKIN, ELIZABETH				
Mar. 20, 1711/12	For her father, Daniel Gookin	5	0	0
GOOKIN, RICHARD				
Aug. 22, 1713	For his father, Daniel Gookin	1	0	0
GREEN, BARTHOLOMEW				
Jan. 7, 1713/14	See Kneeland, Samuel			
GREENLEAF, DANIEL, of Yarmouth				
June 10, 1710	"By order of the Commissioners"	15	0	0
June 24, 1714	For Ephraim Wampom	3	0	0
Oct. 24, 1717	For salaries of Indian ministers and school- masters	30	0	0
Nov. 30, 1717	See Creese, Thomas, Jr.	18	9	11
May 27, 1718	See Greenleaf, Elizabeth	17	5	8
Oct. 29, 1718	See Miller, John			
Apr. 16, 1719	Salary	12	0	0
GREENLEAF, ELIZABETH				
May 27, 1718	For Daniel Greenleaf for Indians under his inspection	17	5	8
GUILD, SAMUEL				
May 26, 1711	Reimbursement for relieving Esther, an Indian, and others	3	0	0
HAHATON, AMOS				
May 28, 1719		1	0	0
HAHATON, WILLIAM, of Ponkapoag				
Nov. 12, 1709	See Swift, Thomas	0	10	0
Nov. 1, 1710	Four yards of duffel, "which with Corn I had before is"	4	0	0
Nov. 20, 1711	Salary for preaching at Pecunet	5	0	0
Dec. 5, 1713	See Swift, Thomas	5	0	0

Nov. 26, 1714	<i>See</i> Swift, Thomas	5	0	0
Nov. 18, 1715	<i>See</i> Swift, Thomas	5	0	0
Nov. 2, 1716	<i>See</i> Swift, Thomas	4	15	0
Aug. 29, 1718	<i>See</i> Danforth, Elijah	3	15	0
HANNIT, JAPHETH, Indian preacher at Martha's Vineyard				
Dec. 28, 1708	<i>See</i> Seabury, Samuel	20	0	0
Dec. 16, 1709	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	13	5	0
Jan. 14, 1709/10	<i>See</i> Winslow, Edward	10	0	0
June 20, 1710	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Zacheus	0	11	0
Feb. 6, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	30	0	0
Mar. 21, 1711/12	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer			
Mar. 12, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer (for Japheth Hannit's widow)	12	0	0
HANNIT, JOHN, of Martha's Vineyard				
Oct. 28, 1709	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert	5	0	0
Mar. 5, 1713/14	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert			
HARVARD COLLEGE				
Sept. 8, 1711	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	136	5	2
Aug. 23, 1712	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	135	0	0
Mar. 6, 1713/14	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	135	0	0
July 27, 1714	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	135	0	0
July 26, 1715	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	144	0	0
Feb. 27, 1715/16	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	144	0	0
Sept. 18, 1717	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	81	0	0
July 24, 1718	Payment on account of Robert Boyle's legacy	90	0	0
HEDGE, JACOB, preacher and teacher at Manomet Ponds				
Nov. 17, 1709	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	9	0	0
HEDGE, REBECCA, of Plymouth				
Nov. 18, 1708	<i>See</i> Thomas, Nathaniel	3	0	0
HERCULES, of Harwich, Indian preacher				
Oct. 22, 1711	<i>See</i> Allen, Benjamin	4	10	0
May 7, 1714	<i>See</i> Sturges, Samuel	5	0	0
HIAANAM				
June 11, 1714	<i>See</i> Hunt, Samuel			

HIAANAM, JR.

June 11, 1714 *See* Hunt, Samuel

HIACOOMES, JOHN, preacher and teacher at Quittacus and Assawomsett

Oct. 16, 1710 Salary 7 0 0
 For Abigail Felix, widow, one coat

Oct. 14, 1712 Salary 8 0 0
 For Abigail Felix 0 10 0
 For Old Simon the doctor 0 10 0
 For Thomas Felix 0 10 0

Nov. 19, 1713 *See* Danforth, Samuel

Oct. 21, 1714 Salary¹ 8 0 0

Oct. 30, 1716 *See* Hiacoomes, Mordecai 8 0 0

Nov. 8, 1717 *See* Hiacoomes, Matt 5 0 0

Nov. 13, 1718 *See* Hiacoomes, Matt 5 0 0

HIACOOMES, MATT

Nov. 8, 1717 For his father, John Hiacoomes 5 0 0

Nov. 13, 1718 For his father, John Hiacoomes 5 0 0

HIACOOMES, MORDECAI

Oct. 30, 1716 For his father, John Hiacoomes, for
 preaching and teaching school at Assa-
 womsett 8 0 0

HITCHCOCK, DAVID

June 9, 1716 For his brother-in-law, Samuel Mighell
 of Hartford, "being what was recd. of
 William Rawson Febr. 15, 1714/15" 7 10 0

HOBBY, CHARLES

Jan. 18, 1713/14 Reimbursement of money "advanced to
 John Leverett by the Commissioners
 desire"² 50 0 0

HODGES, HENRY

Nov. 16, 1711 For Samuel Danforth 25 0 0

HOMES (HOLMS), SAMUEL, Indian teacher at Dartmouth

Apr. 24, 1711 *See* Pope, Seth

Dec. 30, 1713 *See* Pope, Seth 4 0 0

Apr. 2, 1717 *See* Hunt, Samuel 4 10 0

Dec. 24, 1718 *See* Hunt, Samuel

HOSEA, Indian magistrate

Mar. 12, 1712/13 *See* Allen, Ebenezer 1 0 0

HUNT, EBENEZER

May 13, 1715 For his brother, Samuel Hunt 20 0 0

¹ Note by Sewall: "N. at Assawamset and Quiscusset 2 miles off are 20 houses; 7 at Quitcusset."

² 5 *Collections*, VI. 416.

HUNT, JAMES

Aug. 27, 1718

0 15 0

HUNT, SAMUEL, of Dartmouth

June 11, 1714

For Hiaanam, father and son

4 0 0

For Joseph Jeffery

3 0 0

May 13, 1715

See Hunt, Ebenezer

20 0 0

Feb. 17, 1715/16

For William Simonds and other Indians

18 5 4

May 24, 1716

For reimbursement of Seth Pope's expenditures made by order of Samuel Danforth

2 18 0

"To assist me in learning the Indian language"

20 0 0

Apr. 2, 1717

"My own encouragement to learn the Indian Tongue"

20 0 0

For Samuel Homes

4 10 0

For Nathan Toby and Jeffry Earl

1 0 0

Nov. 21, 1717

For salaries of William Simonds, pastor, and other Indians at Dartmouth

22 10 0

May 29, 1718

"My Encouragement to learn the Indian Language"

20 0 0

For reimbursement of Seth Pope

1 10 0

Dec. 24, 1718

For Samuel Homes and other Indians

6 0 0

May 28, 1719

20 0 0

ISAAC SIMON, justice

Dec. 20, 1716

See Joshnan, Joseph

1 0 0

JABEZ, of Naushon

Apr. 6, 1715

See Weeks, John

2 0 0

Mar. 13, 1715/16

See Crowell, Jabez

2 0 0

Feb. 6, 1716/17

See Weeks, John

2 0 0

Mar. 5, 1717/18

See Parker, Joseph

2 0 0

Nov. 7, 1718

See Parker, Joseph

2 0 0

JACOB ABEL

Apr. 15, 1714

See Joshnan, Joseph

1 0 0

Oct. 20, 1715

See Joshnan, Joseph

0 12 0

Nov. 13, 1718

See Joshnan, Joseph

4 0 0

JACOB SIMON, of Little Compton

Nov. 20, 1718

See Williston, Ichabod

JEFFERY, JOSEPH, schoolmaster

June 11, 1714

See Hunt, Samuel

3 0 0

JENNINGS, SAMUEL

Dec. 4, 1714

For Eldad Tupper's Indians

29 9 0

JO. PETER

Ca. Nov., 1718

Two years' salary as constable

1 0 0

JOASH, Indian pastor at Martha's Vineyard				
Mar. 28, 1719	See Allen, Ebenezer			
JOCELIN				
Dec. 4, 1711	See Wanno, Isaac			
JOHN, Indian preacher at Falmouth				
Jan. 5, 1708/09	See Bourn, N.	5	0	0
Aug. 17, 1709	See Bourn, N.	4	0	0
JOHN PHILIP, Indian teacher at Nantucket				
July 12, 1712	See Wiswall, Samuel	7	10	0
JOHN SIMON, of Little Compton				
Oct. 23, 1714	See Williston, Dorothy			
Nov. 19, 1718	See Wanno, Isaac	0	10	0
Nov. 20, 1718	See Williston, Ichabod			
JOHN THOMAS, Indian preacher at Natick				
July 1, 1718	See West, Mary	3	0	0
Nov. 25, 1718	See Fisher, John	2	0	0
JONAH AUWASUIT, Indian preacher at Nantucket				
Oct. 14, 1710		7	0	0
Mar. 15, 1717/18	Salary	2	0	0
JONES, SAMUEL				
June 12, 1716	For the trustees of Edward Hopkins	2	0	0
Apr. 16, 1717	Payment for twenty days' surveying at Hopkinton	6	0	0
July 12, 1717	Payment for twelve and a half days' surveying at Natick	5	0	0
JOSEPH DANIEL				
Nov. 30, 1710	See Francis, Hannah	5	4	0
JOSHMAN (JOSHMAN), JOSEPH, Indian preacher and teacher at Titicut				
Nov. 2, 1710	Salary	4	0	0
Apr. 15, 1714	Salary	7	0	0
	For Jacob Abel	1	0	0
Dec. 25, 1714	Salary	7	0	0
Oct. 20, 1715	Salary	5	0	0
	For Jacob Abel	0	12	0
	For Martha Ahaz	0	12	0
Dec. 20, 1716	Salary	6	0	0
	For Isaac Simon	1	0	0
Nov. 8, 1717	Salary and payment for "defending the Indian title"	7	0	0
Nov. 13, 1718	Salary	7	0	0
	For Jacob Abel	4	0	0

KAY, LYDIA¹

Dec. 11, 1717	A speckled silk bag containing a large packet of paper sealed up, and a silver can and spoon with other plate left with Sewall by Madam Bridget Usher			
Jan. 1, 1718/19	A large packet of brown paper left with Sewall by Madam Usher			
Mar. 23, 1718/19	One packet of paper sealed up, left with Sewall by Madam Usher			

KNEELAND, SAMUEL

Jan. 7, 1713/14	10 reams of Genoa paper, at 15s a ream, for his master, Bartholomew Green ²			
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LARNELL (LEARNWELL), BENJAMIN

May 27, 1709	See Rawson, Grindall	12	0	0
Ca. Aug., 1709	See Chapin, Josiah	3	18	0
Jan. 31, 1710/11	See Chapin, Josiah	14	0	0

LEVERETT, JOHN

Jan. 18, 1713/14	See Hobby, Charles			
Feb. 17, 1715/16	"Towards the Satisfaction of Sherburn men, and Simon Ephraim etc."	40	0	0

LYDIUS, ISABEL, widow of the Reverend John Lydius of Albany

Nov. 24, 1711	See Borland, John	15	0	0
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MAJOR, of Slocum's Island

June 20, 1710	See Mayhew, Zacheus	0	11	0
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MAMANTOG, SAMUEL

Dec. 29, 1711	See Swift, Thomas	1	4	0
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MANITWEKIT

Dec. 8, 1716	See Bourn, N.	0	10	0
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MARS, Rev. —

Ca. June, 1713	See Daillé, Pierre	1	0	0
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MARTHA AHAZ, widow

Oct. 20, 1715	See Joshnan, Joseph	0	12	0
Nov. 19, 1718	See Wanno, Isaac	0	10	0

MAYHEW, EXPERIENCE, of Martha's Vineyard

May 30, 1709	Salary (paid in advance)	4	0	0
Oct. 29, 1709	Salary (includes the £4 received on May 30)	50	0	0
	For several Indians at Martha's Vineyard	12	0	0
Oct. 31, 1709	For Daniel Shoko	5	0	0

¹ For comment on these entries, see pages 76–77, above.

² In 1714 there came from Green's press an edition of Cotton Mather's *Family Religion Excited and Assisted* (first published in 1705) in which the English text is printed on the left-hand pages and an Indian text, as translated by Experience Mayhew, on the right-hand pages.

Dec. 7, 1709	Money ordered by the Commissioners to be paid him	10	0	0
Dec. 20, 1709	For Stephen Shoko, James Wapsha, and other Indians at Martha's Vineyard	8	11	0
Jan. 20, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Willard, Elizabeth	5	10	0
Feb. 13, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Gerrish, Samuel	1	0	0
Nov. 16, 1711	Salary	60	0	0
Nov. 24, 1711	For several Indians at Martha's Vineyard	57	0	0
June 28, 1712	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	10	0	0
Nov. 18, 1713	"Upon sundry Accounts for the use of myself and Indians"	57	9	0
	For Josiah Torrey, salary	30	0	0
Aug. 25, 1714	Reimbursement for expenses on journey to visit the Indians at Connecticut	10	0	0
Nov. 8, 1714	Salary	66	0	0
	For Josiah Torrey	25	0	0
	For several Indians at Martha's Vineyard	35	10	0
Mar. 8, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Reliance	1	10	0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Reliance	0	10	0
Dec. 13, 1715	Salary	60	0	0
Dec. 22, 1715	For several Indian teachers, rulers, and others at Martha's Vineyard	28	10	0
June 18, 1716	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Reliance	8	0	0
July 7, 1716	Salary	52	0	0
Jan. 3, 1716/17	Loan	75	0	0
	For salaries and allowances for several Indians at Martha's Vineyard	31	4	0
Jan. 4, 1716/17	For Josiah Torrey	30	0	0
July 13, 1717	For several Indians at Martha's Vineyard	3	0	0
Dec. 9, 1717	Salary	60	0	0
	For salaries of Josiah Potampan and other Indians at Martha's Vineyard	26	5	0
Dec. 10, 1717	For Josiah Torrey	30	0	0
Dec. 13, 1717	For Simon Papmonnit	6	10	0
	For three poor persons	1	10	0
July 25, 1718	Salary	12	0	0
Nov. 24, 1718	Salary	25	0	0
Dec. 13, 1718	Salary	38	0	0
	For Josiah Torrey	30	0	0
	For Jabez Athearn	20	0	0
	For Abel Wowompaqueen and other Indians	38	14	0
May 25, 1719	<i>See</i> Chase, Thomas	20	0	0
MAYHEW, PAINE, of Martha's Vineyard				
Nov. 17, 1718	For Zacheus Mayhew	10	0	0

June 8, 1719	For Josiah Potampan	5	0	0
MAYHEW, RELIANCE, of Martha's Vineyard				
Mar. 8, 1714/15	For his father, Experience Mayhew	1	10	0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	For his father	0	10	0
Mar. 13, 1715/16		1	0	0
June 18, 1716	For his father	8	0	0
MAYHEW, THOMAS, of Martha's Vineyard				
Oct. 28, 1709	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert	10	0	0
June 20, 1710	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Zacheus	13	0	0
Feb. 6, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	10	0	0
Dec., 1711	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Zacheus	10	0	0
Nov. 18, 1713	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Zacheus	10	0	0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Zacheus	10	0	0
MAYHEW, ZACHEUS, of Martha's Vineyard				
June 20, 1710	For his father, Thomas Mayhew	13	0	0
	For Major on Slocum's Island	0	11	0
	For Japheth Hannit	0	11	0
Dec., 1711	For his father	10	0	0
Nov. 18, 1713	For his father	10	0	0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	For his father	10	0	0
Ca. Oct., 1717	Salary for "Governing the Indians for one year . . . as my Father Thomas Mayhew Esq. was wont to doe"	10	0	0
Nov. 17, 1718	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Paine	10	0	0
MENASSEH, Indian preacher				
Oct. 19, 1714	<i>See</i> Sturges, Samuel	5	5	0
MENEKISH, Indian preacher				
Oct. 19, 1714	<i>See</i> Sturges, Samuel	5	5	0
METCALFE, JOSEPH				
Aug. 17, 1709	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.	4	0	0
Nov. 21, 1711	Gratuity ordered by the Commissioners	10	0	0
Dec. 14, 1713	For Rowland Cotton	8	0	0
MIGHELL, SAMUEL, of Hartford				
June 9, 1716	<i>See</i> Hitchcock, David	7	10	0
MIGHILL, MARY, of Roxbury				
Apr. 23, 1713		3	0	0
Nov. 9, 1713	<i>See</i> Rumbold, Thomas	2	0	0
Apr. 22, 1714		4	0	0
MILLER, JOHN				
Oct. 29, 1718	For salary of Daniel Greenleaf and salaries of Indians on the Cape under his inspection	75	7	6

MINOR, JOHN, of Woodbury		
Jan. 22, 1708/09	<i>See</i> Phillips, Samuel	10 0 0
MOMONTAUG, JEREMIAH		
Dec. 7, 1709	For Samuel Danforth	2 0 0
MOODY, SAMUEL, of York		
Jan. 8, 1713/14	Payment "in full of the General Court's Order to me for the York-Tax in the year 1712"	5 18 0
MUCKAMOG, MARY		
Dec. 26, 1717	<i>See</i> Rawson, John	0 15 0
NATUSOO, SAMPSON, Indian teacher at the Elizabeth Islands		
Oct. 13, 1710	Salary	3 0 0
	Three pair of spectacles, two cases, two penknives, six hornbooks, one inkhorn, three quires of hold paper, six Indian primers, one <i>Practice of Piety</i>	
Nov. 17, 1711	Salary for teaching school and preaching for Mr. Weeks between whiles	5 0 0
NEESNUMMIN, JOHN, Indian preacher and teacher at Natick		
Mar. 4, 1708/09	<i>See</i> Prince, Samuel	15 0 0
June 10, 1709	<i>See</i> Sawin, Thomas	2 5 0
Nov. 17, 1709	<i>See</i> Prince, Samuel	15 0 0
Jan. 10, 1709/10	<i>See</i> Rawson, William	2 7 1
June 12, 1710	Necessaries for his family	2 15 0
	Cash	0 5 0
Dec. 27, 1710	<i>See</i> Prince, Mercy	15 0 0
Oct. 26, 1711	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	
Mar. 13, 1717/18	Salary	2 0 0
July 1, 1718	<i>See</i> West, Mary	1 10 0
Oct. 28, 1718	Salary	2 0 0
	"Per order of the Proprietours of Natick"	3 10 0
Dec. 10, 1718	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.	2 0 0
Mar. 27, 1719	<i>See</i> Apthorp, Charles	15 0 0
May 26, 1719	<i>See</i> Wellington, Ebenezer	1 10 0
June 4, 1719	Salary	1 10 0
NEHEMIAH, Indian magistrate		
Mar. 12, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	1 0 0
NEHEMIAH ABEL, Indian teacher at Slocum's Island		
Sept. 16, 1712	Salary	4 0 0
NOMPASH, BENJAMIN, of Little Compton		
Oct. 23, 1714	<i>See</i> Williston, Dorothy	
Nov. 20, 1718	<i>See</i> Williston, Ichabod	

NOYES, CUTTING

Nov. 30, 1717	Money from his "Unkle Sewall" to buy twenty-six pairs of women's gloves ¹	4	11	6
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NUMMACK, JONAS, Indian teacher at Mashpee

Mar. 26, 1717/18	<i>See</i> Otis, John	5	0	0
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OLIVER, DANIEL

Feb. 28, 1712/13	Reimbursement for disbursements for the Company	50	0	0
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Aug. 3, 1713	Reimbursement for disbursements for the Company	70	0	0
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Oct. 3, 1713	Reimbursement for disbursements for the Company	46	0	0
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Nov. 13, 1713	Payment "in part of what was taken up by me at Interest for the use of the Commissioners"	50	0	0
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Jan. 19, 1713/14	Reimbursement for disbursements for the Company	50	5	3
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<i>Ga.</i> July, 1714	Payment "in full for Interest of one Hun- dred pounds for this last year"	6	0	0
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Oct. 25, 1714	Payment "in full for Interest to the 13th of November next coming"	3	5	0
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Apr. 13, 1715	Payment "in full"	51	5	0
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OMPANY, ISAAC

Mar. 5, 1713/14	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer			
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OTIS, JOHN

Mar. 26, 1717/18	For Jonas Nummack, deceased	5	0	0
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OTIS, JOHN, JR.

Dec. 8, 1710	For Josiah Cotton	16	0	0
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PAPMONNIT, SIMON, Indian minister at Mashpee

Nov. 7, 1710	<i>See</i> Cotton, Rowland			
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Mar. 31, 1712	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.			
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Nov. 5, 1714	<i>See</i> Cotton, Rowland			
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Dec. 8, 1716	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.	6	0	0
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Dec. 13, 1717	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	6	10	0
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Oct. 28, 1718	<i>See</i> Crocker, Josiah	6	0	0
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Dec. 24, 1718	<i>See</i> Cotton, Rowland	2	0	0
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PARKER, DANIEL

June 23, 1716	Payment for mission to Martha's Vine- yard	12	0	0
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PARKER, JOSEPH

Mar. 5, 1717/18	For Jabez of Naushon	2	0	0
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Nov. 7, 1718	For Thomas Sampson	3	0	0
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¹ This is obviously a matter of personal business.

Samuel Sewall and the New England Company 99

	For Jabez of Naushon	2	0	0
Mar. 31, 1719	For Thomas Sampson for teaching school at the Elizabeth Islands	3	0	0
PARKER, MOSES				
Dec. 21, 1716	Payment in consideration of his releasing his right in Magunkaquog lands	12	0	0
PATIENCE, widow				
Mar. 12, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	1	0	0
PERRY, NATHANIEL				
June 8, 1714	For Daniel Gookin	14	0	0
Mar. 20, 1715/16	For his aunt, Mrs. Mary West, on account of Thomas Waban	3	0	0
Nov. 23, 1716	For Mary West, being "what she de- livered Thomas Waban"	3	0	0
Dec. 14, 1717	For Mary West, being what "she dis- bursed to Thomas Waban"	3	0	0
PHILLIPS, SAMUEL				
Jan. 22, 1708/09	For Samuel Clark of Milford for account of Capt. John Minor of Woodbury	10	0	0
POGNIT, SIMON				
Nov. 5, 1714	<i>See</i> Cotton, Rowland			
POHPENNAPIT, ZACHARY				
Oct. 23, 1714	<i>See</i> Williston, Dorothy			
POPE, SETH				
Nov. 29, 1708	Repayment of disbursements to several Indian preachers, rulers, and poor made by order of Samuel Danforth	20	16	0
Nov. 19, 1709	For the supply of William Simonds and others, by direction of Danforth	31	9	6
Feb. 23, 1709/10	Money for six duffel coats delivered to Danforth's order	3	12	0
Apr. 24, 1711	Repayment of sums delivered to Samuel Homes and other Indians by order of Samuel Danforth	7	10	0
Dec. 25, 1711	Reimbursement for sums paid to Indians by direction of Samuel Danforth	42	19	6
Dec. 30, 1713	For William Simonds	8	0	0
	For John and William Briant	4	0	0
	For Samuel Homes	4	0	0
May 24, 1716	<i>See</i> Hunt, Samuel	2	18	0
May 29, 1718	<i>See</i> Hunt, Samuel	1	10	0
POTAMPAN, JOSIAH, of Martha's Vineyard				
Dec. 9, 1717	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience			
June 8, 1719	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Paine	5	0	0

PRINCE, MERCY, wife of Samuel Prince		
Dec. 27, 1710	For the account of John Neesnummin, to be paid proportionably to his creditors	15 0 0
	Money for corn	0 9 0
PRINCE, SAMUEL		
Mar. 4, 1708/09	For the account of John Neesnummin, to be distributed proportionably among his creditors	15 0 0
Nov. 17, 1717	For the account of John Neesnummin, towards payment of his debts	15 0 0
PRINTER, —, widow of James Printer		
Jan. 20, 1714/15	See Chapin, Josiah	0 10 0
Dec. 26, 1717	See Rawson, John	0 15 0
PRINTER, JAMES		
Nov. 11, 1708	For Grindall Rawson, 25½ yards of duffel	
QUITTECUS, SAMUEL, Indian teacher at Kekamochuck		
Nov. 19, 1708	Two blankets for his parents, one English Bible, six English primers, and a quire of paper	
Sept. 3, 1715	Salary	1 5 0
RAGGETT, THOMAS		
May 26, 1716	"In full of all Accounts"	8 10 0
RAWSON, GRINDALL, minister at Mendon		
Ca. Nov., 1708	See Chapin, Josiah	25 0 0
Nov. 11, 1708	See Printer, James	
May 27, 1709	Payment towards the charge of Benjamin Larnell	12 0 0
Ca. Aug., 1709	See Chapin, Josiah	3 18 0
Nov. 18, 1709	See Chapin, Josiah	25 0 0
Jan. 31, 1710/11	See Chapin, Josiah	39 0 0
Jan. 3, 1711/12	See Chapin, Josiah	25 0 0
Nov. 21, 1713	See Rawson, Susanna	25 0 0
Oct. 6, 1714	See Rawson, Susanna	14 0 0
Jan. 20, 1714/15	See Chapin, Josiah	11 0 0
RAWSON, JOHN		
Sept. 23, 1714	Repayment of money spent for horse hire, etc., in bringing Calvin Galpin from Mendon	0 10 0
Dec. 26, 1717	Money for blankets for James Printer's widow and Mary Muckamog	1 10 0
RAWSON, SUSANNA		
Nov. 21, 1713	For her husband, Grindall Rawson, salary for preaching to the Indians	25 0 0

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Oct. 6, 1714	For her husband	14	0	0
RAWSON, WILLIAM				
Jan. 10, 1709/10	For account of John Neesnummin, "in full of what . . . [he] owed me"	2	7	1
June 9, 1716	See Hitchcock, David	7	10	0
RICHMOND, EDWARD				
Nov. 1, 1717	See Danforth, Samuel	2	0	0
RICHMOND, THOMAS, of Little Compton				
Nov. 20, 1718	See Williston, Ichabod			
RIDER, ELEAZER				
Dec. 30, 1715	For Thomas Waban	3	0	0
RIDER, WILLIAM				
Aug. 21, 1712	For John Coolidge of Sherborn, Thomas Waban's order	3	0	0
ROBBIN, SAMUEL				
Nov. 19, 1718	See Wanno, Isaac	0	10	0
ROBERT INDIAN, a Port Royal soldier				
Aug. 22, 1717	See Eli Micah	1	15	0
RUMBOLD, THOMAS				
Nov. 9, 1713	For Mary Mighill	2	0	0
RUTH INDIAN				
Nov. 1, 1717	See Danforth, Samuel	0	10	0
SAMPSON, THOMAS, Indian teacher at the Elizabeth Islands				
Mar. 19, 1715/16	Salary for teaching at Naushon	2	0	0
Feb. 6, 1716/17	See Weeks, John	3	0	0
Nov. 7, 1718	See Parker, Joseph	3	0	0
Mar. 31, 1719	See Parker, Joseph	3	0	0
SAMUEL ABRAHAM, proprietor of Natick				
Dec. 4, 1717	See Fisher, John			
Mar. 13, 1718/19	See Fullam, Francis			
SARAH				
Nov. 3, 1710	See Simonds, William			
SAWIN, THOMAS				
June 10, 1709	For John Neesnummin	2	5	0
	Payment for surveying boundary line between Dedham and Natick with Joseph White	1	0	0
Oct. 26, 1710	See Takawombait, Daniel	0	10	0
Feb. 5, 1711/12	For Thomas Waban	6	6	0
June 25, 1713	"Upon sundry accounts for the use of the Indians"	5	14	8

SEABURY, SAMUEL, of Martha's Vineyard		
Dec. 28, 1708	For Japheth Hannit	20 0 0
SHANKS, JOSIAH		
Feb. 1, 1716/17	See Apthorp, Charles	
SHOKO, DANIEL, Indian preacher at Martha's Vineyard		
Oct. 31, 1709	See Mayhew, Experience	5 0 0
Apr. 12, 1717	See Cathcart, Robert	
July 28, 1718	See Cathcart, Thomas	
SHOKO, STEPHEN, of Martha's Vineyard		
Dec. 20, 1709	See Mayhew, Experience	
SHORT, JANE, niece of Samuel Sewall		
Ca. Aug., 1713	Money from her uncle, Stephen Sewall ¹	20 0 0
SILAS		
Aug. 20, 1718	Salary	2 0 0
SIMON		
Oct. 14, 1712	See Hiacoomes, John	0 10 0
SIMON EPHRAIM, of Magunkaquog		
Feb. 17, 1715/16	See Leverett, John	
SIMONDS (SIMON), WILLIAM, Indian preacher and teacher at Dartmouth		
Oct. 25, 1709	See Danforth, Samuel	0 5 0
Nov. 19, 1709	See Pope, Seth	
Nov. 3, 1710	Salary	10 0 0
	For Skohanum Deacon	2 0 0
	Two yards of duffel for old blind Sarah	
Dec. 30, 1713	See Pope, Seth	8 0 0
Feb. 17, 1715/16	See Hunt, Samuel	
Nov. 16, 1716	"For myself and others"	13 0 0
Nov. 21, 1717	See Hunt, Samuel	
Nov. 28, 1718	Salary	15 0 0
SKOHANUM DEACON		
Nov. 3, 1710	See Simonds, William	2 0 0
SMITH, NATHANIEL		
Jan. 9, 1718/19	For Jonathan Wells	5 7 0
SOLOMON THOMAS		
Dec. 4, 1717	See Fisher, John	
SOOMANAN, JOB, Indian teacher		
Nov. 1, 1715	See Allen, John	6 0 0
SOUAMOG		
Mar. 12, 1712/13	See Allen, Ebenezer	4 0 0

¹ This refers to a personal transaction.

SPEEN, ABRAHAM

Mar. 13, 1718/19 *See* Fullam, Francis

SPEEN, JAMES

Nov. 23, 1708 *See* Fisher, John 0 18 0

SQUN, BENJAMIN

Nov. 16, 1716 "For myself and others" 2 0 0

STODDARD, SIMEON

June 25, 1718 For the Trustees of the Edward Hopkins
charity 168 0 0

July 19, 1718 For the Trustees of the Edward Hopkins
charity 106 15 0

Dec. 27, 1718 For the Trustees of the Edward Hopkins
charity 100 0 0

Apr. 22, 1719 For the Trustees of the Edward Hopkins
charity 25 5 0

STURGES, SAMUEL

May 7, 1714 For Hercules 5 0 0

Oct. 19, 1714 For Menasseh and Menekish 10 10 0

SWIFT, JOHN, of Framingham

Aug. 31, 1711 *See* Swift, Thomas 2 0 0

Dec. 5, 1711 For John Anthony 6 0 0

SWIFT, THOMAS, of Ponkapoag

Nov. 23, 1708 Salary 3 0 0

Order on Thomas Fitch for six blankets
for Indians at Ponkapoag

Nov. 12, 1709 Ten yards duffel for the poor of Ponkapoag
Reimbursement of money laid out for
William Hahaton in corn 0 10 0

Salary 3 0 0

Nov. 28, 1710 For charity 2 10 0

Salary 3 0 0

Aug. 31, 1711 For John Swift 2 0 0

Nov. 20, 1711 Salary for "inspecting" Ponkapoag Indians 3 0 0

Dec. 29, 1711 For Hannah, widow of Samuel Maman-
tog, being his wages for military service
at Annapolis Royal 1 4 0

Dec. 5, 1713 Salary 3 0 0

For William Hahaton 5 0 0

Nov. 26, 1714 Salary 3 0 0

For William Hahaton 5 0 0

Nov. 18, 1715 Salary 3 0 0

For William Hahaton, "besides the 20s
I had for him 4th of June last"

4 0 0

Nov. 2, 1716 Salary 3 0 0

	For William Hahaton	4	15	0
Jan. 15, 1717/18	Salary	3	0	0
TAKAWOMBAIT (TAKAWOMBPAIT), DANIEL				
Oct. 13, 1709	Salary	5	0	0
Oct. 26, 1710	Ten yards of duffel	2	10	0
	Bills of credit	2	0	0
	Corn, to Thomas Sawin	0	10	0
Oct. 23, 1711	Salary	5	0	0
Nov. 15, 1715	Salary	5	0	0
TALMAN, JOHN, Indian magistrate				
Mar. 12, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	1	0	0
THACHER, PETER				
Nov. 11, 1708	Salary for preaching to the Indians	25	0	0
Dec. 13, 1709	Salary, "which I apprehend thirteen pounds short of the last yeares Sallery"	12	0	0
Nov. 30, 1710	Salary	13	0	0
Nov. 1, 1711	Salary	25	0	0
Jan. 22, 1712/13	Salary	25	0	0
THACHER, RHODOLPHUS				
Mar. 19, 1708/09	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert	5	0	0
Dec. 16, 1709	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	5	0	0
Feb. 6, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	10	0	0
Apr. 4, 1712	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	5	0	0
June 27, 1712	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert	5	0	0
Jan. 30, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert	5	0	0
THACHER, RHODOLPHUS, JR.				
Nov. 12, 1718	Payment for medical services to Indians while at Martha's Vineyard	5	0	0
THAXTER, SAMUEL				
Sept. 1, 1714	Payment for expenses of trip to Martha's Vineyard	6	0	0
THOMAS, NATHANIEL, JR., of Plymouth				
Nov. 18, 1708	For Rebecca Hedge for teaching school the past winter	3	0	0
THOMAS FELIX, justice				
Oct. 14, 1712	<i>See</i> Hiacoomes, John	0	10	0
TOBY, NATHAN				
Apr. 2, 1717	<i>See</i> Hunt, Samuel	0	10	0
TOFTE, THOMAS				
July 14, 1709	Payment for expenses and service in visiting the Indians "on the Main" the past spring	12	13	0

Nov. 2, 1711	Payment for expenses and service in visiting the Indian plantations the past spring (including £10 received from Richard Billings)	30	0	0
TORREY, JOSIAH, of Martha's Vineyard				
Oct. 18, 1709	<i>See</i> Cathcart, Robert	25	0	0
Jan. 22, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	3	4	4
Feb. 6, 1710/11	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	20	1	4
Nov. 2, 1711	Salary	25	0	0
Nov. 18, 1713	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	30	0	0
Nov. 8, 1714	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	25	0	0
July 11, 1715	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	5	0	0
Dec. 9, 1715	Salary	25	0	0
Apr. 11, 1716	<i>See</i> Allen, Ebenezer	5	0	0
Jan. 4, 1716/17	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	30	0	0
Dec. 10, 1717	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	30	0	0
Dec. 13, 1718	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience	30	0	0
TOWNSEND, PENN				
Oct. 1, 1712	"Towards the Charges of our Journey to Martha's Vineyard"	30	0	0
TREAT, ABIGAIL, wife of Samuel Treat				
Oct. 14, 1709	For Samuel Treat, salary	25	0	0
	For Indian salaries: ministers, school-masters, and justices	42	0	0
Jan. 14, 1717/18	For Samuel Treat, salary to March 18, the day of his death	10	0	0
TREAT, SAMUEL, of Eastham				
Oct. 14, 1709	<i>See</i> Treat, Abigail	25	0	0
Nov. 21, 1710	<i>See</i> Willard, Simon			
Apr. 23, 1712	<i>See</i> Willard, Elizabeth	86	5	0
Nov. 28, 1713	<i>See</i> Whiting, Samuel	77	5	0
Nov. 27, 1714	<i>See</i> Whiting, Samuel	68	0	0
Jan. 7, 1715/16	<i>See</i> Willard, Elizabeth	64	2	0
Nov. 20, 1716	<i>See</i> Walley, Sarah			
Jan. 14, 1717/18	<i>See</i> Treat, Abigail	10	0	0
TUPPER, ELDAD, of Sandwich and Rochester				
Nov. 16, 1708	Salary	30	0	0
	For salaries and charity for Indians at Sandwich and Rochester	17	11	0
Oct. 26, 1709	Salary	30	0	0
	For the poor	7	18	6
	For preachers and for schooling Josias Cocknichit, magistrate and clerk	27	5	0
Nov. 17, 1710	Salary	30	0	0

	For several Indians	28	1	0
Nov. 5, 1711	Salary	40	0	0
	For several Indian preachers and school- masters	20	10	0
June 14, 1712	Salary for preaching at Pompesisset in Sandwich	15	0	0
Nov. 18, 1713	For various salaries of Indians under his inspection	27	15	0
Dec. 25, 1714	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	30	0	0
Apr. 4, 1715	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	10	12	0
Jan. 14, 1715/16	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	40	0	0
Nov. 22, 1716	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward			
Dec. 3, 1716	<i>See</i> Bassett, William	13	10	0
Dec. 14, 1716	<i>See</i> Apthorp, Charles	34	0	0
Apr. 20, 1717	<i>See</i> Tupper, Samuel	3	10	0
Nov. 29, 1717	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	53	0	0
Dec. 2, 1717	<i>See</i> Tupper, Ichabod	40	0	0
Ca. Nov., 1718	Salary	40	0	0
Nov. 26, 1718	For salaries of various Indians	45	3	0
Dec. 26, 1718	<i>See</i> Bromfield, Edward	10	0	0
TUPPER, ICHABOD				
Dec. 2, 1717	For his brother, Eldad Tupper	40	0	0
TUPPER, SAMUEL				
Apr. 20, 1717	For Eldad Tupper, for twenty bushels of Indian corn "shipped for him . . . on board the Sloop Hopewell Ichabod Tupper Master now lying at the long Wharf and bound for Sandwich"	3	10	0
USHER, BRIDGET <i>See</i> entries under Kay, Lydia				
WABAN, THOMAS, Indian schoolmaster at Natick				
Nov. 23, 1708	<i>See</i> Fisher, John	2	8	0
Feb. 5, 1711/12	<i>See</i> Sawin, Thomas	6	6	0
Mar. 11, 1712/13	<i>See</i> Coolidge, Isaac	5	10	0
Feb. 18, 1713/14	Salary	3	0	0
Mar. 11, 1713/14	<i>See</i> Coolidge, Isaac	3	0	0
May 22, 1714	<i>See</i> Coolidge, Isaac	2	10	0
Jan. 14, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Coolidge, Isaac	2	0	0
Mar. 11, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Coolidge, Isaac	5	8	0
Dec. 30, 1715	<i>See</i> Rider, Eleazer	3	0	0
Mar. 20, 1715/16	<i>See</i> Perry, Nathaniel	3	0	0
Nov. 23, 1716	<i>See</i> Perry, Nathaniel	3	0	0
May 28, 1717	<i>See</i> West, Mary	6	0	0
Sept. 13, 1717	<i>See</i> West, Mary	3	0	0
Dec. 4, 1717	<i>See</i> Fisher, John			

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Dec. 14, 1717	<i>See</i> Perry, Nathaniel	3	0	0
July 1, 1718	<i>See</i> West, Mary			
Mar. 13, 1718/19	<i>See</i> Fullam, Francis			
Apr. 7, 1719	<i>See</i> West, Mary	6	0	0
WALLEY, SARAH				
Nov. 20, 1716	For Samuel Treat and various Indians under his inspection	70	10	0
WAMPOM, —, widow				
Dec. 8, 1716	<i>See</i> Bourn, N.	0	10	0
WAMPOM, EPHRAIM, Indian teacher at Yarmouth				
June 24, 1714	<i>See</i> Greenleaf, Daniel	3	0	0
WAMSQUON, JOHN				
Nov. 23, 1708	<i>See</i> Fisher, John	0	18	0
WANNO, BETHIAH				
Oct. 26, 1711	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah			
WANNO, ISAAC, justice at Ketaticut				
Dec. 4, 1711	For Jocelin	7	0	0
	Salary	1	10	0
Dec. 25, 1714	Salary	1	0	0
Nov. 8, 1717		1	10	0
Nov. 19, 1718	Salary	1	10	0
	For John Simon	0	10	0
	For Samuel Robbin	0	10	0
	For Martha Ahaz, widow	0	10	0
WANNO, JOSEPH, Indian preacher at Manomet Ponds, Plymouth				
Nov. 20, 1713	<i>See</i> Fanill, John	4	0	0
Oct. 29, 1714	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	5	0	0
Oct. 25, 1715	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	5	0	0
Nov. 1, 1717	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	5	0	0
Oct. 30, 1718	<i>See</i> Cotton, Josiah	5	0	0
WAPSHA, JAMES, of Martha's Vineyard				
Dec. 20, 1709	<i>See</i> Mayhew, Experience			
WARD, RICHARD				
Oct. 6, 1713	Payment of debt owed him by Benjamin Larnell	0	18	0
WEEKS, JOHN, of the Elizabeth Islands				
Mar. 7, 1708/09	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0
Jan. 13, 1709/10	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0
Apr. 26, 1711	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0
Dec. 29, 1711	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0
Apr. 13, 1713	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Katharine	10	0	0
Dec. 2, 1713	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0

Jan. 25, 1714/15	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0
Apr. 6, 1715	For Jabez of Naushon	2	0	0
Feb. 10, 1715/16	<i>See</i> Winthrop, Wait	10	0	0
Feb. 6, 1716/17	Salary	10	0	0
	For Thomas Sampson	3	0	0
	For Jabez	2	0	0
Dec. 5, 1717	<i>See</i> Winthrop, John	10	0	0
Feb. 9, 1718/19	<i>See</i> Winthrop, John	10	0	0
WEKUM, ISAAC, of Assawomsett, "superannuated ruler"				
Nov. 28, 1718	<i>See</i> Clark, Sarah			
WELLINGTON, EBENEZER				
May 26, 1719	For Joshua Wheat, physician, for services to John Neesnummin's family	1	10	0
WELLS, JONATHAN, of Deerfield				
Jan. 9, 1718/19	<i>See</i> Smith, Nathaniel	5	7	0
WENTWORTH, MARTHA				
Jan. 19, 1709/10	Payment for services to the Indians at Ponkapoag, etc.	3	0	0
WEST, MARY, of Sherborn				
Mar. 20, 1715/16	<i>See</i> Perry, Nathaniel	3	0	0
Nov. 23, 1716	<i>See</i> Perry, Nathaniel	3	0	0
May 28, 1717	For Thomas Waban	6	0	0
Sept. 13, 1717	For Thomas Waban	3	0	0
Dec. 14, 1717	<i>See</i> Perry, Nathaniel	3	0	0
July 1, 1718	For Thomas Waban	3	0	0
	For John Thomas	3	0	0
	For John Neesnummin	1	10	0
Apr. 7, 1719	For Thomas Waban	6	0	0
WHEAT, JOSHUA, physician				
May 26, 1719	<i>See</i> Wellington, Ebenezer	1	10	0
WHITE, JOSEPH				
June 10, 1709	<i>See</i> Sawin, Thomas			
WHITE, JOSEPH, of Brookline				
Mar. 3, 1708/09	<i>See</i> White, Samuel	1	0	0
WHITE, SAMUEL				
Mar. 3, 1708/09	For his father, Joseph White of Brookline	1	0	0
WHITING, SAMUEL				
Nov. 28, 1713	For Samuel Treat	77	5	0
Nov. 27, 1714	For Samuel Treat	68	0	0
WHITNEY, JOHN				
May 31, 1717	Payment for surveying at Hopkinton	3	12	0

WILLARD, ELIZABETH

Jan. 20, 1710/11	For Experience Mayhew	5	10	0
Apr. 23, 1712	For Samuel Treat, for the Indians under his inspection	61	5	0
	For Samuel Treat, salary	25	0	0
Jan. 7, 1715/16	For Samuel Treat	64	2	0

WILLARD, SIMON

Nov. 21, 1710	For Samuel Treat, salary, and for the Indians under his inspection	73	0	0
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WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, of Hatfield

July 4, 1712	For his son, William Williams of Weston	1	10	0
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WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, of Weston

July 4, 1712	<i>See Williams, William, of Hatfield</i>	1	10	0
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WILLIS, JEREMIAH

July 14, 1712	For Samuel Danforth	1	9	0
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WILLISTON, DOROTHY, of Little Compton

Nov. 19, 1711	For two Indian preachers and two school-masters at Little Compton	14	0	0
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Oct. 23, 1714	For John Simon, Benjamin Nompash, George Jonathan, and Zachary Pohpenapit	16	10	0
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Nov. 18, 1715	For various Indian teachers and school-masters under the inspection of Richard Billings	18	0	0
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Oct. 8, 1716	For salaries of several Indians in or near Little Compton, by direction of Richard Billings	17	0	0
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WILLISTON, ICHABOD

Nov. 20, 1718	For John Simon, Benjamin Nompash, George Jonathan, Jacob Simon, and Thomas Richmond	20	0	0
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WINSLOW, EDWARD

Jan. 14, 1709/10	For Ebenezer Allen, Japheth Hannit's order	10	0	0
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WINTHROP, JOHN

July 11, 1715	Payment "in full of what Capt. James Avery has done and expended in defence of the Indians of New York"	6	0	0
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Dec. 5, 1717	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
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Feb. 9, 1718/19	For John Weeks, salary			
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WINTHROP, KATHARINE

Apr. 13, 1713	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
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WINTHROP, WAIT

Mar. 7, 1708/09	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
Jan. 13, 1709/10	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
Apr. 26, 1711	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
Dec. 29, 1711	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
Dec. 2, 1713	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
Jan. 25, 1714/15	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0
Feb. 10, 1715/16	For John Weeks, salary	10	0	0

WISWALL, SAMUEL, of Nantucket

June 1, 1710	Payment for "having entred upon Learning the Indian Language"	10	0	0
Aug. 7, 1711	See Coffin, Ebenezer	2	0	0
July 12, 1712	Payment "in part of what was ordered me by the honorable Commissioners the 8th Instant"	20	0	0
	For John Philip of Nantucket	7	10	0

WOODSIDE, JA.

Mar. 23, 1718/19		10	0	0
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WOWOMPAQUEEN (or WAUWOMPUHQUE), ABEL, Indian preacher at Martha's Vineyard

Oct. 28, 1709	See Cathcart, Robert	5	0	0
Mar. 22, 1711/12	See Cathcart, Robert	5	0	0
Apr. 12, 1717	See Cathcart, Robert			
Apr. 12, 1717	See Clark, William	2	0	0
July 28, 1718	See Cathcart, Thomas			
Dec. 13, 1718	See Mayhew, Experience			

Asa Whitcomb, a Sterling Patriot

By FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS¹

ASA WHITCOMB, destined to command the Lancaster regiment during the Revolutionary War, was born in 1719 in that part of Lancaster which later became Bolton. He was baptized by the Reverend John Prentice in the Church of Christ at Lancaster on August 16 of that year.

At that time the town had reached its greatest size, 130 square miles. By the end of the century it had undergone a succession of dismemberments, Harvard having been taken from the eastern edge of the town in 1732 and Bolton in 1738; while one portion of the western part had become the town of Leominster in 1740, and another had become the town of Sterling in 1781. Lancaster began its corporate existence in 1653, when the General Court of Massachusetts granted township privileges to the plantation on the Nashaway. During the same year the church was gathered. Among the first signers of the church and town covenant in 1652 were John Prescott, Thomas Sawyer, and John Whitcomb.² Two years later Whitcomb took up his Lancaster grant, near the site of the present meetinghouse of the First Church, built his home, and brought his family there. He died in 1662, aged seventy-four. He was well-to-do for the times, a man of intelligence and enterprise, and much given to the buying and selling of land—a trait which characterized later generations of Whitcombs.

The family survived the massacre when the fury of King Philip's War broke upon Lancaster (February 10, 1675/76) but lost all its possessions, every house in town, including the meetinghouse, having been burned by the Indians. When the town was resettled, three years later, the Whitcombs returned to the blackened ruins to rebuild their homes and to win back their farm lands from the wilderness.

Jonathan Whitcomb, of the second generation, possessed his father's original allotment of land as well as many broad acres in other parts of the township. His widow, Hannah, was killed by the Indians at the home of her nephew, Deacon Peter Joslin, July 18, 1692.

¹ This paper was read at the December, 1943, meeting.

² Henry S. Nourse, *The Early Records of Lancaster, 1643-1725* (Lancaster, 1884), 30.

John Whitcomb, grandson of the pioneer, married Rebecca, daughter of Lieutenant John and Hannah (Atherton) Wilder. He also accumulated wide lands, was a proprietor in that part of Lancaster known as the "additional grant" (which later became Leominster and Sterling), and owned property in Harvard and a 130-acre home farm in what is now the town of Bolton. John and Rebecca had four children, all christened in the First Church in Lancaster. The eldest was General John Whitcomb of Bolton. The youngest was Colonel Asa Whitcomb, the subject of this paper. What became of their two sisters is unknown. The father died about a year after Asa was born, and the widow married again but did not long survive.

The two boys, John and Asa, chose as guardian their uncle, Joseph Sawyer, a blacksmith, who lived near by. He proved to be an excellent choice, if we may judge by the integrity and manly traits of character developed by the two boys placed under his care, and by the extensive real estate turned over to them when they came of age. He seems to have carried on not only the village blacksmith shop but also two large farms, a sawmill, and a corn mill, which were passed down to the six children that formed his own family.

The schoolmaster at Lancaster taught the two Whitcomb boys to "read, write and cipher passably well," but neither seems to have profited much from his lessons in spelling. Each Sunday, too, the boys accompanied the Sawyer family to the meetinghouse, several miles distant, to hear the long, sound, and perhaps rather tedious sermons of the Reverend John Prentice. As Henry S. Nourse, the historian of Lancaster, declared: "Living upon the verge of English settlement, in an age when extreme frugality was compulsory upon all, and life to the majority an anxious scramble for covering and food," the boys "certainly did not long eat the bread of idleness."¹ The elder brother inherited the flourishing farm in Bolton, while the portion of the younger was to be the virgin land on the sparsely settled western frontier of the mother town. Before 1720, when Indians were on the warpath, it was hardly safe to venture into that part of the town. Indeed, marauding bands of Indians continued to prevent the permanent settlement of many towns to the north and west of Lancaster for several decades until the end of the French and Indian War.

The first settlers of Chocksett Precinct, as Sterling was originally

¹ "A Forgotten Patriot," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, VII. 96.

called, came from the mother town of Lancaster the year after Asa Whitcomb was born, and by 1726 had built homes on or near the crest of Fitch Hill on the road to West Sterling and Princeton. As soon as this part of Lancaster began to grow, the settlers petitioned to be allowed to "set up a new township." Their petition was denied, but in 1742 a separate precinct was allowed to the Chocksett settlers. Having as yet no meetinghouse or minister, the venturesome farmers of Chocksett had to travel some five miles over rough trails to go to meeting at Lancaster Center. Two new meetinghouses, however, were authorized in 1742 by vote in town meeting: one was the fourth meetinghouse of the First Church at Lancaster Center and the other was the first to be built in Chocksett Precinct. The latter had to be enlarged in 1766 to accommodate the increasing population.

As early as 1737 Asa Whitcomb had decided to settle in Sterling, for in that year he bought half the proprietary rights at Chocksett belonging to his uncle and guardian, Joseph Sawyer. His farm was situated on the western slope of Fitch Hill, facing Mount Wachusett, just off the road from Sterling Center to Princeton. Here he built his pleasant dwelling house, still standing after the lapse of two centuries, and here all but the youngest of his fifteen children were born. By years of toil and thrift this farm, eked out of wilderness land, became one of the best and most fruitful in Sterling, and he became the largest landowner and the wealthiest citizen of Chocksett Precinct. Life on this frontier farm, with its demands and privations, developed in him strength of character and promoted initiative, hardihood, and self-reliance—essential qualifications which were to stand him in good stead when he became a commanding officer.

To this home he brought his bride, Eunice Sawyer, the daughter of Captain Ephraim and Eunice (Houghton) Sawyer of Sterling. She was the mother of seven children and died here September 6, 1760. Later he married her cousin, Betty Sawyer, the daughter of Thomas and Abigail (White) Sawyer of Sterling. Eight children were the issue of the second marriage.

The Chocksett Church, now the First Church in Sterling, was gathered on December 19, 1744, on the occasion of the ordination of the Reverend John Mellen (H.C. 1741). With the exception of the minister and one other, the eighteen founders had been members

of the First Church in Lancaster. Three months later forty-three more members had been admitted, mostly from the mother church. Whitcomb's admission is not on record, though his children were all baptized at Sterling. The following entry appears in the Chocksett Church records under the date February 6, 1760: "After Lecture made choice of Capn: Asa Whitcomb for another Deacon." In those days the office of deacon was as great an honor as a church could bestow upon a layman. It was part of the task of the deacon to pass the elements at the communion service and to administer the parish funds for the relief of the poor and the infirm. The deacon, furthermore, was chosen to head all committees for the welfare of the church and to assist the minister in the execution of every good work in the community. That Whitcomb was selected for this office, which he held until his removal to Princeton in 1780, bears eloquent testimony to his Christian faith and upright character.

The Whitcombs have figured prominently in the military annals of Lancaster. At least twelve fought in the colonial wars and thirty-two in the Revolution, many of whom were officers. In the course of King George's War bands of Indians came from Canada to the frontier settlements to murder, burn, and plunder. The cunning, swift-footed savages scalped the unsuspecting farmer plowing in his fields or harvesting his crops, crept up to his frontier cabin, burned it to the ground, and then drove captive through the pathless woods to Canada the helpless wife and children, laden with spoils from their own home.¹ To prevent such barbarities Colonel Samuel Willard of Lancaster, in the summer of 1748, dispatched Captain Ephraim Wilder with thirty-five men to protect the frontier as far as Athol and Northfield. At the same time Sergeant James Houghton, Asa Whitcomb, and seven other rangers from Chocksett Precinct were sent out on a scout for six weeks. They deployed through the wilderness to the north, probably beyond Mount Monadnock as far as Fort Number Four on the Connecticut (Charlestown, New Hampshire). If this was Asa Whitcomb's initiation into the military life, it provided a sound apprenticeship and invaluable experience for the years of Indian warfare which were to follow.

During the first Crown Point expedition in the French and Indian War most of the soldiers from the Lancaster neighborhood were in

¹ Henry S. Nourse, *The Military Annals of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1740-1865* (Lancaster, 1889), 27.

three companies of a regiment commanded by Colonel Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick. The company commanders were Asa Whitcomb,¹ Joseph Whitcomb, and Benjamin Ballard. These three companies took part in the "bloody morning scout" and the Battle of Lake George on the eighth of September. Seventeen of their men were killed or mortally wounded on that day, of whom eleven were from Lancaster. Another died on the way home. Captain Asa Whitcomb's company suffered the heaviest losses, ten men out of thirty-five.² The figures do not mention the number of men wounded, which probably was large.

The Whitcomb brothers were quiet and affable officers, inclined towards modesty rather than self-assertion. They were good fighters when in the midst of a battle, always forthright and courageous, and energetic, resourceful, and conscientious in the performance of their military duties. They were very popular with their men, whose welfare had their first attention. But Asa was ever too easygoing to be a martinet at discipline. Perhaps this is explained in part by the fact that he had been inducted into the life of a soldier as a scout or ranger rather than under the auspices of a drillmaster. Perhaps, too, it was partly because he usually commanded his fellow townsmen, freedom-loving farmers like himself, and because frequently he served under the orders of his genial brother.

In 1758, from March to December, Captain Asa Whitcomb commanded the Lancaster company at Lake George. In the campaign of that year the task of capturing Fort Ticonderoga fell to the lot of the incompetent British general, Abercromby. Twenty-four regiments of British and Yankee troops, numbering over fifteen thousand men, moved down Lake George in batteaux on the morning of July 5, 1758, and advanced towards the French fort through the thick woods along the stream connecting Lake George with Lake Champlain. Soon after leaving Lake George, a brief engagement with the enemy occurred, which (though lasting less than an hour) resulted in the rout and capture of the French. But Lord Howe, foremost in the skirmish, was among the first to fall, dying immediately.

Three days later Abercromby's troops, fourfold those of Montcalm, advanced to "the outworks of the fortress, which was protected by water and impassable swamps on all sides but one. Hitherto al-

¹ Asa Whitcomb's company served from March 28 to December 12, 1755.

² Nourse, *Military Annals*, 37.

ways dilatory he [Abercromby] now became foolhardy. . . . Without awaiting his artillery . . . he at once ordered an assault by columns upon intrenchments bristling with formidable abatis. Four hours of desperate and useless fighting followed. About two thousand brave men were sacrificed, . . .” and the army was ignominiously routed by a force vastly inferior to its own.¹

In this engagement Captain Asa Whitcomb led a company of ninety-eight men from Lancaster and adjoining towns. This company was in the thick of the fight and acquitted itself honorably, three of the men being killed in action. During the autumn ill-cooked and tainted provisions and the universal lack of sanitation in the camps caused fever and dysentery to an alarming extent so that the fort became one vast hospital. At least four in Captain Whitcomb’s company were sick, and one died on the way home. The 1758 campaign closed the services of Captain Whitcomb in the French and Indian War. Of the nineteen Sterling men who lost their lives during the war, ten had served under him and had fallen in battle at his side.

Whitcomb had already begun to take an active part in the civil affairs of Lancaster. He was first elected selectman in February, 1755. Both precincts of the town had in those days their own parish and church organization but were governed by a single town meeting and board of selectmen. The citizens of the town had confidence in Whitcomb’s ability, for he was frequently reelected, serving seven years in this capacity, and this in spite of the fact that he lived far removed from Lancaster Center. He proved to be public-spirited, undertaking faithfully the long journeys on horseback to attend selectmen’s meetings. By the rude trails of those days, each such trip required several hours.

The founders of Lancaster differed in one respect from most of the Puritan pioneers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They were as devout Christians, of as good breeding, ready intelligence, and sound character as any similar group in the churches of the Bay Colony. They were as keen as any in their dislike of ceremonialism, in their Puritan stress upon integrity of character, and in their faithful attendance upon the worship of Almighty God. But they had little use for the theocratic government of the Bay towns. Indeed they had gone forty miles into the wilderness that they might breathe

¹ Nourse, *Military Annals*, 64-65.

the free air of America uncontaminated by the restraints of political piety. Several of them had petitioned the General Court for a wider franchise which would allow the vote to all those who were upright in character, even though not necessarily members of any Puritan church. Thus they were persons of broader spirit, who more clearly and justly sensed the democratic implications of New England Congregationalism as it applied to government than did the clergy and many of the settlers of the older towns.

Like their forebears, liberal in their sympathies, Lancastrians in the late colonial period were extremely jealous of trespass upon their religious freedom. The churches in this vicinity were at that time served by clergymen distinguished among their brethren for strength of intellect, breadth of learning, and energy of character. But because of their Tory views, their espousal of high church and prerogative, several of them were compelled to sacrifice their livings to the spirit of the times.¹

John Mellen, the minister at Sterling, was liberal in his theology, which was most acceptable to his congregation. But his conduct of church affairs was high-handed and offensive. He declined putting questions to vote when they were proposed in church meetings, neglected to call such meetings upon request, and arbitrarily dissolved them when they were called. He exercised the power of negating or nonconcurring the votes of church members. He directed the communion table to be set, against the vote of the church, and refused to conduct the communion service when desired to do so by the church. He considered minister, church, and parish as analogous to King, Lords, and Commons: no vote could pass concerning their political relation without the concurrence of the three branches.² An example may be given from the Sterling church records to show to what great lengths this absurdity went: "Voted, It is *not* constitutional for the Pastor to act as moderator, when the complaints are against himself. Pastor non-concurred."

Finally his parishioners lost patience with him, and at a meeting in November, 1774, the church voted to dissolve the pastoral relation. With this vote the parish agreed. The Whitcomb brothers having

¹ Isaac Goodwin, "History of the Congregational Church in Sterling, Formerly the West Parish in Lancaster," *Worcester Magazine*, II (August, 1826), 223*n.*; Joseph N. Pardee, "Thomas Goss *vs.* Inhabitants of Bolton, 1770-1782," *Proceedings of the Unitarian Historical Society*, II, Part I, 22.

² *Worcester Magazine*, II (August, 1826), 221*n.*

already won recognition as "Friends to Liberty, both Civil and Religious, and also Sufferers under the *growing Power of the Clergy*,"¹ there can be no doubt about the part played in this affair by Asa Whitcomb.

Captain Whitcomb was elected to represent the town of Lancaster in the Massachusetts General Court for eight years between 1766 and 1774 and proved himself as valuable to the town as in his military capacity. This was an important period of transition, when men everywhere began to take sides for or against King and Parliament. It was a time when the colonists were beginning to stand up for their rights as freeborn Englishmen. A lover of freedom and a hater of oppression, Whitcomb at once took the side of the colonists and stood firm against British taxation and all other encroachments of imperialism.

In May, 1768, New England seamen were forcibly impressed to serve aboard a British man-of-war. In the midst of this excitement, Governor Bernard laid before the legislature a letter from the British ministry demanding that the General Court of Massachusetts rescind its resolution of the preceding February which denied the power of Parliament to tax the colonies. By a vote of ninety-two to seventeen the Massachusetts legislature refused to retract its former vote. Captain Whitcomb was one of the ninety-two. As soon as the Governor learned of this action, he dissolved the General Court.

The citizens of Lancaster hotly resented these and similar later intrusions of the Crown upon the ancient liberties of the Province. At a town meeting held January 19, 1773, the following resolutions were adopted, anticipating by three and one-half years the affirmations of the Declaration of Independence:

At a legal Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Lancaster, by Adjournment.

The Committee appointed by the Town to take into Consideration the State of public Affairs, beg Leave to report the following Resolves and Instructions.

1. *Resolved*, That this and every other Town in this Province have an undoubted Right to meet together, and consult upon all Matters interesting to them, when and so often as they shall judge fit; and it is more especially their Duty so to do, when any Infringement is made upon their Civil or Religious Liberties.
2. *Resolved*, That the raising a Revenue in the Colonies without their Consent, either by themselves or their Representatives, is an Infringement of that Right which every Freeman has, to dispose of his own Property.

¹ Ebenezer Chaplin, *A Treatise on Church Government* (Boston, 1773), 39.

3. *Resolved*, That the granting a Salary to his Excellency the Governor of this Province out of the Revenue unconstitutionally raised from us, is an Innovation of a very alarming Tendency.

4. *Resolved*, That it is of the highest Importance to the Security of Liberty, Life and Property, that the public Administration of Justice should be pure and impartial; and that the Judges should be free from every Bias, either in Favour of the Crown or the Subject.

5. *Resolved*, That the absolute Dependency of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province upon the Crown for their Support, would, if it should ever take Place have the strongest Tendency to bias the Minds of the Judges, and would weaken our Confidence in them.

6. *Resolved*, That the Extension of the Powers of the Court of Vice-Admiralty to its present enormous Degree is a great Grievance, and deprives the Subject, in many Instances, of that noble Privilege of Englishmen, Trials by Juries.

7. *Resolved*, That the Proceedings of this Town be transmitted to the Town of Boston.

Dr. William Dunsmoor,	} Committee for Grievances.
John Prescott,	
Josiah Kendall,	
Ebenezer Allen,	
Nathaniel Wyman,	
Joseph White,	
Aaron Sawyer,	

Attest. DANIEL ROBBINS, *Town-Clerk*.¹

At the same town meeting the following instructions to the town's representative were adopted:

To Captain Asa Whitcomb.

Sir, As you are chosen to represent this Town in the General Assembly of this Province, we take this Opportunity of informing you of our Sentiments, relative to the unhappy State of our publick Affairs: You will perceive by the Resolves which are herewith sent to you, the Light in which we view the Encroachments made upon our Constitutional Freedom, particularly you will observe our serious Opinion of a Dependancy of the Judges of the Superior Court on the Crown for their Support: That they are already so dependant, or that it is in Contemplation to render them so, we have great Reason to fear. Also an Act passed in the late Session of Parliament, intituled, An Act for the better preserving his Majesty's Dock Yards, etc. does in a most essential Manner infringe the Rights and Liberties of the Colonies, as it puts it in the Power of any wicked Tool of Administration, either from Malice or Policy, to take any Inhabitant from the Colonies, and carry him to Great Britain, there to be tried; which, by the Expence and long Detention from his Occupation, would be the Destruction of almost any Man among us, although his Innocence might finally appear in the clearest Manner. And further, the late Commissions for

¹ *Boston Gazette*, May 17, 1773; reprinted in Nourse, *Military Annals*, 95.

taking Persons in our Sister Colony, Rhode-Island, and sending them to Great-Britain, there to be tried, upon Suspicion of being concerned in burning his Majesty's Schooner Gaspee, is an Invasion of the Rights of the Colonies, and ought to excite the Attention of the whole Continent. We expect that you will use your utmost Efforts this Session of our General Assembly, to obtain Radical Redress of our Grievances; and we wish you Success in your Endeavours, and which we cannot but flatter ourselves from the late happy Change in the American Department, you will meet with. We confide in your Ability and Firmness in all Matters which may come before the General Court, assuring you of the Support of this Town in all your legal Proceedings, and earnestly praying that the great Governor of the World may direct and bless you in all your Ways.

Attest. DANIEL ROBBINS, *Town Clerk*.¹

When Lancaster, following the revolutionary current, formed its Committee of Correspondence, Whitcomb was chosen as one of its members. As a representative of the Committee he attended meetings in Worcester in August and September, 1774, to which all the committees in the county sent delegates. One of the grievances then agitating Worcester County patriots and on the agenda for settlement was the case of the justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace of the county and of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas who, the preceding June, had presented a loyal address to Governor Gage. The patriot convention applied drastic measures to these political dissidents and quickly secured not only recantations but promises to "stay all judicial proceedings" of the courts. Whitcomb's part in this important business was to serve on a committee of three to wait on some of the justices of the County Court "to give them an opportunity to sign the declaration" for suspending sessions of the courts which had already been signed by the justices and officers of the inferior court.²

From this time on, Whitcomb became increasingly active in the patriot cause in Lancaster.³ At a town meeting on September 19, after his return from the proceedings at Worcester, he was authorized to enlist a volunteer company of fifty men "to be Ready at a minutes Warning to Turn out upon any Emergency." Shortly afterwards he was chosen as one of Lancaster's representatives in the First Provincial Congress. At the turn of the year, when, as a result of the action taken by the Continental Congress in October, the non-

¹ *Boston Gazette*, May 17, 1773; reprinted in Nourse, *Military Annals*, 95-96.

² *The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775*, William Lincoln, Editor (Boston, 1838), 637; Nourse, *Military Annals*, 102-103.

³ Nourse, *Military Annals*, 98-100.

importation movement was sweeping through the country, he was made a member of the committee to draw up an appropriate non-importation agreement for Lancaster as well as of that charged with its enforcement. Another responsibility placed on him was service on a committee "to receive Subscriptions and Donations for the Suffering Poor of the Town of Boston occasioned by the Late Boston Port Bill." At the same time he was elected as one of Lancaster's representatives in the Second Provincial Congress, which was to meet at Cambridge, February 1, 1775.

Before the outbreak of war the following April, Asa Whitcomb was elected colonel of the Lancaster militia regiment,¹ while John Whitcomb, besides being a "general officer" of the Massachusetts militia, was also colonel of the Lancaster regiment of Minute Men. Thus Lancaster was ready when a hurrying courier galloped through the town on the morning of April nineteenth, shouting the news that the British were marching to Lexington and Concord. In short order 257 resolute men, under six company leaders, eagerly hastened to Concord to help drive the invaders back. General Heath noted in his diary: "General Whitcomb was in this day's battle"; and so too, we may be sure, was his brother Colonel Asa. Many men from their regiments took active part in the skirmishes on that day. The Lancaster Minute Men were engaged at this time for four and a half days. They were prepared only for sudden calls to duty, but about one-third of them enlisted in the "American Army" (as the forces engaged before Boston were called) for the eight remaining months of the year.

The Provincial Congress on May 6, 1775, passed a resolve appointing General Whitcomb and Colonel Benjamin Lincoln muster-

¹ The precise date of Whitcomb's election as colonel is not known. The Third Worcester Regiment, of which he had the command and which included companies from Lancaster, Bolton, Harvard, Leominster, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Ashburnham, and Westminster (Massachusetts Archives, CCIX. 189), was one of those created by action of the Worcester County Convention on September 6, 1774. At that time provision was made for the choice of new company officers in all the companies, and they in turn were to elect the field officers. *Journals of Massachusetts Provincial Congresses*, 643. Whitcomb's new military rank must have been conferred on him at some time between October 7, 1774, when in the list of members of the First Provincial Congress he is referred to as "Capt. Asa Whitcomb" (*ibid.*, 13), and February 1, 1775, when in the list of Second Provincial Congress members he is called "Col. Asa Whitcomb" (*ibid.*, 82).

It is important to note that the Index to Volume V of the *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (1769-1780), under Whitcomb's name, errs in identifying the Colonel Whitcomb mentioned on pages 270, 273, 372, and 410 as Asa. The references in all those cases are to his brother John, since Asa is not known to have been a colonel in 1772.

masters of the Massachusetts forces. General Whitcomb declined the position, and Colonel Asa Whitcomb was chosen on May 9 to be Lincoln's associate. He also served as a member of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, having been appointed by the Provincial Congress to this position on April 23, 1775, and is said to have been for a time Paymaster General of the Massachusetts forces as well.¹ These duties he assumed in addition to the command of the Lancaster regiment.

At the Battle of Bunker Hill, General John Whitcomb (now First Major General of the Massachusetts army), being senior officer present, was in command of the forces at Lechmere Point on the Cambridge shore, where the main attack of the British was expected. Colonel Asa Whitcomb apparently was with his brother. As soon as it became evident that the British would not land at Lechmere Point, several companies of the Lancaster regiment were dispatched to reinforce Prescott and were crossing the Neck towards the battleground when the retreat began. By casualties in the ranks it is clear that at least six companies of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment were in the battle. According to official returns his regiment lost five killed, eight wounded, and two missing in the battle.

When the army was organized for the siege of Boston, the Lancaster regiment, the largest of the twenty-six Massachusetts regiments before Boston, was placed in a brigade with the Rhode Island troops under General Nathanael Greene and was posted at Prospect Hill. The Rhode Island general is credited with having the best-disciplined brigade in the patriot lines.

At the time of the military reorganization consequent upon the creation of the Continental Army Colonel Whitcomb was one of the field officers dropped. According to a newspaper account it was because of his advanced age. According to Washington it was because of the necessity for economy. Taking both explanations at their face value, one is tempted to surmise that the correct underlying reason for this apparent ending of Whitcomb's military career is to be found in the fact that while, because of his "noble qualities of heart," he enjoyed great popularity, he was in fact too amiable to become a strict disciplinarian.²

In mid-November, however, Whitcomb was reinstated. The story, as given a few months later in a Boston newspaper, is as follows:

¹ Nourse, *Military Annals*, 141.

² *Ibid.*, 132.

Deacon Whitcomb, of Lancaster (who was a member of the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay till the present war commenced, had served in former wars, and been in different engagements) served as a Colonel in the Continental Army; but on account of his age was left out upon the new regulation: His men highly resented it, and declared they would not list again after their time was out. The Colonel told them he did not doubt there were sufficient reasons for the regulation and he was satisfied with it; he then blamed them for their conduct, and said he would enlist as a private. A Colonel Brewer heard of it, and offered to resign in favour of Colonel Whitcomb. The whole coming to General Washington's ears, he allowed of Col. Brewer's resignation in Col. Whitcomb's favour, appointed the former Barrack-Master, till he could further promote him, and acquainted the army with the whole affair in general orders. Let antiquity produce a more striking instance of true greatness of mind.¹

Washington's general orders (November 16, 1775) were as follows:

Motives of Oeconomy rendering it indispensibly necessary that many of the Regiments should be reduced, and the whole put upon a different establishment; several deserving Officers, not from any demerit, but pure necessity, having been excluded in the New Arrangement of the Army, among these was Col. Whitcomb; but the noble Sentiments disclosed by that Gentleman, upon this Occasion, the Zeal he has shewn in exhorting the Men not to abandon the Interest of their Country at this important crisis, and his Determination to continue in the service *even* as a private soldier, rather than by a bad example, when the Enemy are gathering Strength; put the public Affairs to hazzard. When an Example of this kind is set, it not only entitles a Gentleman to particular Thanks, but to particular rewards, in the bestowing of which, Colonel Jonathan Brewer is entitled to no small share of Credit, in readily giving up the Regiment, which he was appointed to command, to Col. Whitcomb—Col. Whitcomb therefore, is henceforward to be consider'd, as Colonel of that Regiment, which was intended for Col. Brewer; and Col. Brewer will be appointed Barrack Master, until something better worth his Acceptance can be provided.²

Under the new establishment Colonel Whitcomb's regiment was the Sixth Foot, there being now twenty-seven infantry regiments in all, of eight companies each.

After several months' service in the intrenchments upon Prospect Hill, Colonel Whitcomb's regiment was ordered to Roxbury, where it was billeted in the Governor Shirley mansion. Before dawn on March 5, 1776, the regiment relieved the five thousand men who had thrown up on Dorchester Heights two redoubts commanding

¹ *New England Chronicle*, January 11, 1776 (copied from the *New London Gazette*); reprinted in Nourse, *Military Annals*, 132.

² *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, IV (Washington, 1931), 74.

the city of Boston. These hastily constructed fortifications made Boston untenable by the enemy, and the city was soon evacuated. The Sixth Foot was one of the three regiments detailed to garrison the city, and on March 20 they were joyfully welcomed by the impoverished citizens as they marched through the streets desolated by a ten-month siege.

Even after the evacuation of the city thirteen vessels of the British fleet under Commodore Banks remained off Nantasket, blockading the harbor. An expedition under the command of Colonel Whitcomb, and including a part of his regiment, embarked on June 13, from Long Wharf, and proceeded by night to Long Island, where earthworks were thrown up and a battery planted. In the morning the battery opened fire upon the surprised Commodore, compelling him to make a hasty departure. This action won special commendation from General Greene in his orders:

Head-quarters, Boston, 15th June, 1776.

The Commander-in-chief thanks Colonel Whitcomb, Lieut.-Colonel Holden, and Colonel Jackson, and the officers and soldiers under their command, for their spirited and soldierlike conduct yesterday in carrying on the expedition against the enemy, and in conjunction with the colony troops, and driving them out of the harbor. Such noble exertions give proof of the spirit and magnanimity of freemen in the cause of liberty, and afford the pleasing prospect that by the smiles of Heaven America will rise superior to all the tyrants of the earth. The General thanks the citizens and volunteers who gave their assistance on this occasion.¹

When the Declaration of Independence was read from the old State House balcony, on July 18, the regiments of Colonels Whitcomb and Sargent were paraded on King Street in thirteen companies. A section of artillery fired a salute of thirteen guns. Three weeks later, on August 7, "with drum and fife and flying colors," the Sixth Foot marched for Ticonderoga. After many experiences the regiment arrived at the fort about the first of September and "spent the winter in comfortable log huts, strengthening the works, and awaiting an enemy that showed no disposition to assault that formidable position."²

The soldiers of the American Army were brave, intelligent, and patriotic, and "excelled as pioneers or skirmishers, or in defensive

¹ *Proceedings*, xvi. 358.

² The story of this march is most interestingly told in the diary of Ebenezer Wild, a noncommissioned officer of the regiment. 2 *Proceedings*, vi. 79ff.

warfare, and wherever independent action and judgment could most avail." But the army discipline was of the loosest description on the part of both officers and men. The surgeon of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment described him as "a serious, good man, but . . . more conversant with the economy of domestic life than the etiquette practised in camp."¹

How much discipline was needed at Ticonderoga is illustrated by an incident which occurred on Christmas Eve, 1776. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Craig of Anthony Wayne's regiment, half crazed with drink, on this occasion knocked down Colonel Whitcomb and set the camp in an uproar. For a drunken officer to attack in such cowardly fashion an elderly superior officer of proven courage and leadership in the battles of thirty years casts strong doubts upon the quality of discipline even in Wayne's crack regiment. And while it may be admitted that Asa Whitcomb was only a farmer and a small-town squire, it would also appear from the sworn documents relating to the case that Lieutenant Colonel Craig was a very small edition of a gentleman. But it was not in Colonel Whitcomb's nature to hold a grudge, so when a fat bear was shot in the woods near by, he accepted Craig's invitation to the feast. All the officers partook of it, and peace was again restored.²

Having served for two years as a colonel in the Continental Army, and having reached his sixtieth year, Asa Whitcomb retired from military duty on April 1, 1777, and returned to his farm in Lancaster. "He experienced some trouble, because of imperfect records, in settling his accounts as Paymaster-General of the Massachusetts forces. . . . No suspicion, however, of his entire integrity, his unselfish patriotism, or his bravery, ever dimmed his reputation."³

In anticipation of his homecoming, he had been chosen chairman of the Lancaster Committee of Correspondence and Safety, March 11, 1777. In the fall of that year he also served as chairman of the committee to draw up a statement of the town's grievances against a recent act of the General Court relating to bills of credit. He later was asked to collect evidence against the few suspected Loyalists of the town.

Before the Revolution he owned more than a thousand acres of land in Sterling, Princeton, Lancaster, Leominster, Hubbardston, Westminster, and Templeton, besides his own excellent farm of 360

¹ Nourse, *Military Annals*, 139.

² *Ibid.*, 139-140.

³ *Ibid.*, 141.

acres in West Sterling. Some men, unsuccessful in civil life, achieve fame and glory in war service. Others accumulate fortunes by remaining at home in the nation's time of need. But Squire Whitcomb returned home after his long service to find himself penniless. His older sons, who might have averted this catastrophe, had served with him in the field. His older daughters had married. But there were still six children at home, and a child yet to be born. However thriftily his wife managed, there were still debts and taxes to be paid for which no money could be found. Whitcomb was obliged to part with all his lands, even his great farm, receiving for them only paper money. With this he paid his debts, but what paper currency remained was soon worthless.

In 1780 Colonel Whitcomb and his family removed to a small farm on the eastern edge of the town of Princeton and in that same year he was commissioned as justice of the peace. He was elected selectman in 1781 and representative to the General Court in 1783, after which he retired from public service, remaining on his farm until his death at Princeton, March 16, 1804, at the ripe age of eighty-four. Doubtless he was buried by the side of his two wives in the old burial field at Chocksett. No stone marks his grave, so soon did the next generation forget Lancaster's foremost citizen and her illustrious military commander in the American Revolution.

Coming to his wilderness lands at Chocksett as a young man, Asa Whitcomb felled the trees on his wide acres, built his home and barns, cleared his fields and "plowed the hard, stony and unyielding soil." By tireless industry and perseverance, he made those barren acres fruitful. He was courageous and determined—qualities essential to a pioneer. Integrity of heart, kindliness of disposition, and undeviating faith in God were characteristic of his long and useful life.

His contemporary, Mr. Isaac Goodwin, the historian of Sterling, wrote of him:

At the commencement of the war he was one of our wealthiest citizens. He was for many years entrusted with the most important and responsible offices, was Deacon of the Church from 1760—Representative from Lancaster before the division, and Justice of the Peace, besides his various military stations. Such was his zeal in the cause of liberty, and so great his confidence in the patriotism and integrity of his countrymen, that he pledged his whole fortune upon the faith of the paper currency, and consequently became bankrupt. He removed to Princeton, where he died at an advanced age in a state of abject poverty; sus-

tained by a conscious integrity, that never departed from him, and an exalted piety that elevated him above the ills of life.¹

Colonel Asa Whitcomb deserves a high place in the memory of the citizens of Lancaster, the town which gave him birth, and which he served so loyally and well.

¹ *Worcester Magazine*, 11 (May, 1826), 43ⁿ.-44ⁿ.

A Forgotten Patriot Jedediah Foster of Brookfield¹

By FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL²

MY attention has recently been called to a Revolutionary figure of whom most of us know little or nothing, although many of us probably know some of his descendants. He deserves attention in this Society; and in this year which is to witness the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts (formerly known as the Superior Court of Judicature) it is gratifying to be able to point to the lasting services and influence of one of its members during the Revolutionary period whose work, like that of some of our other early public-spirited men, has, by the accidents of history, been too long forgotten.

Jedediah Foster, "ever pre-eminent in the annals of Brookfield," came from "that home of good men, the town of Andover,"³ where he was born on October 10, 1726. Shortly after graduation from Harvard College in 1744 he settled in Brookfield. "No man," declared the Reverend Lyman Whiting in his oration on the occasion of the Brookfield bicentennial in 1860, "has ever dwelt among us who held so many local trusts—lived in such intimate sympathy with the people, cared for and served them so abundantly and excellently,—and yet so far excelled them in station and character. He projected and carried through more that is to be prized in our town life, than could be recounted for hours."⁴ In 1754 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Worcester County. In 1761 he was chosen by the town of Brookfield as its representative in the General Court and he was annually reëlected until 1775. In the latter year he was appointed Judge of Probate for Worcester County. In 1774 he was elected a member of the Council, but his election was vetoed by Governor Gage because Foster had been "one of the memorable

¹ The main biographical facts about Jedediah Foster have been taken from Joseph I. Foot, *An Historical Discourse Delivered at West Brookfield, Mass., Nov. 27, 1828* (West Brookfield, 1843).

² This paper was read at the February, 1942, meeting.

³ Lyman Whiting, *A Bi-centennial Oration Made in West Brookfield, July 4, 1860, at the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town of Brookfield* (West Brookfield, 1869), 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

ninety-two . . . who refused to rescind the vote for the circular letter" and had "opposed the measures of Bernard and Hutchinson for abridging the Liberties of the country."¹ In 1776 he was appointed a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature and he served until his death on October 17, 1779, at the age of fifty-three. Elected a member of the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1779, he was chosen to the committee of thirty that was charged with preparing a declaration of rights and a frame of government, and he served actively from the meeting of the convention in September until his death the following month.

At this point an interesting historical question arises. According to Roger Foster,

The town tradition, handed down from generation to generation, seems to establish the fact that although valuable assistance may have been given by John Adams, the draft of that great State paper in the form nearest that finally ordained, was written by Judge Foster's hand in the Foster House on Foster's Hill.²

In connection with this passage, Mr. Foster added a footnote as follows:

The grandson of John Adams with commendable filial piety has inserted in the former's works the first draft of that Constitution, together with the claim that it was entirely written by John Adams. There is no mention of this in the diary or autobiography of Adams, nor in any contemporaneous publication. No manuscript draft or copy by the second President has been found. The sole authority for the statement is an unpublished letter by him to W. D. Williamson, dated February 5th. 1812, and not included in his works, nor ever published, so far as the writer can ascertain. This was written when the Ex-President was seventy-seven; when his memory as to what occurred in the Convention was impaired, as is admitted by Charles Francis Adams in another connection . . .; and when, as is often the case at that period of life, he was not inclined to excessive modesty concerning his earlier achievements. John Adams himself complains of the inaccuracy of his memory in several instances. . . . Moreover, in a contemporaneous letter, written to Benjamin Rush November 6th, 1779, . . . John Adams expresses regret that the committee did not adopt his wishes as to the composition of the legislature. He is undoubtedly entitled to full credit for the insertion in the draft of an extraordinary clause giving to the governor the right to an absolute veto, the power which had long since become obsolete in England. (See *Defense of the Constitution of the Government of the United States of America*, Vol. I, Ch. III.)

¹ *Quabaug, 1660-1910: An Account of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration Held at West Brookfield, Mass., September 21, 1910*, Charles J. Adams, Editor (Worcester, 1915), 81. ² *Ibid.*, 101.

On the other hand, the tradition of Brookfield that the draft of the instrument was written by Jedediah Foster is corroborated by the statement in the *Boston Gazette* of November 9th, 1779: that his death was hastened by his labors upon that instrument.

Both John Adams and Jedediah Foster were members of the Committee of Thirty selected by the Convention to draft the Constitution. There is no record of the proceedings of that committee, except the draft contained in their report, which was first published in 1832 and was afterwards reprinted as part of the Works of John Adams. Judge Foster died October 17th, 1779, eleven days before the report was presented to the Convention. John Adams sailed for Europe November 13th, 1779, two weeks after the presentation of the report, while it was still under discussion.

It is believed that to any dispassionate mind acquainted with the writings of both, the style of the document will appear to resemble that of the older more nearly than that of the younger statesman. It is smoother than the authentic writings of John Adams.¹

This is the first challenge that I have noticed to the generally accepted view that the draft of the substance of the Massachusetts constitution came from John Adams.² Can the challenge be met on the evidence by what Mr. Foster calls "a dispassionate mind"? I think it can, and without in the least depreciating or exaggerating the relative value of the services of either man.

When all due allowance is made for the weaknesses of John Adams (of which he was perfectly conscious in his calm moments) and for the acknowledged uncertainty of his memory for details in some of his statements written after he left the presidency, the facts appear to be as follows—and I speak from considerable familiarity gained through observation of, and participation in, the drafting of laws.

Mr. Foster says that "valuable assistance" *may* have been given by John Adams. This hardly seems a fair comment; and in the footnote quoted he singles out, ironically, what he calls the "extraordinary" proposal by Adams for an absolute veto of legislation by the governor. Foster does not mention the fact, however, that Adams was open-minded enough to write to Jonathan Jackson on October 2, 1780, that the report of the committee and the finished constitution which were published "in all the public papers of Europe . . . have been treated with much respect" and that "the substitute for the

¹ *Wyabaug, 1660-1910, 101n.*

² "It was the task of John Adams to construct a government on the ruins of what his cousin Samuel Adams had done so much to destroy." *A Manual for the Constitutional Convention, 1917* (2nd ed., Boston, 1917), 20.

Governor's negative is generally thought an amelioration, and *I must confess it is so widely guarded that it has quite reconciled me.*"¹

When one pieces together the information contained in Mr. Foster's oration and the evidence in the ten volumes of the *Works* of John Adams,² which reflect all Adams's varying moods, his recollections, his changing opinions, and his explosions, as well as his calmer, farsighted judgment and suggestions, the evidence arranges itself as follows.

Adams was, of course, not the only constructive mind in Massachusetts; there were many of them of various kinds, and "one star differeth from another star in glory." But, with all his faults, he was the man who was turned to for suggestions in almost every Revolutionary crisis, local or national, before 1780, and he met the tests. Adams had early given special attention to the problem of state governments after independence should have been achieved, and his *Thoughts on Government* (1776), in which he presented his model, was read throughout the country.³

The situation that existed when the constitutional convention met in Cambridge on September 1, 1779, is described with what seems fairness and not mere "commendable filial piety" by Charles Francis Adams in his life of his grandfather.

The convention immediately adopted two propositions as guides to their labors. The first specified the object of their wishes, which was "to establish a free republic." The second defined the essence of it to be, "the government of a people by fixed laws of their own making." Taking this position as their point of departure, the next step was the creation of a committee of thirty-one to mature a draft of an instrument to accomplish the design. This committee, in its turn, delegated the task to a smaller one, which employed Mr. Adams. The result was a form of constitution, preceded by a bill of rights, the leading features of which were his work. This result fell in sufficiently with the views of the Essex men to secure their support, without which it would not have been adopted, whilst it recommended itself to the judgment of the Boston interest so far as to meet the approbation on the one side, of James Bowdoin, and, on the other, of Samuel Adams, both alike indispensable to its success. Here, however, the active service of John Adams, in this department, was to stop. Before the report of the large committee came up to be acted on, he had been summoned to another field of duty, which compelled him to leave his work to be matured by other hands. It is

¹ *The Works of John Adams*, Charles Francis Adams, Editor, IX. 510-511. The italics are mine.

² See particularly *Works*, I. 284; III. 229; IV. 214, 215, 219; VII. 177, 179; IX. 393, 442, 463, 465, 506, 509, 510, 618, 623.

³ Adams, *Works*, IV. 188-267.

among the recommendations of its quality that it survived this transfer; and growing better by careful handling, and the suggestions of acute professional skill, as well as of sound practical experience, it soon followed him across the ocean in so satisfactory a shape, that he was able, with pride, to lay it before the distrustful as a proof that the task which his countrymen seemed to them rashly to have undertaken, was not at all beyond their ability to execute with success.¹

After organizing in the first few days of September, the convention devoted September 6 to what is described in the *Journal* as "free conversation," which was probably very free indeed. The proposed constitution rejected in 1778 was at hand. Also available was the pamphlet which led to its defeat, the so-called *Essex Result*,² which was full of suggestions from the pen of young Theophilus Parsons. There were also before the convention suggestions from towns in Berkshire, from Concord, and doubtless from other communities.

It appears from the remarks of Judge Thomas Dawes (a member of the convention) in the subsequent convention of 1820, that John Adams made a speech during the "free conversation" of September 6. "He had not forgotten the introductory speech [of John Adams]. . . . That speech was intended to reconcile the discordant sentiments which prevailed in gentlemen from different parts of the Commonwealth and of different means of information."³ As for the twelve delegates from Boston, of whom Dawes was one, "those gentlemen were obliged to change their minds as light beamed upon them on the various subjects discussed."

A committee of thirty to prepare a draft was appointed, and on September 7 the convention adjourned to October 28. But anyone familiar with drafting documents knows that a committee of thirty cannot begin such an undertaking. A few individuals have to start putting things on paper. The committee met to begin work on September 13 and a subcommittee of three was chosen consisting of John and Samuel Adams and James Bowdoin. Naturally, the preliminary task was turned over by them to the most experienced thinker and draftsman of the three—John Adams. He prepared a

¹ Adams, *Works*, I. 288.

² *Result of the Convention of Delegates Holden at Ipswich in the County of Essex, Who Were Deputed to Take into Consideration the Constitution and Form of Government, Proposed by the Convention of the State of Massachusetts-Bay* (Newburyport, 1778); reprinted in Theophilus Parsons, *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons* (Boston, 1861), 359-402.

³ *Journal of Debates and Proceedings in the Convention of Delegates Chosen to Revise the Constitution of Massachusetts . . . 1820* (Boston, 1853), 430.

draft—that was his job. Its exact form no one knows, as no copy has survived. His draft was, of course, submitted to his colleagues on the subcommittee and was in due course, at some unknown date, presumably by October 1, submitted to the full committee of thirty. It seems obvious from the account of Roger Foster that this is the natural and probable point at which Jedediah Foster entered the picture. He had, doubtless, been actively considering the subject since September 13.

As a justice of the Superior Court and one of the able, balanced, and informed men of judgment, coming, moreover, from the center of the state and thoroughly familiar with the sentiments of the people and with their problems, he may well have occupied a position similar to that of some member of the Committee on Style in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. He is known to have overworked himself under pressure, as the convention was to meet again on October 28; and he died of a fever on October 17.

We may accept the Brookfield tradition that Foster prepared a draft of the constitution before his death. The only draft actually in existence is that reported by the full committee on October 28, 1779,¹ and it may well be that this represents Jedediah Foster's revision of Adams's earlier draft in the matter of phraseology. The document was no one man's work. It should not be forgotten that Theophilus Parsons was a member of the committee of thirty and that he was an articulate person. There were other thinking men, too, on that committee, including three of Foster's colleagues of the Superior Court, William Cushing, James Sullivan, and David Sewall.

All this is clearly suggested by the sentence of Charles Francis Adams, already quoted, as to the draft of John Adams.

It is among the recommendations of its quality that it survived . . . and *growing better by careful handling, and the suggestions of acute professional skill, as well as of sound practical experience*,² it soon followed [Adams] . . . across the ocean in so satisfactory a shape . . . as a proof that the task which his countrymen seemed . . . rashly to have undertaken, was not at all beyond their ability to execute with success.

This is the real tribute of Charles Francis Adams to the work of Jedediah Foster and his associates, although he does not name him. We are indebted to Roger Foster for preserving in print the Brook-

¹ Adams, *Works*, IV. 219-267.

² Italics mine.

field tradition of one of the leading men who contributed "the careful handling . . . the suggestions of acute professional skill" and "sound practical experience" to the final draft. Jedediah Foster deserves to be remembered.

The Correspondence of John Adams and Horatio Gates

By BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG¹

FOR reasons brought out in my *Washington and the Revolution: A Re-Appraisal*, I hold a much higher opinion of the ability and public spirit displayed by most of the members of the Second Continental Congress than is commonly held by writers on the American Revolution. The delegates from New England and Virginia are especially impressive, and, among the former, John Adams merits particular esteem.

Adams has been accused of vanity, of pompousness, of an "overfondness for fame and glory," and perhaps this is true of the later years of his career. I have not studied them, and cannot say. But no one familiar with his correspondence and diary during the years 1774 to 1781 could charge him with these weaknesses at that time. Vivacity, humor, knowledge, sagacity, and courage: these, not the alleged foibles, are the qualities that were then outstanding.

It was only within the last hour that I perceived what seems to be the source of the legend that, during the Revolution, Adams's best friends were forced to admit that he was guilty of self-glorification. This afternoon, thumbing the cards on John Adams in the Society's manuscript catalogue to see if there were any I had not previously noted, I came across the following: "*John Adams*. James Warren to Samuel Adams, September 28, 1775; 'his fondness for fame and glory.' " On examining the manuscript to which the card referred—a photostat of a letter in the Samuel Adams Papers at the New York Public Library—I found that the document was a playful letter from Warren to Samuel Adams evoked by an even more playful letter from John Adams to Warren. In his letter Adams had dilated at length on his epoch-making accomplishment in having, with the aid of "two yards of flannell," taught Samuel Adams horsemanship, with almost no injury to the latter's backsides.² In his letter of September 28 to Samuel Adams, Warren banteringly said:

¹ This paper was read at the March, 1942, meeting.

² John Adams to James Warren, September 17, 1775, *Collections*, LXXII (*Warren-Adams Letters*, 1), 109-111.

I really give you Joy on this occasion. and that this Important Acquisition was made by the help of flannel without Injury. I am obliged to my Friend Mr. [John] Adams for this Intelligence whose Letter I Recd. Yesterday by Mr. Cabot wholly on that Subject which shews the Importance of it in his mind, and his fondness for Fame and Glory for he assumes the whole merit of first advising, and then giving the Necessary Instructions.

Another charge against John Adams is that he was foolish or wicked enough to support General Gates. The charge has this much foundation: Adams himself states in his autobiography that he was "the best friend and most efficacious supporter he [Gates] ever had in America."¹ The error lies in the deduction that this support was a black mark against Adams. As brought out in my book previously mentioned, Gates's contribution to the Revolutionary cause during the first three years of the war was very great, and Adams's account should be credited, not debited, for his appreciation and support of Gates in that critical period.

In publishing the correspondence of Gates and Adams I do not pretend that it has the warmth and charm of the *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams, During the Revolution*, the comprehensiveness of the *Warren-Adams Letters*, published by this Society in 1917 and 1925, or the importance of the correspondence of Adams and Nathanael Greene.² But since the letters of Gates and Adams shed interesting light on these men and on some important events of the Revolution, and since only two of the letters have previously been printed, it seems worth while to publish the whole of the correspondence at this time.

The two men probably met for the first time in June, 1775, when Gates, recently appointed Adjutant General of the American army, passed through Philadelphia on his way from his home in the Shenandoah Valley to join the army at Cambridge. All that is known of their relations at this period is that Adams wrote Elbridge Gerry on June 18, 1775, that he had voted in Congress for Gates's appointment to the adjutant generalcy.³ Adams and Gates were probably immediately attracted to each other by their common opposition to timid measures. Adams's position is well known. Gates's appears in

¹ *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States*, Charles F. Adams, Editor, III (Boston, 1851), 47.

² *Rhode Island History*, I (April, 1942), 45-55; (July, 1942), 73-83.

³ *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, Edmund C. Burnett, Editor, I (Washington, 1921), 136.

the following letter of October 20, 1775, from his friend, General Charles Lee, to Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia:

I hope you received my last letter wherein I hinted to you how necessary it is to be cautious in broaching your Republican doctrines, . . . I am apprehensive, that I have myself been too unguarded upon this subject—Poor Gates, who is as mad an enthusiast as Colonel Rumbald himself has frighten'd 'em out of their Wits—For God's sake then, let time and circumstances work—Our damn'd Tyrant of St. James's whose folly, if possible, surpasses his villany will if you give him ropes bring about the righteous event. . . .¹

Colonel Richard Rumbold, it will be recalled, was the man who at his trial for treason as the leader of the Rye House Plot to assassinate Charles II spoke the famous lines: "I am sure there was no man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the world with a saddle upon his back, neither any bootied and spurred to ride him."² Hence, in Lee's opinion, Gates was a very warm republican indeed.

Adams paid a visit to the army at Cambridge in the winter of 1775–1776, and Gates apparently promised at that time to write him. This promise was fulfilled by the following letter written from headquarters on March 8, 1776:

DEAR SIR, Monday Night Two Thousand men under the Command of Brigadier General Thomas took Possession of Dorchester Heights; a vast Quantity of Materials being previously Collected, especially Chandeliers, and Fascines, our Troops were soon coverd, and long before day, began to Break Ground to thicken their defences against The Enemys Cannon: To Conceal our design, and divert the Enemys Attention, a very Heavy Service of Cannon, and Mortars, began to Play upon the Town between ten, and Eleven, Saturday night; from our Three Fortified Batteries at Cobble Hill, Letchmeres Point, and Lambs Dam; this was continued all that night, and the two Succeeding; The Enemy return'd The Fire constantly, but allways ceased as we did in the Mornings. Our Shot must have made Great Havock amongst the Houses, as I am confident they Swept the Town, what Loss, otherwise suffer'd by the Enemy, we are Ignorant, as neither Townsman, nor Deserter, has yet come in to acquaint us! Monday morning at Sun rise, expecting The Enemy would attempt to Force our New Works upon the Heights, everything was prepared for their proper Reception; and a large Body of Troops were drawn up near Cambridge River, with Orders upon a Signal Given, to Embark on board the Flat Bottom'd Boats, and in Two Divisions push into Boston; but the Enemy disappointed us by remaining Sullen and Sulkey in Boston, suffering Our Works upon the Heights to be carried on without any other molestation, than now, and Then, a Feint Cannonade upon Dorchester Neck; and even this, ceased with

¹ *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, IV (*Lee Papers*, I), 213–214.

² *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, Thomas B. Howell, Compiler, XI (London, 1816), 881.

the day; for neither side have since Fired a Shott at each other! by monday morning our Redoubts will be Finish'd, and Barracks for 600 Men; so all that Peninsula, may now be called Ours, as the Cannon on the Heights Commands the whole of it; The behaviour of The Enemy since Monday strongly indicates their intention of removing from Boston; as their Heavy Cannon, Powder, etc. has been seen, and heard, Transporting from Bunkers Hill, and the upper parts of The Town, to the Wharfs next the Shipping, for several days past; and this morning a Quantity of Beding is Observed putting on board Transports at the Long W[h]arf: before we are quite ready to advance our Batteries upon Dorches[te]r point, I suspect the Enemy will Embarque. a few days will shew if am, or am not mistaken; I was disappointed in not receiving you[r] High Mightyness's Act of Independency by the Last Post.

The Midde way, the best, we sometimes call,
But 'tis in Politicks no way at all;

shew this immediately to my Worthy Friend T. Johnson,¹ and remember I have begun to fullfill my Promise to you: I am Dear Sir with great Esteem
Your Affectionate Humble Servant

HORATIO GATES²

Adams replied from Philadelphia on March 23:

DEAR SIR, I had the Pleasure, a few days ago, of your Favour of 8th Instant, for which I esteem myself under great obligations to you.

We rejoice here at the Prospect there is of your driving the enemy from Boston. If you should succeed in this, I hope effectual Measures will be taken to fortify the Harbour, that the Navy may never enter it again. I think the Narrows may be so obstructed that large Ships will not be able to pass, and the Channell between long Island and the Moon may be commanded by Batteries upon each of those Islands in such a manner that Boston may be safe from Men of War. I hope my Countrymen will hesitate at no Expençe to attain this End, if in order to accomplish it, they should be obliged to remove the rocky Mountains of my Town of Braintree into the Harbour.

But I cannot yet clearly satisfy myself that they will leave Boston. It will be a greater Disgrace to the British arms than to be taken Prisoners in the Town in a Body. If they should abandon the Persons and Property of their dear Friends the Tories in Boston, will any other Tories in any other Part of the Continent ever trust to their Protection? It will be considered as such Impotence or such Infidelity that I am inclined to think, few Professors of Toryism would ever afterwards be found anywhere.

I agree with you, that in Politicks the Middle Way is none at all. If we finally fail in this great and glorious Contest, it will be by bewildering ourselves in groping after this middle way. We have hitherto conducted half a War, acted upon the Line of Defence etc. etc. But you will see by tomorrows paper that for

¹ Thomas Johnson, delegate to Congress from Maryland.

² Photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society.

the future we are likely to wage three Quarters of a War. The Continental ships of war, and Provincial ships of war, and Letters of Mark and Privateers are permitted to cruise upon British Property, wherever found on the ocean. This is not Independency you know, nothing like it.

If a Post or two more should bring you unlimited Latitude of Trade to all Nations, and a polite Invitation to all Nations to trade with you, take care that you dont call it, or think it Independency. No such Matter. Independency is an Hobgoblin, of so frightfull Mien, that it would throw a delicate Person into Fits to look it in the Face.

I know not whether you have seen the Act of Parliament call'd the restraining Act, or prohibitory Act, or piratical Act, or plundering Act, or Act of Independency, for by all these Titles is it call'd.¹ I think the most apposite is the Act of Independency, for King Lords and Commons have united in sundering this Country and that I think forever. It is a compleat Dismemberment of the British Empire. It throws thirteen Colonies out of the Royal Protection, levels all Distinctions and makes us independent in Spight of all our supplications and entreaties.

It may be fortunate that the Act of Independency should come from the British Parliament, rather than the American Congress: But it is very odd that Americans should hesitate at accepting such a Gift from them.

However, my dear Friend Gates, all our Misfortunes arise from a single Source, the Reluctance of the Southern Colonies to Republican Government. The success of this War depends upon a skillfull Steerage of the political Vessel. The Difficulty lies in forming Constitutions for particular Colonies, and a Continental Constitution for the whole. each Colony should establish its own Government, and then a League should be formed, between them all. This can be done only on popular Principles and Maxims, which are so abhorrent to the Inclinations of the Barons of the South, and the Proprietary Interests in the Middle Colonies, as well as to that Avarice of Land, which has made upon this Continent so many votaries to Mammon that I sometimes dread the Consequences. However Patience, Fortitude and Perseverance, with the Help of Time will get us over these obstructions.

Thirteen Colonies under such a Form of Government as that of Connecticut, or one not quite so popular, leagued together in a faithfull Confederacy might bid Defiance to all the Potentates of Europe if united against them.

Pray continue to make me happy with your Favours, accept of my most cordial Wishes for your safety, Happiness and Honour, make my most respectfull Compliments to the General and the Ladies, and the whole Family, and believe me to be with great Respect your most affectionate Friend and Servant,

JOHN ADAMS²

By the time Gates replied to this letter, the British had left Boston for Halifax. Gates accompanied Washington and most of the army

¹ See Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), 567.

² Gates MSS., New York Historical Society.

to New York City, where, on April 23, he wrote Adams as follows:

DEAR SIR, Your Excellent Letter of the 23d of March, and one by Mr. Dana, are now before me. how any Mortal can entertain an Idea that Liberty, and Safety, can be secured without Independency, I have no Conception; this half Faced Policy, may amuse Timid Statesmen, Treacherous Whiggs, and the Tools of Designing Scotchmen; but not one Honest, Sensible, determin'd American can be deceived by it; go on to do every Act that ammounts to a Declaration, and then let those who doat upon Dependency dream on; Constitutional Dependency, is a Creature, that America, so abounding in Monsters, cannot from Cape Horne to Newfoundland produce, so let them Hunt after the Animal, there is no Danger of its being found. We have a Grumbling of somewhat brewing in Canada, and amongst the Indians, unfavourable to Our Cause. Your High Mightynesses have been somewhat Tardy in these Two Points, if you do not employ the Indians, the Enemy will; and a Neutrality they Abhor. I wonder they have been quiet so long. by good Management, I think they would have put you in Possession of Niagara before now, that, and D' Troit secured, you might sleep at ease with respect to the Indians, besides, it is every thing to get them fairly enter'd upon your Side. I should not be of this Opinion, if I thought their Neutrality could be preserved, but that I doubt exceedingly. Four good Cambridge Regiments, One Company of Rifle Men, and one of Artificers saild Yesterday with a Fair Wind for Albany. Commanded by B. General Thompson. Two Companies of Artillery, with Two 13 Inch Mortars, and Fifteen Ton of Shells etc. went from Cambridge to Albany upwards of three Weeks ago, these will I hope get Speedily to Quebeck. G[eneral] Worster, was too inert to leave so long in Command at Montreal, but as he at length March'd On, perhaps they Cry aloud, not so much from what has happen'd, as from what may, all that can be done from hence to push our Point there, will not be neglected. We left Boston with a good Garrison, plenty of Money, and most Ample Powers, and Instructions to General Ward; Gridley also was station'd there, to Exert all his Talents in Fortifying the Harbour. but to my astonishment Parson Gordon writes these Words to Mr. Hazzard by Saturday nights Post "Tell G. Gates that the Spades and Pickaxes are rusting here for want of use." Why will you doat so upon these Dreaming Deacons, when he Offered to resign he should have been taken at his Word. I suspected what has happen'd, and told Austin, and the rest of the Select Men, General Ward must be kept awake, you must assist him in playing the General, your City is now Safe, and it is your Own Faults if you do not put it out of the Power of The Enemy to hurt it; for heavens sake inspire your Countrymen with Gratitude to Providence, and tell them, their way to shew that, is to Secure their City, which it has pleased Heaven to put into their Hands. I do not think Mr. Howe intends to return to Boston, nor do I imagine the Head of the Snake [Philadelphia] will be the Object of their Conquest this Campaign. Canada and New York are the Posts they ought to Endeavour to take, and it is a Rule with me, to conclude the Enemy will allways attempt to do that, which is most for their Interest. nevertheless Boston should be Secured. and if Five Regiments with the Militia of The

Town, Two Companies of Artificers etc., cannot do that, when they have nothing Else to do, they, and all their Officers, deserve to be Condemn'd to Wear the Petticoat. Here we are surrounded by Crowds of Tories, and I wish our Army may be free of those Vermine, I hold a Cautious Eye. and as Shakespear says will try, to Delve a Yard below their Mines, and Blow them at the Moon; the New York, and Jersey Regiments, have Men, but Scarce any Arms; little Discipline, and less Subordination; but this, if the Enemy gives us time, must be rectified: By my Calculation General Howe will not be Able to leave Hallifax before the 10th, or Middle of May; if he is here by the first of June, it is as soon as I think he can Arrive; should he Divide his Army, and send a large Detachment to Quebeck, they must go directly to the Southward, and have the Gulf of Saint Lawrence well Open before they can Steer for the River, a Five Years Acquaintance with Nova Scotia inform'd me that the Drift Ice, which lays in May, and the begining of June, off the East End of Cape Breton, must make the passage to Quebeck at that Season exceeding Tedious by the Coast of that Island. it will be Strange If with all this Time before us, we cannot make these nutts too Hard to Crack; Our Works go on merrily here, and we have plenty of every thing, Powder, and Small Arms alone excepted, the Former of those Articles not quite so deficient as I have known it at Cambridge; we left thirteen Tons at Boston, I suppose there may be near that Quantity here; but Canada must be Supplied from hence, therefore Cram this Magazine. Our Affairs seem to look well to the Southward, and Lee will arrive in Time to prevent any Intemperate measures taking Place; young Troops, Flush'd with Victory, are apt to think themselves equal to anything; Our Business is to Defend the main Chance; to Attack only by Detail; and when a precious advantage Offers; Get Lord Cornwallis, and Clinton, once in a Fix'd Camp, and the Climate will do their Business. my Respects to all *Our* Friends in The Congress. Mr. Bob Morris Owes me a Letter. is he Affraid if he dies Independent, he shall die worth 100,000£ less, than if he dies the Vassal of a British Minister:—tell me what to think of him. can't you throw out some tubb to these whales, that shall secure the Possession not only of what they have, but Glut their Appetites with what they may Expect. Man is the Only Animal, that is Hungry with His belly full. for ever Your

HORATIO GATES¹

Adams, in Philadelphia, promptly replied on April 27:

DEAR SIR, Your Favour of the Twenty third, I received yesterday, and it put me into a good Humour, the Benefit of which I feel to this Moment, and shall continue to experience a long Time.

Was you idle enough to read the Tales in the London Papers and Magazines, a few years ago concerning the Cock Lane Ghost, and the others concerning a Man of six feet high who leaped into a Quart Bottle and corked himself up? Do you remember that a great Part of the Nation, perhaps a Majority, believed these marvellous stories to be true? If you recollect these Things, you will not wonder that the Tales of Commissioners to Treat with Congress should have

¹ Photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society.

gained Credit with many in America, nor will you wonder that many pretend to believe them who do not.

I think with you, that it requires a Faith, which can remove Mountains, to believe that Liberty and safety, can ever hereafter be enjoyed by America, in any subjection to the Government of Great Britain. Dependence and Subordination to Great Britain, always indeterminate and nonsensical Expressions if they mean any Thing must now mean perpetual Animosity, Discord Civil War, Encroachment and Usurpation on one side, and Discontent, Mutiny, Sedition, Riot, and Resistance, on the other. Un[l]ess it terminates in downright Submission—and that beyond all doubt would be followed with Persecution and Imprisonment, Scorn and Insult, Blocks, Halters, Gibbets.

Your opinion of Indians, and the best Policy, in our Management of them, may be right for any Thing that I know: But as I know very little of them, I always leave the Measures relating to them to Gentlemen who know a great deal. It is said they are very expensive and troublesome Confederates in War, besides the Inciv[il]ity and Inhumanity of employing such Savages with their cruel, bloody dispositions, against any Enemy whatever.

Nevertheless, such have been the Extravagances of British Barbarity in prosecuting the War against us, that I think we need not be so delicate as to refuse the assistance of Indians, provided we cannot keep them neutral. I should not hesitate a Moment in this Case.

That we have been a little tardy in providing for Canada is true, owing to innumerable Difficulties. however, we have been roused at last, and I hope have done pretty well. if you think we have not, let me know it, and whatever you may think further necessary, if it is not done it shall not be my Fault.

I am grieved to find the least Intimation of Languor, among my Countrymen in fortifying Boston and its Harbour. I have not written a Letter since we received the News of your Success, in driving the Enemy from that Town, without stuffing it with Exhortations, as well as Plans for the Fortification of that Harbour. Warren writes me, that they have sent a Commi[ttee] to fortify the Harbour so that I hope it will be done. G. Ward's Resignation is accepted, but we must have a General Officer in Boston. I hope Gen. Washington will send one.

Your opinion of the Difficulties General How will meet with, in attempting to get up the St. Lawrence early, gives me great Comfort. God send him Wind and Ice enough.

Am sorry to learn that there are so many Tories where you are. They must be watched. But there is one Measure, which I think would lessen the Number of them. If the Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety could be convinced of the Propriety, Utility and Necessity of following the virtuous and glorious Example of South Carolina, in instituting a compleat Government in that Colony I think there would be a great Revolution of Sentiment in the City and through the whole Province, and most of their Divisions and Distractions removed. The Tories will have a pernicious Influence, and will be indefatigable in their Intrigues Insinuations and Cabals, in every Colony while any one of them holds an office under a King. When "Thrones, Dominations Princedoms,

Powers," in the Language of Milton, are excluded from their Ideas of Government, Toryism will be disarmed of its Sting.

You ask me what you are to think of Robt. Morris? I will tell you what I think of him. I think he has a masterly Understanding, an open Temper and an honest Heart: and if he does not always vote for what you and I should think proper, it is because he thinks that a large Body of People remains, who are not yet of his Mind. He has vast designs in the mercantile way. and no doubt pursues mercantile Ends, which are always gain; but he is an excellent Member of our Body.

Pray continue to write me, for a Letter from you cures me of all Anxiety and ill Humour, for two or three Days at least; and, besides that, leaves me better informed in many Things and confirmed in my good Resolutions, for my whole Life. yours without Disguise

JOHN ADAMS¹

Here is a Major Wrixon here, a fine, sensible Fellow, a Field Officer in Germany last War, a Man of Letters, sense, and spirit, the best Principles. I wish you was a Major General and He Adjutant General, what say you to it?

On May 4 Gates responded from New York:

DEAR SIR, Your Favour of the 27th of April was put into my hands by Colonel Clinton, we had much conversation together upon the Critical and Political State of this Country; He thinks with You, and I; and has besides a very uncommon share of Knowledge and Penetration; I shall endeavour to Cultivate his Friendship, and Acquaintance.

The Six Regiments under General Sullivan are Sailed for Albany, with a Fair Wind, so by my Calculation, founded upon the best Authority, we shall have Ten Thousand Men near Quebeck, before the Enemy can throw any Succour into the Town; consequently, Sensible, and Spirited Management must put that important place in Our Possession. General Worster upon his Arrival near Quebeck, thought proper to Slight and Neglect my Worthy Friend Arnold;² who, having received a considerable Bruize in his Wounded Leg, by a Fall from his Horse, applied for leave to go to Montreal for recovery. This with a Eager haste was Granted by Worster, and This altogether convinces me that Worster is not the Man fit to command there, or any where. how happy must every good Officer be to find himself Seconded by so Capable and Brave a Spirit as that possess'd by Arnold, but Men of little Merit, are ever Jealous of those who have a Great deal.

As we are moving the Regiments out of Quarters, into Camp, I have but a moment to write, and shall at present only Answer that Part of your letter where you Mention Major Wrixon. I wish a Gentleman so High in yours, and Col. Clintons Esteem, was provided for in the Post you Mention, The regard I have

¹ Gates MSS., New York Historical Society.

² As brought out in the Appendix to Chapter III of my *Washington and the Revolution*, Arnold later betrayed Gates, as he did others who supported him during the Revolution. But at this time Gates, along with Washington and Adams, was obviously an Arnold enthusiast.

for the Cause, would induce me to continue to hold my present Employment, rather than let it be possessed by a less experienced Officer, I do not mean by this to Arrogate any thing to my self. but you know Our Army, though they have the Stamina of good Soldiers, are thin in Veterans. if the Congress think me deserving of the Honour you Mention, I shall Gratefully accept so distinguish'd a Mark of Their Favour. and I think, nay I am Satisfied from the Charector you give him, and from my Own Inquirys that Major Wrixons is the properest Man in America [to] be Adjutant General of The Army. I am Dear Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servant

HORATIO GATES¹

Adams's next letter to Gates announced an event of high importance in Gates's career. The campaign for the conquest of Quebec, rashly initiated by Washington in September, 1775, had gone from bad to worse. Schuyler, commander of the army in the Province of New York and in line for the command of the army in Canada, considered himself too ill to take the field. Montgomery of New York had been killed, and his successor, Wooster of Connecticut, was at loggerheads with Schuyler. On March 6, 1776, Congress appointed General Thomas of Massachusetts to succeed Wooster and ordered General Schuyler to "establish his headquarters at Albany," thus giving Thomas a free hand in the North.²

This change of leadership, coupled with giving Thomas independent command, unfortunately did not turn the tide of battle. Thomas, retreating from Quebec, died of the smallpox. His second in command, Sullivan of New Hampshire, continued the retreat to an island in Lake Champlain, just north of the Canadian border, and later to Crown Point. A letter of July 12, 1776, from Fort Ticonderoga, written by the artist, Lieutenant Colonel John Trumbull, to his father, Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, described the beaten army as a mere "mob, the shattered remains of twelve or fifteen very fine batallions, ruined by sickness, fatigue and desertion, and void of every idea of discipline or subordination."³

Learning of the death of Thomas, and fearful of leaving so inexperienced an officer as Sullivan in chief command, Congress, on June 17, 1776, resolved "That General Washington be directed to send Major General Gates into Canada, to take command of the

¹ Photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Worthington C. Ford, Editor, IV. 187.

³ John Trumbull, *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull, from 1756 to 1841* (New Haven, 1841), 302.

forces in that province.”¹ Obviously delighted with Gates’s advancement, Adams wrote Gates from Philadelphia the next day (June 18):

MY DEAR GENERAL, We have ordered you to the Post of Honour, and made you Dictator in Canada for Six Months, or at least untill the first of October. We dont choose to trust you Generals, with too much Power, for too long Time.

I took my Pen, at this Time, to mention to you the Name of a young Gentleman, and to recommend him to your Notice and Favour. His Name is Rice.² This Gentleman is the Son of a worthy Clergyman. He was educated at Harvard Colledge, where he was an officer of the Military Company, and distinguished himself as a soldier in the manual Exercises and Manoeuvres. after he came out of Colledge he put himself under my Care as a Student of the Law. While he was in my office he was very usefull in the Neighbourhood in training the Companies of Militia there. He is a modest, sensible, and well read young Man, and a very virtuous and worthy one. In my absence from home, after the Battle of Lexington, he applied for a Commission in the Army, and obtained a Place, in my opinion vastly below his real Merit; I mean that of Adjutant in General Heaths now Coll. Greatons Regiment. in this Capacity, he has continued, from his first Engagement which was immediately after the Battle of Lexington, untill this Time, and is now in Canada with his Regiment, and I have been informed by a Variety of Officers, that he has behaved remarkably well.

As you are going to Canada, with full Powers, I must beg the Favour of you to think of this young Gentleman, inquire into his Character and Conduct, and if you can, consistently with the Public Service, advance him to some Place more adequate to his Abilities and Merits, and services, I should take it as a Favour.

I pray to God to prosper you in Canada, and grant you a plentiful Crop of Laurels, and am your affectionate humble servant

[JOHN ADAMS]³

Gates replied from New York on June 24:

DEAR SIR, By the Letters you will by this Post receive in Congress from the Brigadiers Sullivan and Arnold, it appears to me, that Our Army in Canada are in the utmost Peril of being lost, an unadvised Step taken in the Sending Genl. Thompson with a Large Detachment to Attack the Enemys Post at the Three Rivers, has ended in Defeat, and Disgrace, with The Loss of Thompson, Col. Irwine, and 3 Principall Officers taken Prisoners. Arnold for the best Reasons, has retired to St. Johns, where he writes there are near Three Thousand Sick. now, if Sullivan is Obstinate to retain the Post at Sorrell, and the Enemy push directly A Cross from Montreal to St. Johns, where Arnold is in no Condition to

¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, v. 448. Washington wrote Gates on June 24, 1776: “The Honourable the Continental Congress, reposing the greatest Confidence in your Wisdom, and Experience, have directed me to appoint you, to the very important Command of the Troops of the United Colonies in Canada. . . .” *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, v. 173.

² Nathan Rice (H.C. 1773).

³ Gates MSS., New York Historical Society.

make a Stand, all General Sullivans Command will be cut off. I sett out this Evening, or tomorrow morning for Albany, by Water, as that is the most Expeditious way at this Season of the Year, where, or in what Condition I shall find the Army, I have no conception! The Prospect is too much Clouded to distinguish Clearly. I have not yet received The Instructions, and Resolves, which Mr. Braxton tells me were preparing for me in Congress, when he left Philadelphia pray be expeditious in forwarding all your Orders and Directions: and you may depend upon an Exact, and regular Communication of Intelligence from me. my Mind is too much employ'd in seeking for resources in the present Critical Emergency to say more at present. Heaven Guard the Libertys of America, and Inspire Her Officers and Soldiers with that Wisdom and Courage which can alone save Her from Tyranny and Destruction. Yours most truly and affectionately,

HORATIO GATES¹

When Gates reached Albany on his way north, he learned that his army had retreated to Crown Point. He also learned there that Schuyler claimed to be in supreme command again, now that the army was no longer on the Canadian side of the border. Gates maintained that the words "forces in Canada" were merely descriptive of the army and were not intended to imply that the commander of these forces was to lose his independent command the minute the army crossed the line into New York.

For his position in this matter Gates has been criticized by historians. Hoffman Nickerson, for example, says:

In the Northern Department he [Gates] promptly set up as the rival of Schuyler. . . . Although the army he had been sent to command had now been forced out of Canada and had returned to the department which had been under Schuyler since the beginning of the war, Gates nevertheless claimed independent authority not subject to Schuyler's orders.²

And Benson J. Lossing declares:

Gates . . . claimed that he had supreme control, under Congress, of the army lately in Canada . . . He [Schuyler] was surprised, for Gates knew that the army was not in Canada. The convictions flashed upon him that he had a rival . . . With utter duplicity did Gates receive all the marks of generous kindness which Schuyler bestowed upon him for several months, until his schemes ripened into full fruit. . . .³

In my opinion, however, the following considerations indicate that this censure is unfair.

¹ Photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² *The Turning Point of the Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1928), 279.

³ *The Life and Times of Philip Schuyler*, II (New York, 1873), 94-101.

In the first place, there was nothing far-fetched, from the standpoint of grammar, in Gates's interpretation of the words "in that province" as being descriptive of the troops and not words of geographical limitation. Schuyler's interpretation, on the other hand, required that the words "so long as they remain in that province" be read into Gates's orders. Moreover, these northern troops were far removed, in point of distance and communication, from Albany, where Schuyler had been directed to maintain his headquarters. Consequently there was a strong practical reason in favor of Gates's interpretation. Finally, Gates's attitude, after the question of command was raised by Schuyler, was entirely correct: he agreed to lay the question before Congress without any accompanying threat of resignation. Schuyler, on the other hand, though necessarily aware that his resignation at this particular juncture must have serious political consequences, sent Washington a memorandum on July 1, 1776, saying:

... if Congress meant that General *Gates* should command the Army in this department, and would resolve so, that he should most readily acquiesce, but that they could not after that imagine he would remain in it; that they had certainly a right to make what arrangements they thought proper; ... but they could not put him under the command of a younger officer, nor oblige him to be a suicide, and stab his own honour. . . .¹

By "younger" Schuyler must have meant "junior," for Gates was four years older than Schuyler and had had many more years of military service.

In the circumstances, Congress had no practical alternative but to sustain Schuyler's contention, and on July 8, 1776, a resolution to this effect was adopted. Gates may have had word of Congress's action when he wrote Adams from Ticonderoga on July 17:

DEAR SIR, The Bearer, and my Letter to Mr. Hancock will acquaint you that I am no Dictator here, and consequently have it not in my power to serve Mr. Rice. I desire if Chase² is returned to Congress, he may know how much I have been Deceived, and Disappointed in being removed from a place where I might have done the Publick Service, and Fix'd in a Scituation where it is exceeding Doubtfull, if it will be in my Power to be more than the wretched Spectator of a ruin'd Army.

The Publick Affairs here have been destroyed by Pestilence, Peculation, Rapine, and every Evil, these produce. Mr. Chase passed too Speedily through

¹ Peter Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, VI (Washington, 1846), 1202.

² Samuel Chase of Maryland, Franklin's fellow commissioner from Congress to Canada.

this Country, he saw Superficially, and like a Sanguine Man, drew conclusions from the Consequence, and not the Cause. tell him, if he, and I meet, he must expect to be called to a serious Account upon this matter. I know he is my Sincere Friend, but I also know he has Deceived himself, and his Friend. I am not Angry. I am only vex'd with Him. I cannot write to you upon publick matters, it is too disagreeable a Tale to dwell upon, my Letter to the President is enough for a Man of Sense. I am happy to have lived to know that Independence is establish'd by the Convention of the United States of America, go on and prosper in the Glorious Work, my respectful Compliments to Mr. Gerry, my hands are too full to write Instructions for Paymasters of Regts., if so many Lawyers cannot contrive to Frame Orders that will make the paymaster, be a Cheque upon the Avarice of the Commanding Officer, what is become of Human Wit. Mr. Gerrys letter to me is as good an Instruction, as any Paymaster need to have. let your War Office be very exactly, and minutely acquainted with the State of every Regiment, let the General, the Colonel, the Muster, and Paymasters, do this, and then let them Compare these together; if you have four Men to watch One, you may make that one less a knave than he likes to be.

poor Boston is again Vissited by Calamity, it is the last I hope she will know for a Century at least, surely this Warning will make your Countrymen Wise in regard to the Small Pox. when I have reason to be in better Temper you shall here again from Your Affectionate Humble Servant

HORATIO GATES¹

Schuyler's conduct, of course, tended to confirm the New Englanders' poor opinion of him, which was based in part on his bickering with Wooster and his failure to take the field in the Canadian campaign. Governor Trumbull wrote William Williams of Connecticut on July 26:

It is justly to be expected that General Gates is discontented with his situation, finding himself limited, and removed from the Command . . . why is it not best . . . each command the same body of men as expected, without respect to the place where. Gen'l Schuyler will have full employment at Albany and below on the river—and at Tryon County etc.²

And, on August 13, Adams, in Philadelphia, wrote to Gates:

DEAR SIR, Your Favours of 24 June, and 17 July, are before me I wish with all my Heart that you were Dictator at Ticonderoga, as much as it was intended you should be, in Canada. not for the Sake of promoting Mr. Rice nor any other particular Person, but for the good of the Service in general.

I shewed your last Letter to Mr. Chase, who begged it to write you an answer. I have exactly the same Idea of him, which you express. He had the good of the Service at Heart, but was too Sanguine, and had too little Experience in such Scenes, and too little Penetration into the Characters of Men.

¹ Photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² Connecticut State Library, Revolutionary War Papers, IV. 336, b, c.

I lament the wretched State of your Army: but am happy to find by your last Letter to Congress, that Things are getting into a better Train. The Small Pox must be cleansed out of the Army, or it will be undone. A Circular Letter went sent to you or to general Schuyler, for a compleat Return of every Thing in your Department to the War Office. We have as yet recd. no answer. Let me beg of you to transmit it as soon as possible. The Want of regular Returns has ruined our affairs in Canada, and without them from every Department, We shall ever be in Confusion.

Since the Receipt of your Letter, I have procured Resolutions to be past that regular Returns shall be made at least once a Month, by the Commanding officer the Paymaster, the Quartermaster, Muster Master and Commissary. And if these Returns are not now made, I think there will Inquiries be made, into the Cause of the Neglect, which will not be very pleasant to the Negligent.

We shall know who is General, who Q[uarte]r M[aste]r, who Paymaster, who Commissary and who Muster Master, important secrets in Canada, which all our Penetration was never able to discover.

We are very anxious for you and your Army, as well as for the General and his at New York: We expect some bold Strokes from the Enemy, but I dont believe that How and Burgoine will unite their Forces this year.

Aug. 18. Since the above was written we recd. your Return. It is the most Systematical, that I have seen. your letter gives us great Joy.

[JOHN ADAMS]¹

Apparently before he received this letter, Gates wrote Adams from Ticonderoga on August 23, 1776:

DEAR SIR, I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you that immediately after my Arrival here I appointed Mr. Rice a Major of Brigade he is a most deserving young Man and will do Honor to the profession. The Inclosed from Lieutt. Col. Baldwin I have the pleasure to send you, and entreat you will endeavour to procure him the Rank he Requests, I can assure Your Sir he is a most Excellent Officer, and the Only one I can depend upon here in the Engineering Branch. I must refer you to Chase for all that is worth knowing from hence. if you can hold the Enemy Fast upon S[t]aten Island, I think there is but little likelihood that those in Canada will be able to pass here. may Him who gives the Race to the Slow, and The Battle to the Weak, prosper Our Arms. my very Affectionate Compliments to Messrs. Adams, Gerry, Paine etc. etc. with the most Cordial Affection. I am Dear Sir Your much Obliged most obedient Humble Servant

HORATIO GATES¹

As far as I can discover, this is the last letter written by either Gates or Adams to the other for three years. The successful British attack launched by the Howe brothers against New York City and vicinity in late August and September, 1776, kept Adams, Chairman

¹ Photostat, Massachusetts Historical Society.

of the Congressional Board of War, heavily engaged, and Gates had his hands full at Ticonderoga, holding back the British invasion from Canada.

The next known letter between the two patriots was in 1779, when Adams brought a letter for Gates from an unidentified American in Paris. On receipt of this letter, Gates, stationed in Providence, wrote Adams on August 20, 1779, as follows:

SIR, Had I not expected you here before this Time, on your Way to Philadelphia, where I conceived your safe and speedy Arrival must be anxiously wished for, by all Patriots, you would, long since, have received a congratulatory Letter from me. It would have been congratulatory indeed; for, whatever Station you may be in, I firmly believe, Sir, you will prove eminently useful to your Country. Your Return will render abortive many Machinations against her.

I stand indebted to your Kindness for the Receipt of a very sensible Letter, signed *Jean Clement*, dated Paris, the 2nd of June last, the Writer of which informs me that, should I not recollect his Hand-writing, you will explain the Particulars. I should be glad to know from you, whether Counsellor Edmund Jennings of Maryland be the Writer.

Believe Dear Sir, that it will be a singular Happiness to me, if ever I can give you Proofs of the affectionate Respect of Your most obedient humble Servant
[HORATIO GATES]¹

I have found no reply to this letter, but soon after Adams's return to Europe, he wrote Gates from Paris on March 18, 1780:

DEAR SIR, The Marquis de la Fayette's Brother, the Viscount de Noailles tells me, he should be glad to take Letters to America, and I don't know to whom I can give him a Letter with more Propriety than to the General of Saratoga. I should be proud to return any Civilities you may shew him to any of your Friends, who may travel to Paris.

I want very much to know, what Scope the Enemy have from New York, what supplies of Provisions, etc. they do and can derive from New Jersey, New York or Connecticut. if you can find Leisure to inform me you will much oblige, sir your Friend and humble servant

JOHN ADAMS¹

I want too the best Plan for attacking New York. how many ships and how many Troops. and what No. of Land forces you can depend upon having from the united states. I hope N. Y. will be ours in the Course of this Campaign: but if it should not I should be glad to have these Things to contemplate upon next winter.

As far as I have discovered, Gates did not reply to this letter. Were it not for a published letter of January 4, 1795, from Abigail Adams to her husband concerning a recent friendly visit at Gates's home,² I

¹ Gates MSS., New York Historical Society.

² Adams, *Works of John Adams*, I. 480.

might have surmised that a coolness had developed between Adams and Gates long before a sharp political difference parted them in 1799. But the continuance of their friendship as late as 1795 leads me to believe that the two men probably continued to correspond. Some day the missing letters, if there were any, will probably turn up. I hope it will be in time for me to read and enjoy them.¹

¹ In the course of the discussion of Mr. Knollenberg's paper the question was raised as to what extent John Adams was involved in the Conway Cabal, the conspiracy to oust Washington from the command of the American Army in favor of Gates. Mr. Knollenberg commented on this point as follows:

Lafayette asserted in his memoirs that when Gates was at Yorktown (York, Pennsylvania) "amongst the deputies who united themselves to him, may be numbered the Lees . . . and the two Adams. . . . They required a name to bring forward in the plot, and they selected Conway. . . ." *Memoirs, Correspondence and Manuscripts of General Lafayette, Published by His Family* (New York, 1837), I. 37. And this charge has been repeated many times, recently by John C. Fitzpatrick in his *George Washington Himself* (Indianapolis, 1933), pages 333-351.

For reasons set forth at length in my *Washington and the Revolution* (pages 65-92), I doubt if there was any such cabal. But, whether there was one or not, John Adams was not in York when the conspiracy is supposed to have flourished there, and not an iota of evidence has been adduced that he was at any time a party to any movement to displace Washington. Gates did not arrive in York from the Northern Army until January 19, 1778. Adams had left York for Boston on November 11, 1777, and did not return there during the remainder of that year or in 1778, if ever. (He sailed from Braintree for France on February 13, 1778.) Lafayette's memoirs on this point, as on so many others, are unreliable.

Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army beyond New England during the Revolutionary War

By ALLAN FORBES¹

THE march of the French army from Newport, Rhode Island, to Yorktown and back to New England during the Revolutionary War was such a difficult achievement that I decided to make a study of the route, describing each day's march and the location of each of the camps. I have written elsewhere of the New England portion of this enterprise, both before and after the siege of Yorktown.² I propose to deal here with the marches and camp sites in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.

The French became imbued with the new liberty they heard of in far-off America, and, in spite of the gaieties at home, the officers, many of whom belonged to the best families in France, were more than willing to assist us. There was so much talk about liberty at that time that the Chevalier du Couëdic wrote some verses about this country, the first lines of which are:

Well done, insurgent rebels ye,
Winning your war for liberty!
Your ideas bring to birth
One more nation on the earth.³

This undertaking by our French allies in a foreign country, what with our poorer roads and difficult communications, involved them in many unaccustomed and trying experiences. Yet they "met these novel conditions with cheerfulness and skill. Occasionally some officer grumbled . . . but most of them found a relish in privations and enjoyed the campaigning. . . . To have served in the American war furnished a richer food for memory than to have fought by the

¹ This paper was read at the October, 1943, meeting.

² *Proceedings*, LVIII. 267-285; Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England*, I (Boston, 1925), 131-189.

³ Charles-Louis du Couëdic, "Les Insurgens d'Amérique, 1778," *L'Observateur Anglais*, VIII. 174.



Rhine. . . ."¹ Many reports can be found concerning the fine behavior of the French troops, and not a single instance is known of a theft on the march to their destination. The manuscripts of Pierre Étienne Duponceau recite the astonishing order that "if a Frenchman should have a dispute with an American the Frenchman should be punished, whether he was in the right or the wrong."²

The New England portion of the march to Yorktown consumed the period between June 10, 1781, when Rochambeau's forces left Newport, and July 2, when they crossed the Connecticut border into New York and made camp at Bedford (Camp No. 12).³ Here they were joined by the Duc de Lauzun's contingent of hussars, which, starting from its winter quarters at Lebanon, Connecticut, had made a covering march by a more southerly route to protect the main forces from a surprise attack. The combined forces then moved on to North Castle (Camp No. 13), where they remained July 3-5, and thence to Phillipsburg (Camp No. 14), where, on July 6, the French and American armies united. The consequences of this junction remind one, as Ambassador Jusserand once said, "of Perette and her milk pot in La Fontaine's Fables"—referring to the fact that Cornwallis and Clinton were making a failure of the campaign. The French in their progress to this point had encountered many difficulties because of the heat and lack of provisions. Yet, according to Abbé Robin, a chaplain, there were fewer invalids than if the men had remained in garrison, a fact which he attributed to the precaution taken of drinking cider and of mixing rum with the drinking water.⁴

Phillipsburg, situated slightly east of Dobbs Ferry and about three miles from the Hudson, between Sprain Brook and the Bronx River, was at that time a community consisting of only a church, a tavern, two mills, one dwelling house, and a fish house. Some of the authorities say that part of the French army camped on the near-by

¹ James B. Perkins, *France in the American Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1911), 351.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, II (1878), 247.

³ The numbers given to the camp sites mentioned in this paper are those given on a manuscript map in the Rochambeau Papers in the Library of Congress, "Côte de York-town à Boston, Marches de l'Armée," 1782. Camp sites Numbers 1-11 on the march to Yorktown were in New England. That portion of the map showing the route and camp sites described in this paper is here reproduced. In this reproduction, for the purpose of greater legibility the original numerals designating the camp sites have been blotted out and larger numerals drawn in.

⁴ Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North-America*, Philip Freneau, Translator (Boston, 1784), 29-30.

Greenburgh Hills, across the Bronx River from White Plains. Rochambeau made his headquarters in the Taylor (later Odell) residence, where a good many dinners and dances were held.

While the French were at Phillipsburg, several *foutrages* (commando raids we would call them now) were made into Morrisania, and on one of these expeditions Baron de Closen, who acted as interpreter for both generals, lost his hat and went back under fire to rescue it. He is said to have remarked: "A false vanity made me think more of the military derisive proverb, 'Ah, il a perdu son chapeau' than of the danger." His comrades laughed at him, but Washington said: "Dear Baron, this French proverb is not yet known among our army, but your cool behaviour during the danger will be."¹

Until mid-August Washington had as his main concern an operation against the British in New York. This had been the first choice for the season's campaign agreed upon at his conference with Rochambeau at Wethersfield the preceding May. The alternative then proposed was a combined Franco-American military and naval campaign against Cornwallis. By August 14 Washington had come to the conclusion that an attack on New York was not feasible. At the same time, due to the turn of events in Virginia, he had high hopes that, given the assistance of a French fleet, a southern campaign would be successful.²

Such was the purpose in view when both the French and American armies left Phillipsburg on August 19. The first objective was to effect a crossing of the Hudson, King's Ferry being the spot chosen. The Americans, bolstered by \$20,000 in cash supplied from French funds, marched there by the most direct route, arriving on the twenty-first and crossing the river the same day. The French first made a retrograde march to North Castle, a feint, according to Abbé Robin, to deceive the British and the American Tories of the region.³ They then proceeded to a spot near Crompond (Camp No. 16), a place which Claude Blanchard, the efficient Commissary General, found too full of Tories for his liking. Some of the French artillery, preceding the infantry, went on to King's Ferry in time to

¹ Clarence W. Bowen, "A French Officer with Washington and Rochambeau," *Century Magazine*, LXXIII (February, 1907), 534.

² *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, II (Boston and New York, 1925), 254.

³ Robin, *New Travels*, 36.

cross the Hudson on the twenty-first, but it was the following day before the rest of the French forces arrived, pitched camp (No. 17), and began to cross the river. The undertaking was a difficult one, requiring four days (August 22-25), but from all accounts it was carried out in a bold and scientific manner. The most attractive description is that given by John A. Stevens:

Washington watched the crossing of the allied forces from a marquee prepared for him at Verplanck's Point by the French officers; a brilliant pageant it was he witnessed. The broad stream glittering in the sunlight, flecked with innumerable boats bearing their martial array, in continuous line from Verplanck's Point, where the American colors waved from the little post of Fort Lafayette, to the beach beneath the guns of Stony Point. The chivalry of France, the war-worn veteran, de Rochambeau, the elegant and learned de Chastellux, the brilliant brothers de Vioménil, followed by their staffs, in which rode the flower of French nobility, Dukes, Barons, Knights and Squires of high degree. The reading of their names sounds like a page from the Chronicles of Froissart.¹

The French now headed for Princeton, pitching camps (Nos. 18-23) on the way at Haverstraw and Suffern, New York, then, crossing the Pompton River three times, at Pompton, Whippany (four miles east of Morristown), Bullion's Tavern (now Liberty Corner), and Somerset Court House (now Millstone), New Jersey. At this point the American troops were again strapped, and Washington reported that they were showing signs of discontent. "A little hard money," he believed, "would put them in proper temper. Part will be better than none."² Again France was able to come to their assistance, this time with 2,500,000 livres which fortunately had just arrived in Boston, sent over by the King. Discontent ceased, and the armies were thereby set in motion again.

A nineteenth-century writer describes the impression made by the French soldiers on their march through New Jersey. ". . . The passage of the French divisions . . . excited the liveliest interest among the Jersey people. The allies' right column consisted of Lauzun's legion; the regiment Bourbonnais, uniformed in black turned up with red; the Royal Deux-Ponts, in white broadcloth coats faced with green; and the heavy artillery, the men of which were uni-

¹ John A. Stevens, "The Route of the Allies from King's Ferry to the Head of Elk," *Magazine of American History*, v (July, 1880), 6.

² DeB. Randolph Keim, *Rochambeau, A Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of America of the Services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of Independence* (Washington, 1907), 418.

formed in blue with white facings. The left column of the French army contained all the stores and baggage, together with the regiments Saintonge and Soissonnais. . . ."¹ The same writer gives a rather gushing picture of our allies as they marched through Somerset County. "The view of such perfect phalanxes, thronging helms and thick array of waving banners was a new military experience . . . and when the *tambour-majors*, resplendent in *panache*, aiguillette and tinsel, flourished their ponderous batons, making the hills and valleys vocal with the melody of the Gallic bands, the acme of warlike splendor seemed to have been reached."² The Jersey people marveled at the "brave show" made by the Duc de Lauzun's Legion. The hussars, especially, were "sparkling with life and activity." Their officers were "all tall young men with handsome faces and noble bearings" and made a superb appearance "mounted on fine horses, richly caparisoned." Their mustaches seem to have aroused much interest. These "laughter-loving *beaux sabreurs*" excited the hearts of the American girls, and easily secured for themselves partners for a dance.³

The Comte de Fersen, the good-looking Swedish officer, nobleman, friend of the French Queen, and aide-de-camp of Rochambeau, who came over with the French army, spoke of New Jersey, in his letters to his father (who also served with the French leader), as one of the "finest and most highly cultivated provinces of America."⁴ Baron de Closen, of decidedly German ancestry, but a loyal Frenchman, referred to the crossing of this state as a "fête," adding that he considered it the garden spot of this country—"pays de Cocagne."

The French reached Princeton (Camp No. 24) on August 31. The camp there was a little west of the old village, along Stony Brook. A map sent to me by Mr. Julian P. Boyd of the Princeton University Library indicates clearly its location, extending across the former Trenton and Mercer Traction Line and beyond or south of the university and the Princeton Golf Club, in what is known now as the Princeton Battle Field. Another detachment probably bivouacked in front of Nassau Hall.

¹ Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., *The Story of an Old Farm; or, Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century* (Somerville, New Jersey, 1889), 536.

² *Ibid.*, 538. ³ *Ibid.*, 539.

⁴ "Letters of De Fersen, Aid-de-Camp to Rochambeau, Written to His Father in Sweden, 1780-1782," *Magazine of American History*, III (July, 1789), 438.

Princeton University possesses the original maps and diaries of Alexandre Berthier, who was chief map maker for Rochambeau and subsequently was made a marshal by Napoleon.¹ The diaries give detailed accounts of the marches, the roads taken, the churches and houses passed, but it is difficult to follow the route in the changed topography of today.

Trenton, the next stopping place (Camp No. 25), was mentioned by Baron Cromot Dubourg, one of Rochambeau's many aides, Assistant Quartermaster General, and, later, Maréchal de Camp, as being similar to a large French village.² While here the French troops bivouacked, according to one authority, south of the town of that day, below the house of Colonel John Cox (now known as the William Trent house), south of Ferry Road (now Ferry Street) and between the present South Broad Street and the Delaware River.

On September 1 our allies from overseas crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania at Morrisville, where Blanchard reported the waters "neither broad nor deep," but below the ford "as broad as the Loire below La Fosse."³ The route then lay through Bristol, a fashionable watering place until Saratoga Springs came to the fore. Camp No. 26 was set up near the Red Lion Inn in Bensalem Township, Pennsylvania, the building itself serving as the headquarters for the officers.⁴

From here the French set out on September 3 and 4 for Philadelphia (Camp No. 27). The exact camp site, according to my correspondent, Mr. James E. Gibson, was "a mile from the town towards the banks of the river, in Centre Square, where the City Hall is now located, midway between the Delaware and the Schuylkill." A bronze tablet in the inside court of City Hall records the encampment.

The city had by this time been regained by the Americans, Con-

¹ One of Berthier's brother officers is quoted as having carried on this conversation in regard to him:

"Where is Alexandre?" asked one. "I haven't seen him since we left camp this morning."

"Behind with the rear guard," answered another, "mapping and writing as usual. Tonight, in camp, he'll tell us just how many miles and kilometres we've marched, and how many stones might be taken from the road to make the path easier. And when we are asleep, he'll be writing in his journal or project book. A strange man is Alexandre. His pencil and his note books are his gods."

² "Diary of a French Officer [Baron Cromot Dubourg?]," *Magazine of American History*, iv (May, 1880), 378.

³ Claude Blanchard, *Journal*, William Duane, Translator, and Thomas Balch, Editor (Albany, 1876), 135.

⁴ This is one of the few Revolutionary inns still standing.

gress was sitting, and everyone, except the Tories and Quakers, was eager to welcome the two allied armies. Washington and Rochambeau, with their suites, arrived near the end of August, ahead of their armies, and received, quite naturally, an ovation as they alighted at the City Tavern. Abbé Robin gives this description of the entrance of the troops a few days later:

The arrival of the French army . . . was more like a triumph than simply a passing through the place. The troops made a halt about a quarter of a league from the city, and in an instant were dressed as elegantly as ever the soldiers of a garrison were on the day of review: they then marched through the town, with the military music playing before them, which is always particularly pleasing to the Americans . . . and the ladies appeared at their windows in their most brilliant attire. . . . All Philadelphia was astonished to see people, who had endured the fatigues of a long journey, so ruddy and handsome, and even wondered that there could possibly be *Frenchmen* of so genteel an appearance.¹

Cromot Dubourg spoke of the pink trimmings of the Soissonnais and their grenadier caps with their great white plumes, which "astonished the beauties of the city," bringing a flutter to many a heart.² What a contrast to the poorly clad soldiers of our army! The French army marched to the State House, where Congress and the French Minister, La Luzerne, were assembled, the members saluting the flags as they passed by.

On the following day the Soissonnais performed a drill that was much admired, and, according to Blanchard, even the Tories agreed that the appearance and discipline of the troops was fine; but they spoiled the compliment by adding that of course the regiment was recruited in England. The Quakers went so far as to send a deputation, which declared, however, that it was not the military qualities of the French they admired, but the fact that the army lived in perfect order and discipline. Afterwards the French Minister was host at a turtle dinner at which "they drank all possible toasts."³

While in Philadelphia a French friend invited Washington to tea. It was brought into the room in a large soup tureen, with a silver soup ladle with which it was put into soup plates. According to Tronçon Ducoudray, a French officer of Brittany, the General in no way showed his amusement at the mistake.

¹ Robin, *New Travels*, 39.

² *Magazine of American History*, IV (May, 1880), 383.

³ The traditional number of toasts on important occasions was thirteen, representing, of course, each state.

Rochambeau, with the First Division of the army, left Philadelphia on September 5 for Chester. Here Washington, who had preceded him, told him, with an excitement that made more impression on Rochambeau than did the news itself, about the arrival of the Comte de Grasse and the French fleet in Chesapeake Bay.¹ The camp site was at Marcus Hook (Camp No. 28), four miles beyond Chester.

Wilmington, Delaware, came next. The camp there (No. 29) was on the west side of the town, facing Lancaster Pike and extending nearly to Fourth Street. The only unusual incident that I have been able to find is the theft of some kegs of French crowns. The culprit, said to have been an American of some standing, broke a hole in the wall of the house used as headquarters of the French, but was detected.²

The next stop (Camp No. 30) was at Elkton (known in Revolutionary days as Head of Elk), at the very head of Chesapeake Bay, where both divisions of the army, which had left Philadelphia a day apart, were reunited. Here difficulties really began, since, in view of the impossibility of procuring enough transports for all, it was necessary to divide the French troops. Only the vanguards of both armies, twelve hundred men or so, including the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Soissonnais and Bourbonnais regiments³ and Lauzun's infantry, took the water route; the remainder went on by land. Those who were ordered to proceed by land were at first reluctant, but later, when they learned of the rough sea passage and the drowning of half a dozen soldiers, they congratulated themselves.

The first camp of the land contingent was at Susquehanna Ferry (Camp No. 31), near Havre de Grace. The Comte de Dumas was entrusted with the difficult task of seeing to it that the men and equipment were ferried across the river. The next three marches, to Bush (Camp No. 32) in Harford County, Whitemarsh (Camp No. 33), and then Baltimore (Camp No. 34), were uneventful.⁴ The

¹ "He [Washington] put aside his character as arbiter of North America and contented himself for the moment with that of a citizen, happy at the good fortune of his country." Comte Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America: A Journal*, Samuel A. Green, Editor (Boston, 1868), 126n.

² Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington, in Familiar Village Tales, Ancient and New* (Philadelphia, 1851), 287.

³ Rochambeau's son led the Bourbonnais.

⁴ Bush Harford has a marker, No. 140; Whitemarsh has a marker, No. 127.

three days' stay at Baltimore, September 13-15, was interesting. The city impressed the visiting army favorably, the contrast between Baltimore's straight streets and "the devious highways of Paris" being particularly striking, and the troops were glad to meet here a good many people who spoke French well. The camp site, an important one, has been described to me by Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, former Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, who has assisted me a great deal. It was on a hill, part of the Howard estate known as Howard's Park, then outside the city limits, now in the heart of the city and occupied by the Roman Catholic Cathedral. Two tablets have been erected to mark the spot, one on the Cathedral grounds and the other on the Calvert Hall School. The late George Forbes, who was familiar with Baltimore history, owned a playbill dated September 20, 1781, with the following manuscript memorandum: "The band of music that was provided for this night's performance belonged to the Regiment of the Count de Chalour, who with the French Army are here on the march to Virginia to attack Lord Cornwallis, posted at Yorktown."

These men were evidently lagging behind their fellows, for the main army left Baltimore on September 16, heading for Alexandria and camping en route at Spurrier's Tavern (Camp No. 35), a few miles west of Elk Ridge and about fifteen miles from Baltimore on the road to Washington.¹ Then, however, "upon the news of the arrival of the Romulus ship of war, with two frigates and a number of transports," they turned off toward Annapolis.² Between Spurrier's Tavern and Annapolis they camped at Scott's Plantation (Camp No. 36). At Annapolis, according to Mr. Richard J. Duval, former Librarian of the United States Naval Academy, the French had one encampment on the banks of Dorsey's (now College) Creek, and part of the detachment occupied what is now Worden Field at the Naval Academy, the parade ground of the midshipmen. A simple marker in the northwest corner of the field records their stay there. Other troops bivouacked near by in what is now the athletic field of St. John's College, and a bronze relief marks the spot where some of the French who died, probably of smallpox, were buried.

The visitors were very much impressed by the Annapolis women,

¹ The exact location is not certain. My correspondent, Mr. J. Alexis Shriver, believes the inn may have been the Van Horn Tavern, near Major Snowden's "Montpelier."

² Robin, *New Travels*, 45.

who were noted for their beauty. Abbé Robin gossips about them in his diary: "Female luxury here exceeds what is known in the provinces of France: a French hair dresser is a man of importance among them, and it is said, a certain dame here hires one of that craft at a thousand crowns a year salary."¹ The ladies, in their turn, were no less impressed by the French visitors, as can be seen from the sentiments expressed by Henrietta Hill Ogle in the spring of 1781, when the number of Frenchmen on hand was far less than in September: "This town is so dull, it would be intolerable were it not for the officers. . . . 'Tis all marquises, counts, etc. . . . I like the French better every hour. The divine Marquis de la Fayette is in town, and is quite the thing."²

Leaving Annapolis on September 21, a large part of the troops sailed down Chesapeake Bay for Virginia, the voyage of three days being uneventful. At the York River they joined the French fleet. The wagon train, horses, and equipages continued the long land march by a circuitous route to Williamsburg via John Easton's (Camp No. 38), Agahouse (Camp No. 39), Georgetown (Camp No. 40), Alexandria (Camp No. 41), Colchester (Camp No. 42), an unidentified site (Camp No. 43) on Queen Creek, a branch of the Potomac, near Dumfries, Peyton's Tavern (Camp No. 44), Fredericksburg (Camp No. 45), Colonel Dangerfield's (Camp No. 46), Bowling Green (Camp No. 47), Lynch's Tavern (Camp No. 48), Hanover Town (Camp No. 49), Hartfield (Camp No. 50), and Bird's Tavern (Camp No. 51)—fifteen marches in all.

Washington and Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on September 14, in advance of the troops coming down from the north. A salute was fired as the two generals arrived. Later in the day there was a review of the allied forces already assembled and a banquet at which "an elegant band of music played an introductory part of a French opera, signifying the happiness of the family, when blessed with the presence of their father, and their great dependence upon him."³ The contingent which had sailed from Head of Elk on September 9 reached its destination on the twenty-third, and those who

¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

² Kate M. Rowland, "Maryland Women and French Officers," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVI (November, 1890), 653.

³ Colonel Richard Butler's Journal, quoted in Edwin M. Stone, *Our French Allies* (Providence, 1884), 412n.

had journeyed by water from Annapolis arrived on the twenty-fourth. The former landed at Jamestown Island, at Burwell's Ferry, now known as Kingsmill's Wharf, situated about a mile below the mouth of Archer's Hope, and at Queen Mary's Port, while the latter landed at Hog's Ferry, near Jamestown. At Trebell's Landing, on the James River, five and a half miles southeast of Williamsburg, there is a marker recording the landing of the stores and artillery of both armies.

There are interesting connections between Williamsburg (Camp No. 52) and the French army both before and after the siege of Yorktown, particularly those centering around the College of William and Mary. The President's house, first used as Cornwallis's headquarters, subsequently served the same purpose for the French Surgeon General, Jean François Robillard, during the siege. While thus occupied it was accidentally burned, but the French, later on, took it upon themselves to repair it from their General Army Fund. French architecture is noticeable in some of the very sloping roofs of the building as now restored. The Wren building at the college served as the main hospital of the French army.¹ Just before the army proceeded northward the next summer, there occurred an event out of the ordinary in the life of the college, Rochambeau and a number of other distinguished French officers being among those in attendance. Doctor Coste, the first physician of the French army, delivered a medical oration in Latin. The President congratulated him and thanked the allies for their great assistance to the American cause, and at the same time gave him an honorary degree. Some years later, the King of France sent over two hundred French books, most of which were carelessly left in someone's cellar and were destroyed by fire. The few remaining are on exhibition in the college museum.²

The French troops remained at Williamsburg until September 28,

¹ Another hospital was at Vineyard Tract, half a mile east of the town. I have among my papers the interesting map of Williamsburg by Colonel Jean-Nicholas Desandrouins, a distinguished engineer in the French army, which shows the locations of sixteen important places connected with the visit of the two allied armies, including the camp sites. This French officer commanded the corps of engineers with the title of brigadier general, but was taken ill at Williamsburg and obliged to relinquish his duties. Charles N. Gabriel, *Le Maréchal de Camp Desandrouins, 1729-1792; Guerre du Canada 1756-1760; Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine, 1780-1782* (Verdun, 1887).

² On October 18, 1931, the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis, Marshal Pétain dedicated an elaborate tablet in this building commemorating the 124 French soldiers who died there and in the vicinity of Williamsburg.

when they advanced toward Yorktown (Camp No. 53), their arrival there in assigned positions marking the completion of a 756-mile march from Newport, Rhode Island. After the successful conclusion of the campaign against Cornwallis they proceeded, about the middle of November, to their winter encampments, dividing among Hampton, Yorktown, Half-Way House (between these two places), Gloucester, Jamestown, Williamsburg, and West Point. Rochambeau probably had two headquarters, one at Williamsburg and the other at Newport. Contemporary comments indicate that the presence of so many foreigners in Virginia during the winter of 1781-1782 caused considerable friction with the resident English population. One writer, commenting on the situation at Yorktown, complained: "Some of the Inhabitants are turn'd out and others with their family confin'd to a room, a situation little better than a prison. . . . unless some measure is adopted to convince these Gentlemen that they were sent to assist, not to distress us, we in this part of the country may bid adieu to liberty, property and every thing dear to man."¹ Another said: ". . . there is a degree of harshness in a soldier's coming and taking a man's house, that our people have not been used to, nor can they put up with it quietly." Yet he admitted he would be doing the French army "great injustice" if he did not at the same time say they were "a sett of very orderly men."²

Rochambeau found the late spring in Virginia very warm, and the heat causing a good deal of illness among his troops, he decided to join the Americans near the Hudson. The First Division of the army accordingly started north on July 1, 1782, each of the three remaining divisions getting under way at one-day intervals. The order was as follows: the First Division, the Bourbonnais Regiment, under the Chevalier de Chastellux; the Second Division, the Deux-Ponts Regiment, led by the Comte de Deux-Ponts; the Third Division, the Soissonnais Regiment, under the Vicomte de Vioménil; the Fourth Division, the Saintonge Regiment, led by the Comte de Custine. Lauzun's Legion composed the advance guard. The troops were to unite at Baltimore, and all were to proceed the entire distance by land, over the same route taken by those who had marched southward. A detachment of four hundred soldiers was left at York-

¹ William Reynolds to Governor Thomas Nelson, November 16, 1781, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, II, 601.

² David Ross to Colonel William Davies, November 17, 1781, *ibid.*, 608.

town to keep guard. The marches were short, and, on account of the heat, were usually made during the night. On the way to the Rappahannock River there were ten halts, either at or near the following places: Drinking Spring (Camp No. 1), Bird's Tavern (Camp No. 2), not far from Monticello, Ratelof House (Camp No. 3), New Kent (Camp No. 4), New Castle (Camp No. 5), Hanover Town (Camp No. 6), Hanover Court House (Camp No. 7), Brink's (or Brunk's) Bridge (Camp No. 8), Bowling Green (Camp No. 9), and a location (Camp No. 10) twelve miles south of Fredericksburg, between Todd's Ordinary and Charlestown.

The army passed through Fredericksburg on July 14, crossed the Rappahannock, which the French said greatly resembled the Seine, and camped at Falmouth (Camp No. 11). Thence the route led to Peyton's Tavern (Camp No. 12) in Stafford County, the artillery resting at Green's Tavern, to Dumfries (Camp No. 13), and to Colchester (Camp No. 14). While at Colchester, Custine, Blanchard, and seven other French officers took the opportunity to visit Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon. Custine presented her with a set of china made at his own factory in Lorraine. Blanchard declared the house to be the handsomest he had yet seen in this country. According to the latter, Custine remarked that it "was necessary to rejoin the flags of Mars and to leave those of Venus—(a very sad separation)."

The next halt after Colchester was at Alexandria (Camp No. 15). Here the troops camped on the ground formerly occupied by Braddock, and "the most elegant and handsome young ladies in the neighborhood danced with the officers on the turf, in the middle of the camp, to the sound of military music."¹ The route then led into Maryland, passing through Georgetown (Camp No. 16) and Bladensburg (Camp No. 17). The next camp was at Rose Tavern (Camp No. 18), the troops proceeding on July 24 and 25 to Spurrier's Tavern (Camp No. 19).

From this place the French went on to Baltimore (Camp No. 20), where probably the same camp site as on the southward march was used—"a charming position in the middle of a wood near a town," where the band played every evening, "people flocking there to hear the music." One contemporary source, however, places the camp site on the other side of the town on the Trenton road.

¹ François Jean Chastellux, *Travels in North-America, in the Years 1780-81-82* (New York, 1828), 304n.

In Baltimore, which Blanchard rated next to Boston and Philadelphia in importance, the French met with a most enthusiastic reception,¹ and there were flattering exchanges between the merchants and Rochambeau. On August 5 he held a review of the army. A French officer writes of this event: "I could not suppress my astonishment at the beautiful appearance [of the soldiers] and what appeared even more surprising, was that the troops could not have made a better showing even in France. . . ." Carriages containing "ladies, perfectly turned out," formed a semicircle. This diarist tells of the beautiful figures of the women, their tiny feet, and their hair done in the French style, "falling in tresses on beautiful shoulders, and on other charms of an alabaster whiteness!" At these maneuvers one of the Soissonnais Regiment accidentally shot a woman in the thigh, thereby causing a great deal of trouble to the commanding officer.

Seven more marches brought the army from Baltimore to Philadelphia. The first three halts were made at Whitemarsh (Camp No. 21), Bush (or Burchtown, as Blanchard called it) at a somewhat different spot (Camp No. 22) than on the journey southward, and Perryville (Camp No. 23) on the Susquehanna, some of the soldiers resting at the place where they had crossed the river on the way to Yorktown or at Havre de Grace. While taking a walk, one of the French officers was pleased to see a village being built near by, to be known by the name Frenchtown. Elkton (Camp No. 24) came next, then Newport (Camp No. 25), near the Delaware River, and a spot (Camp No. 26) near Chester, Pennsylvania.

On September 3 and 4, 1782, the last of the troops reached Philadelphia (Camp No. 27). The city was no less hearty in its greeting to the returning Frenchmen than when they had passed through the preceding September. Doubtless people were still talking about the grand ball given by the French Minister on May 31 to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin. "For some days prior to the entertainment, hairdressers were retained, shops were crowded with customers, and the ability of tailors, milliners and mantua-makers was tested to the

¹ One of my Baltimore correspondents, Mr. Carroll Dulaney, wrote me of an amusing incident. The French Consul General there, the Chevalier d'Annemours, while entertaining Rochambeau at his home on Harford Road, near the French army encampment, decided to erect a monument to Columbus. For many years afterwards, owing to the similarity of the words *cheval* and *Chevalier*, there existed a curious legend to the effect that it was placed there in memory of some horse.

utmost. The engagements of the gentlemen of the comb were so numerous, that on the morning of the eventful day, many ladies were obliged to have their heads dressed between four and six o'clock."¹ The French army supplied the cuisine with thirty cooks. A private room was provided for some Quaker ladies, with a gauze curtain through which they could view the entertainment without being noticed, the reason being that their simple dress would not permit them to join the assembly.

There were nine encampments on the way from Philadelphia to the Hudson. It must be remembered that the war had not yet been won, because the enemy still held New York City, and therefore the armies had to proceed cautiously and do much reconnoitering. The first halt was at the Red Lion Inn (Camp No. 28). Thence the French proceeded through Bristol and ferried across the Delaware, under the superintendence of Colonel Clement Biddle, Quartermaster General of the American Army, to Trenton (Camp No. 29), where, according to a local newspaper, camps were pitched on the "Commons" below the village and along the main road. The barracks occupied on their earlier visit were used either for housing or as hospitals. The army was now concentrated into two instead of four divisions.

There is little recorded in the French officers' diaries of the marches through New Jersey and New York to the place where the Hudson was crossed. The camp sites were near Princeton (Camp No. 30), at Somerset (Camp No. 31), Bullion's Tavern (Camp No. 32), Whippany (Camp No. 33), Pompton (Camp No. 34), Suffern (Camp No. 35), and Haverstraw (Camp No. 36), overlooking the Hudson.

After crossing the river to King's Ferry on September 14, the French were met by the American army, which was under arms to receive Rochambeau at Verplanck's Point. The Comte de Dumas describes the meeting as a real "family fête." The Americans remained at King's Ferry, while the French took ground at Peekskill.² On September 24 they moved on to Crompond (Camp No. 37), camping probably on what is now the Fair Grounds. From here they could repair to New York if necessary. On October 22-23, having

¹ Stone, *Our French Allies*, 506-507.

² *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, xxv (Washington, 1938), 181.

received orders to proceed to Boston to embark his troops for the West Indies, Rochambeau broke camp and began the last stage of his march. Hunt's Tavern (Camp No. 38) was the first stop; thence the army proceeded to Salem (Camp No. 39), their last camp before reaching the Connecticut border. Desandrouins, writing about the experiences of the Bourbonnais Regiment, mentions the great difficulty they had in getting the wagons over the Croton River. The remainder of the route eastward was virtually the same as that followed the year before on the westward march. The troops arrived in Boston (the fifty-fourth camp from Yorktown) on December 3, 4, and 5, and sailed for the West Indies the day before Christmas.

The enthusiasm of our French allies, their knowledge of warfare, their splendid coöperation with the officers and men of the American army enabled us to win the victory. We are inclined to minimize the aid they contributed to the cause of our freedom, and are even inclined sometimes to believe that we ourselves, almost alone, brought about the victory. Moreover, very few of us today realize the importance of this aid in actual figures. It is safe to say that, exclusive of their navy, the French had between eight and nine thousand men at Yorktown, while the total number of French in the war, in the military, naval, and transport services, has been estimated at 47,989 and 96 vessels of all kinds,¹ a figure appreciated by few of us in this country. Whittier expresses France's assistance in these lines:

From Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still,
Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill:
Who curbs his steed at the head of one?
Hark! the low murmur: Washington!
Who bends his keen approving glance
Where down the gorgeous line of France
Shine knightly star and plume of snow?
Thou too art victor, Rochambeau!

¹ Keim, *Rochambeau*, 508.

William Orne

A Distinguished but Forgotten Merchant

By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS¹

IN studying the biographies of men who have made a city, one is inclined to philosophize on why some seem to be remembered and others not, why one can find all sorts of data about some and nothing about others without considerable research. The distinguished public servant, the dramatic and unusual man of affairs, and the blatant and useless politician leave a trail behind them for good or ill. For all the rest, however meritorious, nothing remains but oblivion unless they leave numerous progeny who exploit the merits of commonplace ancestors to shed glory on their own lack of merit. Of this there is a good deal, and it results in placing the steady old ancestor in a position relative to his contemporaries which is unfair to men who are equal or better.

One of these inconspicuous men in Salem history was William Orne, and lest I be accused of the gentle art of resurrecting an ancestor, let me say at once that I am descended neither from him nor from any of his family to the remotest collateral so far as I know. No volume of the Essex Institute *Collections* contains even a brief life of him. No genealogy of his direct family is there to be found, and one must search far for any mention of his business activity. Yet he owned an interest in at least thirty different merchant ships and privateers, and at one time he may have had a fleet of fifteen ships at sea. He had many able captains from the Hodges, Ropes, Webb and other families as well as his own, but the story has vanished, and it has been a far cry to dig it out. "Persevering application to Commercial affairs"² and not blatant advertising of personal merits probably accounts for this. Anyway, Orne was among the four or five biggest merchants in Salem in the 1790's and was not very far behind Elias Hasket Derby and fully abreast of Simon Forrester and George Crowninshield.

The Ornes of Massachusetts all came from Deacon John Horne; the Salem branch from Ensign Joseph and the Marblehead branch

¹ This paper was read at the May, 1942, meeting.

² *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.*, IV (Salem, 1914), 356.

from Simon, and they all dropped their "h's" after the first generation. There were Putnams, Ingersols, Tomsons, and perhaps Ropeses on the distaff side even before William himself married Abigail Ropes. She was the daughter of that distinguished Judge Nathaniel Ropes who, after a life of faithful service to town and colony, passed his last hours with his house surrounded by a howling mob of alleged patriots, because of his alleged Tory proclivities.

William Orne was a Puritan of the Puritans by descent and had the brains and self-control inherent in generations of Puritan discipline. All of his line were mariners, farmers, and soldiers except his grandfather who was a cordwainer or leatherworker. His sons were merchants, lawyers, and sea captains, and his daughter Eliza married as her second husband Daniel Appleton White, from whom is descended Eliza Orne White, a distinguished member of the family in our generation.¹

William's older brother Joseph graduated from Harvard College in 1765, got an A.M., studied medicine, was a fellow of the American Academy and a "gentleman of the best genius which Salem has produced," according to Dr. Bentley,² but he died at thirty-seven. William was born in 1751, and what he did in his early years it is hard to discover. For the first ten of those years his father, Captain Jonathan, was master of the busy little schooner *Neptune* of sixty-six tons, which made nine voyages to Cadiz and Bilbao in the six years from 1751 to 1757, and then, in another *Neptune* and the *Leopard*, made four voyages to St. Martin's and Jamaica.³ After that he seems to have stayed ashore, but all shipping records of Salem are lost from 1769 to the time of his death in 1774, and we cannot be sure what he did.⁴ Captain Jonathan was a cousin of the great Salem merchant Timothy Orne, but it does not appear that he ever sailed any of Timothy's ships.

With all this shipping in his blood and with his later record as a merchant, it is unlikely that William Orne stayed ashore much after he was fifteen. Cabin boy, sailor, mate, and master at twenty or twenty-one was probably his record, though we have not the

¹ Genealogy in Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts*, 1 (Salem, 1924), 153.

² *Diary of William Bentley*, IV. 356.

³ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXVII. 424; LXVIII. 248, 249.

⁴ There are no private papers of this branch of the Orne family at the Essex Institute.

data to prove it. When the Revolution broke out, the record becomes clearer though not at the very start.

In June, 1778, he appears with William Pickman, Larkin Thorne-dike, and other rather prominent men as joint owner of the 220-ton ship *Black Prince*, 18 guns and 130 men. She was a big powerful ship for those days and would have brought in valuable prizes for her owners in the long run, but she was commandeered by the Province for the unfortunate Penobscot Expedition early in 1779 and was burned to prevent her capture when the expedition failed. Later that year William Orne is listed for a few months as commander of a small privateer, the *Tyger* (as they spelled it), a brigantine with six guns and ten men. Orne gave up the command the following April to John Leach but probably retained an ownership. The performances of the *Tyger* were not to be despised, and between April and July, 1780, the schooners *Success* and *Prosper* and the brigantines *Polly* and *Ann* were sold in Salem as prizes for the benefit of her owners and crew for £129,976, but just what that amounted to in depreciated currency is impossible to calculate. Also it is not clear whether these prizes were due to Captain Orne's cruise or Captain Leach's, but the *Tyger* certainly brought in a tidy sum¹ before she was captured on the Newfoundland station.²

Captain Orne also seems to have been part owner of the *Polly*, of similar size, that year, but there is no record of prizes from her. In 1781 he had an interest in two much larger vessels, the brigantine *New Adventure* of fourteen guns and forty men, commanded by Jonathan Neal, and the famous *Junius Brutus*, commanded on different cruises by John Brooks and Nathaniel Brookhouse. In the earlier cruises of the *Junius Brutus* probably the Ornes had no interest, but after August, 1780, Josiah and William Orne were probably the largest owners. She captured five prizes at least, before she got back in June, 1781, and seems to have cruised first in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to capture the vessels of the Quebec fleet and then to the north of the West Indies to capture homeward bound Jamaicamen. In both stations she had some success, and the *New Adven-*

¹ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLIX. 119, 120.

² George Williams to Timothy Pickering, July 23, 1780, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLV. 122.

ture was one of her prizes.¹ She was captured in October, 1782, and taken to Newfoundland.²

William Orne himself seems to have commanded the ship *Jupiter*, but we have no record where she went, unless perhaps to Hispaniola,³ or what she did. That was near the end of the war, anyway, and privateering was about over. Probably she was operating as a letter of marque to the French Indies, for she entered from there under his command on May 17, 1783, which was very soon after the news of peace reached America. For the next two years a *Jupiter* was entering and clearing for the West Indies commanded at various times by B. Hodges and B. West, but it is impossible to tell whether this was William Orne's ship or another.⁴

Apparently William Orne's sole military experience on land was with that famous company entirely made up of Salem shipmasters who enlisted for sixty days to drive the British out of Newport, R. I., in conjunction with D'Estaing's French fleet. The French fleet deserted them, and they all came home in great disgust having accomplished nothing.

There are no records of registered ownership of vessels until the United States Custom House was set up in 1789, so there are no means of telling what vessels Orne then owned. But he owned at least four, for as soon as the brigantine *Essex* and the schooners *Speed*, *Eliza*, and *Harmony* arrived in port in 1789, they registered in his name;⁵ and the *Speed* and the *Eliza* he had evidently owned for several years, for they had been sailing under his same captains. There is also a record that he had a part interest with William Gray in the brig *William and Henry*.⁶ She seems to have made a very early voyage to Canton for tea under Benjamin Hodges for their joint account, but Orne sold his interest in her on her return. In the next seven years he added eight more ships to his list, but how many dropped off the list is not evident. Probably seven or eight were going most of the time.

The following item from the *Salem Gazette* of October 14, 1794,

¹ George Williams to Timothy Pickering, October 24, 1780, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLV. 125-126.

² *Salem Gazette*, October 10, 1782.

³ Henry Wheatland Genealogical MSS., J-R (Essex Institute), 57.

⁴ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXV. 146, 148, 149, 152, 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XL. 71, 182, 222; XLI. 370.

⁶ Henry Wheatland Genealogical MSS., J-R, 57.

indicates the sort of risk these merchants ran in the West India trade:

Captain E. Ward, from Hispaniola, who arrived last evening, informs, that Captain Jonathan Radax, of the schr. *Hopewell*, with his Mate, and all his hands, except one, (who came home with Captain W.) died there previous to his sailing, and that Government had taken possession of his vessel and cargo—also, that the schr. *Harmony*, Joseph Henderson, master, was cast away on Heneaga reef, vessel and cargo lost, people saved. Both the above vessels were owned by Capt. Wm. Orne of this port.

Between 1800 and 1805 six more ships were added to Orne's list before the Jeffersonian blight struck commerce. Then no more vessels were added till 1810 when he went ahead again and added five more before his death in 1815. He owned the larger part of most of these ships, and of some he owned the whole. In perhaps half a dozen, other merchants had an interest; in several others the masters had a share, but of the entire fleet his share must have been at least three-quarters.

Captain Orne apparently had a weakness for schooners, as almost half of his fleet had that rig, and he owned one at least of over two hundred tons, though most of them were about a hundred. The earlier vessels were small, but after 1800 he had a number of brigs and ships of over two hundred tons. Three of these vessels, namely, the schooner *Hopewell*, the brig *Hind*, and the ship *Pompey*, were built for him by Ebenezer Mann or Mann's successor, Christopher Turner, at the head of North River in Salem. The *Hopewell* and the *Hind* were built in 1793 and 1795, respectively, and the *Pompey* in 1802.¹

In addition to his own ships Captain Orne also employed the ships of others to a considerable extent, and consignments and full cargoes often arrived for him on the ships of other owners. He early pushed out in the new lines of trade developed soon after the Revolution, though the West India trade was always his mainstay with the little schooners, which went down with codfish, lumber, staves, and knickknacks and returned with sugar and molasses. By 1790 Captain Orne was trading to Bordeaux for wines with his brig *Essex*, to Canton with Samuel Gray for teas and silks. In November, 1792, the *Essex* was coming home from the Baltic loaded with hemp and iron when she nearly went ashore on Baker's Island breakers. The

¹ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI. 139, 140.

account says she only lost her rudder and anchored! Next morning she was towed above the *Haste* and then came into port before the wind, presumably still with no rudder.¹ In 1795 the *Essex* was in St. Petersburg and two years later in Calcutta, and Orne's ship *Hazen* was in Batavia under Jonathan Hodges in 1798. In 1798 the brig *Mars* was in Barcelona under his nephew Joseph Orne, and in 1800 the *Essex* under the same master. By 1805 he had reached out for Manila with the *Essex*, still under Joseph Orne. She arrived in Salem in May loaded with sugar and indigo, and duties were paid on this cargo amounting to \$18,443. This was a most successful trip but was the prelude to a most unfortunate voyage. The *Essex* left for Mocha with \$60,000 in specie to buy coffee but finding little for sale went up the Red Sea to Hodeida, taking on some Arabs as pilots whose ship followed the *Essex*. Apparently the Arabs murdered all on board except one boy, stole the specie, and burned the ship.² Joseph Orne, the captain, was a nephew of William Orne and grew up in his family when left an orphan. He was an excellent young man and much lamented. His death probably killed his sister, Mrs. Tucker.³

Marseilles and Christiania were other ports visited by Orne ships. The brig *Industry* visited the latter port just before the War of 1812 and returned with a curious but useful cargo of iron hoops and window glass.

Enough has been said to show that Orne was no local trader. The whole wide world was his field except that his ships never went into the Pacific as many later ships did. It cannot be said that he was a pioneer in commerce. He waited till it had been demonstrated that a line of trade was likely to be successful before he went into it, but no one got far ahead of him.

The wharf where Orne conducted his important shipping interests had been owned by Colonel Peter Frye before the Revolution; but Frye was a Tory, and William Orne got it in the general sale of Tory property. It was located on Front Street, but Front Street then extended half across what is now Washington Street, so Orne's wharf must have been located about where the railroad tracks now are in front of the Salem station.⁴ It should be remembered that for

¹ *Diary of William Bentley*, 1 (Salem, 1905), 413.

² *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXVII. 299.

³ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI. 104.

twenty years after the Revolution there was a perfectly unobstructed channel from there to the sea so it was easy to bring up ocean-going vessels. Even then there was complaint about filling in the channel, however, and the town meeting of 1790 was devoted to a warm discussion of a line that had been drawn limiting the possible encroachment on the channel. Most of the larger merchants like Elias Hasket Derby, Orne, and Joseph Ward favored maintaining the line, but the town voted against it, and so Messrs. Orne and Ward brought a bill before the grand jury and lost.¹

This was not Orne's only contest to maintain his channel to the sea, for fifteen years later, in 1805, Ezekiel Hersey Derby, who had a farm in South Salem and was developing Lafayette Street, desired to have the Central Street Bridge built to connect his new street directly with Essex Street. William Orne was violently against it as it really ruined his wharf, and he also controlled the land on the north side of the river where the bridge was to cross. He employed Joseph Story, later Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court but then just rising to fame, as his counsel. With the help of the Crowninshield family they carried a vote against the bridge in the town meeting by a small majority. Instantly Orne started to build a large building on the lot he controlled so as to block the taking of the land, while the opposing interest called a second town meeting for a week later to see if they could not get the action reversed. The Derby family made liberal offers, while the town resented the action of Orne in trying to prejudice the case by erecting his building. The result was that a majority of twenty-four against the bridge was changed to a majority of one hundred and sixty in favor, and the filling and closing of Salem's beautiful harbor began.²

During most of his life Orne lived in a house which stood where the Salem City Hall now stands. This house had been owned by Captain Josiah Orne³ but must have been acquired by William Orne early in life. He seems to have left it to his daughter Eliza, from whom it came to her husband, Daniel Appleton White, who resided there till he died.⁴ This house was originally built well back in the eighteenth century, if not earlier, and seems to have descended through the Josiah Ornes. Probably William acquired it when his cousin, Captain Josiah, died in 1789, but it was enlarged by him.

¹ *Diary of William Bentley*, I. 151-152.

² *Ibid.*, III (Salem, 1911), 163, 164-165, 166.

³ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

This land was part of the original grant to Deacon John Horne.¹

There seem to have been other pieces of land in Salem which Orne owned, for we know that he sold to the town in 1801 the land on which the Howard Street Burying Ground is located. He owned a part of it, and John Ropes the rest.

Probably Orne reached the height of his business activity in the seventeen nineties. He had several ships at sea, had already acquired considerable property, and was a man of influence and standing. When the Essex Bank was organized in 1792, its directorate included some of the most prominent men in Salem. William Gray, Jr., was the president, George Dodge, John Norris, Jacob Ashton, and Joseph White were all directors as were Orne and Edward Pulling.² With the exception of Elias Hasket Derby and George Crowninshield this was the most aggressive group of merchants in the town. At the time of his death Orne was President of the Essex Bank.

When the merchants of Salem in 1798 decided to build the frigate *Essex* to present to the United States to help oppose the lawless attacks of the French republic on our commerce, William Orne was one of the four largest subscribers. This was of course a Federalist idea and not agreeable to the French party, so the Crowninshields and other later Jeffersonians contributed nothing. William Gray had not yet changed his political affiliations. The *Essex* was a very famous frigate, well equipped and a very fast sailor. She cost \$74,000 and was entirely the work of Salem mechanics. She was the first American naval vessel to round the Cape of Good Hope or to go into the Pacific and after distinguished service all over the world was captured in the harbor of Valparaiso during the War of 1812.

In 1791 Orne became a member of the Salem Marine Society and so continued till his death. Curiously enough he seems to have joined in 1774 and then resigned. He apparently never took a very active part in the work of the Society and was never an officer. He did not seem to be much interested in the Philosophical Library, which was the chief cultural agency in the town, and sold his brother Joseph's share to Dr. Bentley after his brother died. The worthy parson seems to have thought that he drove rather a hard bargain for the price was £9.³ However, a few years later, when Dr. Francis Matignon was

¹ *Essex Antiquarian*, XI (July, 1907), 116.

² *Diary of William Bentley*, I. 372.

³ *Ibid.*, 159.

asking contributions in Salem for building the first Catholic Church in Boston, Orne contributed fifty dollars toward the four or five hundred dollars that was given by the Salem Puritan merchants for this purpose.¹

Orne married, as stated above, the daughter of Judge Nathaniel Ropes. The judge had died some time before the wedding took place on March 24, 1780, but they were probably married in the lovely old house now the Ropes Memorial on Essex Street. Of this marriage six children were born in the next sixteen years. First came William and George,² who both probably died young. Next came Eliza, who tradition says grew up to be a very charming woman. She married first William Wetmore, by whom she had one son, also named William Orne, who died when he was five years old, and second the Honorable Daniel Appleton White, by whom she had one son who became the ancestor of the White family.

The fourth child of William Orne was Samuel, who removed to Springfield soon after his father's death and married Lucinda D. Howard.³ His descendants are still living in Springfield. The next child was a son Charles Henry, who grew up to be a merchant and owned ships, but he died at twenty-seven without issue. He married Lucy Blanchard of Wenham, who died a year after they were married and was soon followed by her husband. The last child was Joseph, born January 31, 1796, who married Sally Fiske Ropes, May 19, 1817, and died less than a year later. She outlived her husband by nearly sixty years and her only daughter by thirty-five. It is too bad that no members of this distinguished family have left any descendants by the name of Orne in Salem. In fact the name of Orne is no longer represented in the Salem telephone directory by any person born to that name.

William Orne died of apoplexy on October 14, 1815, at the age of sixty-three,⁴ a little more than two years after the death of his wife. It was said of Abigail Orne that her father, Judge Ropes, once remarked that she never did or said anything he would have wished to be different, which is something for modern fathers to contemplate. William Orne, tradition says, was a man of much charm of manner. He was undoubtedly a good business man and accumulated a large

¹ *Diary of William Bentley*, III. 23.

² *Salem Vital Records*, II (Salem, 1918), 125, 126.

³ *Diary of William Bentley*, IV. 503.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 356. The Orne tomb is in the Charter Street Burial Ground, on the right of the entrance.

estate; and if, as Dr. Bentley implies, he was a man of little culture, whence came the refinement and culture of his daughter Eliza, who left such a delightful memory in the family of her husband, Daniel Appleton White, who was certainly one of the most cultured men of his generation?

Orne was a stern Federalist in politics and had represented Salem in the legislature. He took his part in the bitter fights of the period between 1802 and 1814 unnecessarily precipitated by the Jeffersonian party. The old sea captains were good fighters and did not hesitate to defend their opinions vigorously.

The *Salem Gazette* of October 17, 1815, said of Orne that he was "esteemed and respected by a large circle," described him as "a distinguished merchant eminent for his integrity and attention to business," and spoke of "his liberal hospitality and his thousand acts of charity."

Letters of Sullivan Dorr

Edited by HOWARD CORNING¹

THE following letters, descriptive of life in Canton, China, from 1799 to 1803, are, I think, the earliest continuous records still in existence of an American merchant's participation in the China trade. The writer, Sullivan Dorr, was a young man barely twenty-one years of age.² He was the tenth child and seventh son of Ebenezer and Abigail (Cunningham) Dorr, and was born in Boston, October 12, 1778. The father was listed in the early directories as a leather dresser and later as a merchant, his store having been at No. 27 Long Wharf, Boston. He was interested in shipping, at least to the extent of small coastal voyages, as early as 1761-1765. From this, the father seems to have branched out into trading on the Northwest Coast, where he appears in the early days of the fur trade. He must have gone into this quite extensively, because at one time or another he and his sons were owners in twenty-three vessels, all but five of which were registered entirely in the Dorr name. The best market for the furs obtained by barter with the Indians on the Northwest Coast was China, and with the proceeds of the sales there the usual consignments of tea, silks, china, and other goods were brought back to America. Originally the bargaining was done by the captain or supercargo of each vessel as it came into port, with results that varied with the abilities of these men. It was, therefore, natural, as the business grew, that the Dorrs should send somebody to represent them permanently and keep in touch with the market and its possibilities.

The choice fell on young Sullivan, and the letters which follow were written by him as a part of his business duties. After having made what seemed to him sufficient money to justify his return to the States, he left Canton in 1803, sailing to Europe to dispose of a cargo of tea which apparently resulted in a satisfactory profit. He

¹ This article was communicated by title at the January, 1944, meeting.

² For a more detailed biographical sketch, see my article, "Sullivan Dorr, China Trader," *Rhode Island History*, III (July, 1944), 75-90. The two letter books from which these extracts are taken are owned by Frank Mauran, Esq., of Providence and are on deposit at the Rhode Island Historical Society. He has also deposited there Dorr's "Memorandum Book at Canton China" (1801), extracts from which are printed in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, LXXVIII. 158-175. Paul C. Nicholson, Esq., of Providence owns an account book kept by Dorr during the years 1799-1808. This is also on deposit at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

then settled in Providence, Rhode Island, where he lived until his death. He married Lydia Allen of Providence and perhaps for this reason took up his residence there. He became one of the town's leading business men, a trustee of Brown University and President of the Washington Insurance Company. He did not continue his interest in the East very long, nor did he continue to devote himself to maritime affairs. He invested in cotton mills, turnpikes, and the various projects that appealed to a business man in the country where he settled. He died March 1, 1858, leaving a family of seven children: four men and three women. The *Providence Journal* said of him at the time of his death: "No man among us enjoyed or deserved a higher reputation for the sterling qualities that make up a manly character. Inflexibly honest, courteous in his manners, kind in his feelings, he was respected by all who knew him and beloved by all who knew him well."

SULLIVAN DORR TO EBENEZER DORR

Canton, September 10th 99

MY GOOD FATHER, I arrived at Macao 31 Ult. after a passage of 178 days in good health, which blessing I enjoyd at sea much better than expected experiencing a slight indisposition only; the length of time at sea was rather fatiguing, which was heightend by the scantiness of Stores, Amory having forfeited his word in making provision as promised. the only extra thing put on board was two Dozen of wine, which lasted 90 days, shewing with what moderation it was used; when consumed application was made to the Captain for more. he refused broaching one of two Casks put on board, alledging that it was for Canton consumption, at same time he and Waters declaring that no one article except the above mentiond wine was procur'd in consideration of my going. I requested 3 or 4 gallons of it, promising to pay or return a similar quantity in Canton, but neither of them were capable of entering into the feelings of a person, and they never offerd it, and I confind myself to water during the remainder of the passage, never using spirits; I only took the liberty of giving my opinion of Mr. Amory whose conduct had sowerd my disposition a little, and I think I shall give it him personally whenever I see him, a little contemptible soul, in fact that's all he deserves, contempt. Waters is a very good young man, but apes liberality. hav-

ing been educated in the vortex of avarice, it is impossible that he should not be tainted or smell a little of it. true we had a small quantity of flour, and as little rice. by the time we had made two thirds of the passage all these conveniences were consum'd, and in fact it was nothing more than jail allowance, bread and water. I never eat beef or pork, it is such confounded indigestible stuff. however we kept a peaceable ship, rather foregoing everything than quarrel. these circumstances are mentiond, that if any one of our family should take passage anywhere and pay 100 guineas not to trust to the word of an Amory, but be certain and obtain a bill of fare. this little bodily mortification may work a future lasting good, but I don't love to pinch the belly in expectation of things to come. I kept no journal, the sea being so barren of incident, and possessing so sterile an imagination shall not trouble you with the trite occurrences of the voyage.

It may be amuseing to say that we were 31 days to St. Anthonys, 42 to the line, 76 the Cape, St. Pauls 98 blowing hard, could not see it, made Sumatra 119 days, arrived at Malacca 157 days. the cause of our falling to leeward may be imputed to want of a good celestial observation, expecting certainly to get through Sunda, thinking we might through Bali, but our reckoning put us 8 degrees to windward of where we were, which a good sexton would have corrected, resorted to in proper season. I would recomment putting one in every Vessell you may be concerned in, the expense being amply paid by enableing one to take advantage of a knowledge of the exactitude of his situation.

At Malacca I heard of the Jennys passing there with the English fleet, and here also I find that the Nancy went on shore at St. Pauls, which disaster militates much against the interest of the concern, by the loss of the opportunity of vending the trade intended for her by the Jenny. the number of skins taken by Myricks crew, by what I can learn was about 10,000, and I have very little doubt of your instantly sending back the Jenny with some specie, to touch at St. Pauls for what skins the people left there may have taken, they bearing the same price as last season, which will do very well; they have had no supply from Russia, which has continued the prices so high.

I fear the quality of Browns cargo is very bad, Consequai with whom he dealt being a good adept at mixing teas, and had last year 60,000 Dollars value returnd by the English Company. it requires great circumspection in dealing with these fellows, and then you may

be egregiously cheated, for over the packing place, some of them have trap doors through which they drop old good for nothing teas, in the dust of packing. I shall use [e]very caution my poor judgement suggests.

The 3d I took a factory paying 800*D* for the season, admitting Waters for 300 during his stay, which will expire about the time our Vessels may arrive. I could have procured one much cheaper, but in the focus of filth, and health is too valuable to be sported with for 1 or 200 Dollars. after our Vesell or Vesells depart, I can let the factory or admit some other ship, which will lighten the expense. On my arrival I left letters at Macao directing Crocker how to proceed.

17th. Two days since Cap. Cleveland in a country built Cutter arrived here from the Coast, which place he left in June (with a collection of 2300 skins) where Breck and Crocker were, having arrived very late, and made about 600 each collection, with small prospects of increase; immediately upon hearing said information I dispatched two letters to Maccao, ordering the Dispatch, in case of her collection being to small for to obtain a full Cargo for America, to remain at Macao, and Breck or Crocker to send me immediate information of their respective situations collections, remains of trade etc. thinking if the Dispatch is competent to send her (putting her collection into Crocker) on the Coast for another season. but let me say I do not think she is fit for the business, nor the Hancock being both chumps and not copperd; if you intend to follow the business with success and advantage, immediately upon their arrival in America sell them, and build two or three Schooners of One hundred tons, well copperd and armd with ten 4 pounders, and 20 Good Northernmen each, the Indians growing saucy, also procure good trade, cloth as principal. having procurd furs let them rendezvous at Macao, where the concern ought to have a ship of Four hundred and fifty tons, with a fresh supply of cloth; Trunks and other articles except powder and musketts are obtainable here, and they sometimes but not to be depended upon, said Ship exchanging her cloth for their skins, and proceeding with the same to Whampao, by which means the business will be facilitated, an[d] every advantage taken of the skinning business and an expense of 8 or 10,000*D* which you have heretofore incurrd, avoided, and the funds more advantageously invested for America; I cannot urge too strongly the necessity of the Schooners being clippers, and well copperd, for where there is a

competition in a trade of this kind you ought to possess equal advantages in point of Vessells; another point you cannot but conceive the importance of, that is let all your men be all Northernmen for admitting one foreigner, they often turn the heads of a whole crew; which was the case on board of the Hancock and Wilson, one of the mutineers at the More, headed by Perkins the 3d Mate, made an attempt to secure the Captain but did not succeed, he made so good a defence; the rascals had secured the principal part of the arms, Ayers stood neuter. this I have from Cleveland, for the certainty of particulars I cannot vouch. Crocker put 8 of the villians ashore at Norfolk sound where the poor Devils will perish if not taken off. I am sorry he should do so, perhaps it was the only alternative.

Poor David Lamb of the Ulysses has had a terrible sweat of it, Dicky Satter (I believe he is calld) promoted himself to the command of the Ship, placing Lamb in Irons in his stateroom for about 20 Days, selling off the trade like a sun-of-gun at half price. however the Dispatch and some other ship of great magnitude came across them and afforded relief, placing dicky to his utter confusion in a similar situation his Master had arrisen from. but Lamb appears to be totally indifferent to his situation, arrising from a debility brought on by distress of mind etc.

The Eliza belonging to Perkins etc. has made a collection of 2500 skins. she arrived the first on the coast, and has gone to trade with the spaniards, where if they don't knab her they will make an immense voyage it was imprudent to take their skins with them.

You will naturally consider if any advantage will attend your business here, by entering into the system suggested, and if any sufficient to induce me to remain in this unhospitable climate, shall embrace it, waiting here to learn your decision, if I do not alter my mind, when I do shall inform you.

The thermometer half the Year is up from 84 to 100, sufficient in time to warp the strongest constitution. the English residents look like so many bread and water fed Gentry. however with care one may be able to weather the climate. to live respectably it will cost 10,000 dollars independent of factory expences, after the Ships depart; I shall have to pay 300*D* for chop to get to Macao, and the same up, but it is lighten'd by 3 or 4 clubbing together. and if Consoul Snow remains, shall club with him and a Philadelphia Supercargo.

I have sold my ginseng at 260 Dollars per piquel, making about

600*D* by that small spec. the clarifyd ginseng have not sold, it requires very considerable address to smuggle it, being prohibited. I ask 120 dollars per Catty but possibly may obtain about 60*D* but no certainty of getting anything, these chinamen being so capricious, a snug thing if it fetches 60*D*, making 1200*D* to myself. I shall write Munson how to proceed in future. If you should send any ginseng, be certain and let there be no dust or fine stuff. it is a dead loss, being obliged to throw into the river one piquel of my own, and is attended with great trouble. The solid straw coloured root is best, a sample of which shall send the Philadelphia put it up in nice order in flour Barrels cleansed of those little good-for-nothing roots, and on the passage if in the hole the hatches must be kept off in good weather, that it may not heat and loose its quality as mine did, otherwise it would have brought 400*D* per piquel. but the quantity expected from Philadelphia will lessen the price when arrived, two ships only having arrived from America except the Eliza. they brought 100 piquel and sold for 400*D*.

30th. This day Cleveland of the Cutter Sloop sold his skins at 25*D* or thereabouts. it being a secret bargain am not able to say certain, but he obtained cash therefor; am in hopes to do as well with any I may have the disposal of.

1 October. Three Ships arrived at Whampao this day belonging to Philadelphia with ginseng. when sold shall inform you. The names of the Ships are Canton, Dale, New Jersey, Rosseter, America, Syms. two previously arrived, Ariel, Coates, Jean, McPherson and the Eliza of Boston are the only ships here at present bound to America. Mr. Grays ship of Salem met with a sad disaster in the straits of Gasper. being in a critical situation with two boats a sounding, a squal took the Ship and carried away her topmasts and they were enabled only to take one boats crew on board leaving the mate and seamen in the other, who were fortunately picked up in the Straits of Sunda by the New Jersey, and have arrived here. from their account it is impossible for the Ship to catch (as the Chinamen say) Canton this season.

4th. Ship Industry Cap. Rud arrived from New York via London and Madeira with wine. J. Greene who went from there in the Grand Turk came out in her, from whom I learn Trotter has gone from England to the Brazil coast on a smuggling voyage, from thence here; it may be one of that fellows bugbear stories.

7th. Arrived Cap. Ward of the Palas from Salem, the Ship said to

be in such a pitiful situation; two boats went out to sound at the southern point of Borneo, one with sails and a compass, with the mate, and presuming too much went too far from the Ship with a strong current against them. the small boat which did not venture so far, returned to the Ship with ease. Ward did not get under way it being squally, and not certain of sufficient depth of Water, in the passage; and the gunner of the Ship said he saw the boat jibe and in so doing upset. it growing dark they remained at Anchor untill morning, then made sail, saw no boat and concluded the mans story to be true; and to the Ships company great pleasure, on their arrival found them here; they were seven days in an open boat, having nothing to eat but what they forcibly obtained from a Malay prau, and that only about one quart of rice and a little water. Judge Danas son came out in the Palas.

Since the arrival of so many ships, Nankeens have risen to 52*D*. 10 days since I might have purchased for 44*D* to 46*D* Boheas from 12 Tale to 13*T* 5*M* other teas have not risen the demand not being so great Hyson 46*T* Souchong 38*T* Imperial or Gunpowder 60*T*, silks a little higher. from circumstances am apt to think our tea toppers will have enough in America, and cheap too. between 14 and 15,000 thousand chests went to America last year, and the quantity this you shall have if the linguist dont deceive me. Teas etc. by the time I want to purchase I think will be lower, particularly if the English fleet dont arrive all, for 20,000 Boheas are engaged on condition they do.

It has of late been thoroughly ascertained by a survey that Vandemans-land is seperated from New-Holland by a strait of 100 Miles wide, and charts will be out from England soon. it is supposed that it may facilitate the passage to this a little, but probably it is not so nicely explored as to lay down every danger. therefore untill a more nice examination be had would not venture that way.

12*th*. The quantity of ginseng arrived has reduced the price to 190 per piquel; the first cost at Philadelphia is 106 per piquel but very nice and clean. The annual consumption is about 5 or 600 piquel. any more that may arrive will lessen the price, so as not to be an object worth meddling with the high price obtained this, may induce people to send large quantities next year, and the first arrival will do well.

Have sold only 3 Catty and 60 it is slow business, and I have too

much, 20 to 50 [*in the margin*: I keep the quantity a secret] Catty being sufficient, and the colour is not good it ought [to] be straw coloured and made fair, without being cut or scrapd in the least, divested of all the little roots and fibres. shall say more about it another time. also have sold three pipes of wine one 300 Dollars and two at 220 per pipe. had not the Industry brought wine from Ma-deiria should have got 300*D*; one pipe more to be sold, part of which shall take to myself; ten pipes is enough for the yearly consumption of the place; there is no article upon which certain reliance can be placed, therefore would not make any adventures, except about 150 or 100 piquel of Ginseng provided you send a ship annually and obtain it from New York or Philadelphia.

The large quantity of coarse has reduced the price of the fine clarify'd ginseng, having sold only two more at 40 Catty, shall worry it off as I can. shall be obligd to throw into the river 100 lb. of the part clarified, it being impossible to smuggle it, and if I did it would lessen the price of the fine so much that it would be better was it in America. a large quantity will not do, fifty catty is as much as I would wish, and that put up in tin cases of a catty weight to fit the crown of a common sized hatt.

October 28th. Arrived the Ship Eliza Cap. Rowen, with a collection of skins, tails, etc. to the number of 3,000, which at 25 dollars will amount to 75,000*D*, also Cash to the Amount of 23,000*D* procured for goods upon the spanish main; I have no doubt of his procuring 27 dollars in goods for his furr, which will be an enormous voyage, leaving 98,000*D* net funds, to be invested here, and when Magee arrives will take part of the funds to load his Ship or to compleat her loading. Goods are to be procured here compleatly adapted to the main, and if the Dispatch proves competent, am not certain that I shall not send her upon that business, putting the whole of my fortune at risque, but shall not engage in anything without good assurance of success. shall obtain every information from Kendrick, who would go could he get a release from his Ship. have no reason to expect the collection of the two ships Dispatch and Hancock will amount to more than 20 or 2,400 hundred skins. the net proceeds will be about 54,000 Dollars which will be sufficient to give them a cargo of coars goods, but in consequence of the large shipments of black tea last year shall not send more than three or four hundred chests, the remainder fine, some cassia at 16 Tale, a little China, and

perhaps freight, but most probably shall load them for the Owners account, procuring credits here. the Merchants are very ready to credit. shall put them to the test, but should not be disappointed if they should refuse. they are capable of such duplicity; and none of them get a hide from me, without a previous receipt of goods, on board ship. Sugar can be had at 5*T* to 6*T* 3*M* per piquel, some a shipping think in one or two moons it will be cheaper, after some ships depart. I shall stay here untill very late, say latter end of January in expectation of seeing the Jenny with hides and Dollars, and then take passage in her for America; if she does not come, I shall go to Malacca, or take passage home via England. it is so expensive living here, that the emolument accruing to me, and expense to you, with perhaps not equivilant advantages, does not authorize it. if it does, should I go home can take another start, but shall remain here as observed, not chusing to be 6 months in a dump; don't buy the Eliza Odell she sails as well as the Ariadne, only her great runs were performd in gales of wind, as the Abigail was, when Andrew saild her over the Atlantic.

October 29th. This day arrived the Hope Capt. Donaldson. by Mr. De Wolf received a letter from Joseph and John Dorr, one from Joseph, one from Henry, also a number from my acquaintance, a file of papers pamphlets etc. the receipt of which affords abundant pleasure, particularly to hear of the health of the family and friends. secluded from them, leaves a void not easily in this Country to be filled. I hope by my exertions in this country, to show, that your, and their confidence is not misplaced, and the pleasure arrising from your approbation will be forcibly felt, and contribute to my happiness as much as the accumulation of riches, which by the bye is very desirable tho' not my God. shall take care and place my confidence in none as Joseph says, repaying their proffers with compliments, knowing my own business shall not subject myself to the Duplicity of any one, keeping the staff in my own hand. This goes by the Jane McPherson, and a copy by Odell; shall have frequent opportunity till February there being ten sail here and seven or eight expected by whom shall write, if only say am well, knowing the value of a letter very well. Cannot but express my hearty thanks to all my friends for their affectionate inquiries and regards for me, and was I to write all should not be able to attend to letters of business, which demands my first attention.

The Mary of New York is said to be at Macao. together with ships here and expected, will make eighteen sail. the linguist has just left me promising to give me a memo. of the Cargo of the respective ships, but the Chinamen will lye; The Eliza has 900 Chests Bohea, with very little fine, Jane 300, Ariel 500, Salem Ship Palas 1,000, so that you may expect 10,000 Chest upon a moderate calculation. when I procure lists, shall send three of them so that may have one at least. I think that your attatchment to the old house, will make your new situation uneasy. a lack of exercise, and old society, will I am afraid prove hurtful. I had rather you would have lived in the old neighbourhood, but not in the old house. If you are pleased I cannot be otherwise; shall send you some pictures for the rooms by the Dispatch or Hancock, as circumstances may be; have nothing more to add at present, but my best wishes for your health and Sisters and Brothers, hoping that you may be happy in your new situation, I remain Your Affectionate Son

S. DORR

Original per the Jane McPherson Via Philadelphia Duplicate per the Eliza J. Odell

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, November 1, 1799

GENTLEMEN, I had the pleasure to receive your letter of 30th April handed by Mr. Wolf in the Hope; before my departure I was possessed of a perfect knowledge of the progress of the skin law suit; have made enquireies here, and learn nothing consequential. Irish Jo, in the Dispatch may be able to give some important information, if I can keep the load sober; in which case shall take his deposition before the Consul, have it register'd and duplicate to forward home; of the validity of which cannot say; our Consul not be received in form, but it will do no hurt.

Your fears respecting captur'd hide ships will be dissipated upon receipt of this, that is our Ships. Cap. Grey in the Brig from Salem, was carried in the river de-la-plate; Merrys ship has not arrived here, and she may possibly be the other.

Cap. Cleveland in the employ of Prince, made sales here of skins to the amount 54,000D net; hes a clever fellow, and very active. has

gone nobody knows where, under English colours. it is difficult to conjecture, but I think to the Spanish main, and the hoisting of english colours a deception, with an idea of going to Amboyania. Notwithstanding what I have said to our good Father respecting the size of ships for the coast, think that Vessells from 200 to 250 tons of light draft, are most adapted to the business, provided they sail well and are copper'd. shall remain untill February then depart for England, or remain in this Country, going to Malacca, of which decision shall inform you in season; if any ship of yours comes here via Malacca, let them touch there and take in a load of rattans, they always bearing two or three hundred per Cent, and that will pay port charges here, and not detain them there no longer than it would to refresh.

The Hancock two months before they reached the coast began to leak, requiring 4 hands to the pump most of the time and Crocker cut up 6 foot of the kilson to find the leak, without so doing; its a chance if she dont break in two, he intends putting her on shore, and the Dispatch will accompany her; dont buy such ugly ships, if you mean to be successfull in the Northwest business. Through the ignorance of your captains, have paid a great price for teas heretofore, say Souchong 42 Tale, Hyson 53*T*, Gunpowder 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Dollars per Catty, when they might have been bought for 36 to 38*T* Souchong, Hyson 40*T* to 46*T*; Gunpowder 54 to 60*D* per piquel. thus you have paid really more, than I think I shall. The Hancock and Dispatchs Cargos shall be as you intimate except freght. thinking it better to obtain Credit, may possibly send the Dispatch to the main, but she is so wormy that perhaps she will go home, not being trust worthy.

I am no more attachd to these black ebony dealers, than yourselves, but shall be civil, as well to them, as Magee. It cant be helpt, money gives a face, when modesty, and merit, is pushed out of doors. I hope Andrew Schooners will do well, as also the Ariadne; and am glad Andrew got his money from the Insurers.

Accept my thanks, for the papers and pamphlet, have not read them yet. they cant but afford considerable local amusement.

I had like to have said nothing about the Nancy. its a great loss, considering her prospects on the coast. to lighten the loss I stand ready to refund of what I have received.

It is best to provision your ships well. the surplus will fetch

generally here 25 and 50 per Cent advance. cordage bought at Auction for 5D I have seen sold at 18D so that a good supply for your Vessells will not come amiss, tho dont send any with the idea of selling. Have attended to the memo. for Joseph and they go in the Eliza Capn. Odell. Waters will deliver a bundle containing 4 Ivory fans, 6 Laquerd ditto, 3 sett pearl counters. shall send something on a future occasion to my nieces and Ebens boy. the rouges dont know I love 'em, nor even myself untill I was deprived of them by absence, which will tend to instruct me to appreciate the society of my friends, and become more humanized myself.

Accept my thanks for your benevolent wishes, and concern for my welfare, and with hopes this may meet you well, with a desire you will communicate my affectionate remembrance to all our family, and every undertaking meet with a successfull maturity, I remain Your Respectfull Brother

SULLIVAN DORR

P.S. If I dont say everything in this refer you to a lengthy letter to my father, which youl consider as addressed to yourself.

S. D.

I cant get any Images, shall not forget the Bidets. I have got Eben pictures and China, wait only opportunity to send them, they cost 120D. Cleveland has really gone to Bengal for opium. it has risen in 6 months one hundred per Cent.

Per the Jane Via Philadelphia Duplicate Eliza J. Odell

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, November 6th 99

DEAR BROTHERS, This day have settled with Waters. my proportion of Table expenses from 3 September to this day, is (Wine etc. included) 236D 50C, house furniture 75D, Factory 500, in all 811D 50C; House compedore no comeshaw; if I take one for Ship 200D take one or no 120D. Commission to security Merchant on Measurement, and goods nothing. Linguist I must have at all events; he must be paid 216D for grand chop, for each Ship; thus you see it is very expensive, notwithstanding we have been very prudent; I wish Breck and Crocker may arrive that I may have

wherewithal to amuse myself; don't expect them these three weeks. its as expensive living alone as to have 3 or 4 in the factory but if they procure skins to the number Rowen leads me to expect, rather they would stay a little longer; say three thousand, that will give pretty funds; by the way he has sold his at 25D to take fine goods, of Ponquai. he agrees to take nankeens at the market price. I dont make such bargains as those. he'll be troublesome. Perkins in the Hancock proved a drunkard, obliging Crocker to stave the liquors. A sample of Ginseng I do not send, can't get it, have been several times, to one who promised; they are all infernal liars. You can't miss it, if you purchase the sound root, externally straw colour, divested of the small stuff. I have nothing to do yet with any expense farther than 811D 50C. If anything new occurs shall write more. Magee, Trotter, and the Sanson, or Sampson, of New York have not arrived. Kendrick if he goes home (of which he has not decided) will be glad to enter into your employ; dont believe what Rowen and Bumstead etc. may say of him. Waters leaves this the 8th. wishing he may meet you all well, and deliver some little things safe, I remain Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

The longer I stay here the more I learn. when I spoke of the prices of teas I meant those bought of Chow, Chow, Merchants, the security Merchants incurring such expense that he must have a greater price or not be half juicy enough for the mandarin to squeese. I have seen a security Merchants purser sell teas say Hyson for 41T which his Master had contracted to deliver at 51T.

Per the Eliza and Duplicate per the Ariel—Coates

SULLIVAN DORR TO EBENEZER DORR

Canton, November 21, 1799

DEAR SIR, I have the pleasure to say that Cap. Breck arrived at Macao the 17th Ins. with a collection of eleven hundred skins or thereabouts. he will be up in a few days when shall not force the sale. few more being expected, and goods declining, it is probable I may get a few thousand Dollars Credit particularly if I should conclude to remain, they being more willing to Credit there on the spot, tho Net Sales will be about twenty three thousand Dollars. shall in-

vest it nearly as you intimate, the Ship not being qualified for any undertaking from this, her sheathing is a honey comb, five hundred yards cloth left. Breck agreed to meet Crocker on the 18th of August at a certain place for the purpose of stopping his leak, where Breck went on the 17th remain'd till the 24th Crocker not appearing he set sail for this and has heard nothing of him since. when Breck saw him last he had 1,000 skins. The capture of the Concord, and the loss of the Ontario, will affect the price perhaps of coarse teas, the two having 2,800 Chests. I don't know with whom shall secure, but keep the skins close housed untill I get the goods on board. Since I last wrote you by the Jean via Philadelphia and the Eliza direct have got into difficulty about the clarified ginseng, information being logged that I had been smuggling. to prevent the consequences of a search put it into the hands of the Elizas security Merchant, who says he paid 1,500*D* hush money, but I know to the contrary, and am in hopes to bring him to about 250*D* to 600*D*, and he take the ginseng at about 30*D* paying in goods. I have a good clew on him, he connived at the smuggling of about 30 catty with the coarse, and was it known to the head Hoppo it would cost him his chop, and a few threats will bring him to terms perhaps, tho shall move with caution; I believe it to be a concerted business between him and my servant, tho cant charge it on any one. the dissimilarity of language and of manners lays one under a vast disadvantage, for they will sell you before your face and you not know it, but it is certain I used every caution. it is prohibited. I would not have my feelings sported with in such a manner again for any consideration, therefore have told Munson shall not have anything to do with more than from 20 to 50 catty and that to be managed as have said through the security Merchant, and [not] then unless I have the direction.

Not having seen Breck cannot form any conclusions what to do. if he comes before the Jersey departs shall say certain, but it is most probable I shall send him instantly home. A Chinaman read a letter he received from Macao to me this day mentioning the arrival of Crocker which I have no doubt of. The Canton Dale and America Symes sail in ten days when shall be able to be more particular; when they come in the river they will probably write you tho would not leave it them if I could say more. I wrote a lengthy letter under date 10th September continued to 29th October per the Jean and duplicate per the Eliza Odell. I this moment received your letter of

April 13th. shall get no sleep this night in consequence of not getting my letters untill now eleven oClock at night, determin'd that it shall not be my fault if you dont hear from me, forwarding duplicates of everything of consequence. In the first place you have no idea of this place the difficulty of communication with Macao, being near 100 miles distant, secondly the expense of transportation uncertainty and anxiety renders it almost impossible to make an outfit from thence and counterbalances the expense of measurement etc. of Ships; I can't but recommend that all your Ships be copperd. the situation of the Hancock and Dispatch puts it out of my power to take advantage of any trade that may appear lucrative. the Dispatch wormy, that is her sheathing; dont leak, the Hancock an old crazy leaking ship, am in hopes to say something better of her when I see Crocker. I shall not take passage in either of them but wait untill the Jenny comes if she does not shall remain at Macao in expectation of seeing her next season. notwithstanding what I have said heretofore, if she does shall go home unless you wish me to remain. Your mention of sending a small vessell for my benefit, it will not do, unless to sell. Send me a large Ship if you please sir with Dollars, no matter if she comes late can get goods more cheap than at the first of the season ten to 20 Per Cent. shall take your hints and keep myself to myself letting others do as they will, always moveing my goods the instant I purchase. I have not time to say so much as I would the supercargos quitting this in the morning. hope you may be happy in your new situation, and believe me to be your affectionate Son

S. DORR

Eben and Rogers can tell you all about the hire and situation of factories. remember me to R. and Mrs. Cooper if you please.

Original per the New Jersey duplicate Industry Rudd

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, November 21st 1799

BROTHERS, Our good fathers Ship Dispatch arrived at Macao 17th Ins. with eleven hundred Skins or thereabouts, will be up in a few days. Crocker agreed to meet Breck on the 18th August at a certain place for the purpose of stopping a leak, where he went and waited untill 24th. Crocker not arriving he made sail for this and

arrived as mention'd. the Dispatch not being qualified shall not undertake anything at present, think shall send her home. I am in hopes soon if no accident happen'd to the Hancock to give an account of her arrival. when Breck left her last Crocker had 1,000 hides. You will notice in mine to my father the difficulty am in about ginseng, entertain hopes of being cheated out of only 250*D* to 600*D*. confounded knaves I hate them. This goes by the New Jersey, which Ship I expect will be the first on the continent; notwithstanding have paid lingo cant get an account of cargoes, tho the estimates is 10,000 chests Bohea this year at least. Can get as much Credit as I please, on coarse and fine teas, if I remain in this country, and perhaps without, shall try to fill up the Hancock. Magee in the Resource arrived the 18 at Whampao, he did not bring your letter. cant say anything about contents yet. The difficulty of sending trade down to Macao, and the badness of the place for a ship to lay and fit out render it almost impracticable, and its a fact that two ships fitted out from this in preference to lay at Macao. the extra expense of smuggling down goods, and being subject to tuffoons, makes it far preferable to pay duties on Ship; I dont speak from information but a possitive knowledge on[e] ship is now fitting out belonging to an Englishman, one of the companys servants who has had trial and finds it for his interest to bring ship to Whampao. she obtain'd only 4 or 500 skins. another one fitted from here got only two or 300 hundred the one gone and now going makes two from this, and probably another will be expedited for the Northwest.

Twelve at night. Magee delivered your letter of 26th April one hour since contents of which, as respects the skin business I knew before my departure; You seem to object to Browns taking Credit preferring a good freight tho he took none, but I sincerely believe that it is best to take one, keeping yourself in their debt makes them honest; and shall take care if I do to give an obligation not transferable, if they are not too cunning; if any persons can make a profit on goods paying 70*D* freight, think the Owners can, that is about the price of freight payable here. if I take Credit shall give seasonable notice that you may insure. The Hancock is at Macao I believe, with about 1,100 skins, her situation etc. cannot say; shall write by the America and Canton to sail in ten days, when shall be more particular. cant gratify you about the wager now.

Thank John for his friendly hints, and advice hope to be benefited by them. am happy to hear his son is recoverd from sickness. I must send the rouge some trinket. Ponquai is my humble servant, shall be shy of him. I may make something of Irish Jo: If I can shall get him before the Consul excuse my being brief now. I will send a line by every ship, if only to say am well. I hopes this may meet you so and all friends I remain Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Jeans Cargo McPherson

Bohea	1,149 piquel
Hyson	873 ditto
Nankeens	100,000 pieces
Silk thread	2 piquel
Silk	16 ditto

Ariel—Coates

Bohea	1,595 piquel
Hyson	985 ditto
Nankeen	100,000 pieces
Silks	44 piquel

[Eliza] Odell

Bohea	2,870 piquel
Hyson	168 ditto
Nankeen	40,000 pieces
silks	16½ piquel

New Jersey Rossetter

Bohea	1,154 piquel
Hyson	1,411 ditto
Nankeens	100,000 pieces
Sugar	1,163 piquel
Rhubarb	72 piquel
Cassia	63 ditto
silks	40 piquel

Dale, Canton

Bohea	2,721 piquel
Hyson	1,194 ditto
Nankeens	230,000 pieces
Sugar	520 piquel
Cassia	18 ditto

Industry, Rudd

Bohea	1,395 piquel
Hyson	1,417 ditto
Nankeens	44,000
silks	21 piquel

You must make your calculations, hyson, hyson skins etc. the chinamen lump—the best account I can get.

per the New Jersey and Duplicate per Industry Rudd

SULLIVAN DORR TO ISRAEL MUNSON

Canton, November 21, 99

DEAR SIR, Since I had the pleasure of writing you per the Jean via Philadelphia and duplicate per the Eliza to Boston, under date of 30th October, then informing of my having made sale of some few cattys of ginseng, with intention of sinking about one hundred pounds part clarified, and getting on shore what remaind in the Ship. in the latter I succeeded, but by some means or another the mandarin or Hoppo got information of a certain quantitys being in my house. he immediately made application to the Merchant who secured the Ship. I came in and made a demand for money, unless he would represent the matter to the head man of the province. Chunaquai the security Merchant paid him a sum, the amount of which I know not but believe to be about 250 Dollars tho the villan says fifteen hundred Dollars. In consequence of advice from those who were experienced in this place I deliverd Chunaquai about forty five catty which had been smuggled, fearing the consequence would be (in case of a search, which was threatned) very prejudicial to your and my Interest, trusting to the sincerity of Chunaquai who intends perhaps to make something out of me, for it appears to have been a concerted business between him and my servants, perhaps the smugglers. cannot say on whom to charge the business, but certain it was conducted with every caution on my part. cannot promise one sixpence for the quantity he has, tho he professes to act with uprightness, but entertain hopes of selling to him the security Merchant Chunaquai what he has and about thirty dollars per Catty, deducting three to six hundred Dollars which he pretends he has paid; thus you see I am at the mercy of a villian, and may not be able to get a farthing. the article is prohibited, tho some may say to the contrary. I pledge my veracity that it is, and only twenty to fifty catty can or will do, and the merchant contravenes the laws by permitting it to come on shore, as Chunaquai did, putting it along with common ginseng, about thirty catty [*in the margin: cannister and all*]. in so doing he laid himself liable to an unmerciful squeezing, his connivance at which is the only clew I have on him and by threatening to lay the business before the Hoppo, think shall bring him to terms, tho at a sacrifice of from five to ten Dollars per Catty. if I obtain 30D shall think myself very well off, and take goods at a high price.

I would not have my feelings sported with again, as I have in this business for all the ginseng in christendom. am certain had not the weather been cool, should have been thrown into a fever, and the effects been fatal. being among a people between whom and ourselves there is such a dissimilarity of language customs etc. that your betrayer may be a bargaining before your face; certain it is that by being on the spot I should be able to vend from thirty to fifty catty through some security Merchant, and a larger quantity its folly to send; if you could it will overdo the market; and the whole business would be knocked in the head; the uncertainty of my tarrying here, renders it necessary to say that I would not have anything to do with it unless I can attend personally; therefore do object to any concern whatever; I hope to be able to give you some more flattering accounts soon. have [been] writing to the last moment in expectation of settling the business. the Sales of coarse and fine amount to about Nine hundred Dollars; shall use my best endeavours to bring it to as an advantageous a close as possible. In hopes that I may, remain
Your Friend

S. DORR

P.S. had I been disposed to inform could have brought others into difficulty without any apparent advantages to myself. sooner than be guilty of that, I would sacrifice all I am worth. in two or three days some other Ship will be sailing, when shall say more. Sword with all his knowledge, got caught last year and paid 1,000 Dollars.

S. D.

Original Industry Rudd Duplicate New Jersey Rossetter

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, November 28th 1799

GENTLEMEN, I have the pleasure to inform you that since writing by the Industry and New Jersey that Caps. Crocker and Breck has arrived at Whampao, in the Hancock and Dispatch, the former with nearly sixteen hundred and fifty skins, the latter with about twelve hundred; contrary to my most sanguine expectations; there is only three Merchants who will purchase and give a price, of whom I do not know whos the greatest knave, but shall use every caution.

The Hancock in doubling Cape Horn under a heavy press of sail, carried away her topmasts, occasioning the leak (supposed) mentiond in a former letter, to prevent which Crocker cut away some feet of the kilson, in which he succeeded measurably, leaking only so as to occasion pumping once in four or six hours, in other respects sound. the leak is through the keel; whether it will increase or no when loaded cannot say; this much is in case you may effect any Insurance; shall have the leak inspected, and every prudent measure taken for the preservation of her cargo home, which will consist of Bohea 12*T* Souchong 36*T* Young Hyson about 30*T* and Hyson 40 Tale, the latter eight tale cheaper than Rowen bought for, Sugar first chop very white 5*T* 8*M* or 6*T* per piquel, of the former three hundred chests, Souchong about three hundred, Hyson three hundred, Young ditto fifty chests, Sugar fifty tons. am not decided yet, perhaps shall wait some time and get goods cheaper, or omitt sugar take freight and invest the remainder of funds in silks, some china, and cassia at 14 Dollars per piquel, instead of sixteen tale, of which shall inform in season.

A report prejudicial to Crockers reputation, and my feelings has been circulated here, Viz. that he touched at Massafuro, went on shore stole seal skins, stove water casks, took off copper kettle, etc. etc.; the truth of which is, Crocker touched shore, sent his boat on shore, took off 20 or 30 sea lion skins, and killed about 60 seal, taking also an old Iron Kettle. the skins were staked out and mark'd W.R. appearing to have been in that situation a long time, no vestage of any ones having been there of late; the story with many exaggerations doubtless will get to America, and perhaps occasion trouble. Crocker is fully sensible of the impropriety of touching anything; to save trouble in case of accident, as well for my own satisfaction, shall have the matter fairly stated, and depositions of the Officers and men taken before the Consul.

When I have sold the skins, and made my contract shall use every exertion to get the ships away by the first of January. the whole number will amount (of skins) nearly to three thousand.

Swift sold for 64,000*D* I am informd; shall obtain 25*D* for the Hancock's and Dispatch's skins. shall write soon again, in the interim remain Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

per the America Cap. Symes Duplicate Canton, Dale

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, November 30th 1799

GENTLEMEN, Since the preceeding duplicate of my last have secured the Ship Hancock and Dispatch with Neuequa, a man whose character is good, but circumstances not quite so good. he has sent the best teas to Boston of any one, as you may judge by the cargo of the India packet. he promises to give dispatch say five and twenty days, and has on hand at present the best teas of any one; the villan who has my Ginseng wished to secure me. I told him to evince to me his integrity, and justness of intentions, by in the first place delivering me some goods to the value of the ginseng. I hung on three or four days, could obtain nothing but promises, and if I would secure he would give me ample satisfaction for it, but I hold the confidence of my friends too dear to sacrifice their interest to my own, and would not have anything to do with him if he would give me 5,000 Dollars perhaps I may get something.

The Hancocks collection is

1,282 prime skins
270 ditto or 120 cotsacks and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ skin
21 ditto or 84 Cubs
72 ditto or 720 Tails
140 ditto or 280 small prime
1,785

and the Dispatch	900 prime skins
	109 ditto or 218 small prime
	216 ditto or 96 cotsacks
	50 ditto or 500 Tails
	1,275
	1,785
	3,060

makeing in the aggregate three thousand and sixty prime skins at twenty five Dollars each gives gross sales to the amount of twenty six thousand two hundred and fifty Dollars, a sum which I never had reason to expect to have sold otter skins for this season, and I have never flattered you, therefore expect you will be agreeably disappointed. from the impression of letters of a previous date, the prospects were gloomy with you doubtless and am happy to have it in my

power thus to relieve you; The cargo of the Hancock will produce by far more teas than the India packets did, and you may calculate of making as much or more clear profit than in that concern, admitting teas to fetch their old price, that is of '95. You will be able to make more nice calculations by a sketch of my agreement with Neuequa.

intended for the Hancock

Tons

100	300 Chests Bohea tea at 13 ^T is about	13,500	Dollars
20	200 ditto Hyson 40 is about	9,000	
17	150 ditto Souchong 38 is about	6,000	
10	100 ditto Y. Hyson 32 is about	2,250	
20	450 Pickel Sugar 5.8	4,600	
25	100 boxes china to floor with, of cups plates etc.	2,000	
16	50 Chests Cassia, or 60 piquel	700	\$38,050
208			

Intended for the Dispatch

33	100 Chests of Bohea Tea	4,500	D
15	150 ditto of Hyson	6,750	
28	250 ditto of Souchong	9,800	
5	50 ditto Y. Hyson	1,000	
3	100 Boxes China tea setts	225	
2	50 pickel sugar	400	
$\frac{1}{2}$	Silks	3,500	26,175
86 $\frac{1}{2}$			

Neuequa is to pay comeshaw, measurement amounting to 6,000 or thereabouts, to be deducted from amount of skins. he is also to furnish me with five thousand Dollars credit payable in eighteen months with interest at 12 per cent after 12 Months.

Cash to be paid in twenty days, for expenses to buy China etc.

5,000
6,000
\$81,225

You will readily see that the price of tea is 20 to 30 per Cent cheaper than you have usually had them, meaning fine teas, Bohea being much the same, and the quality if agreeable to Muster will sell when the Elizas of Amorys will not, theirs is from Chunoquai

an arch rouge. You will notice the calculation makes only about 208 tons stowage or measurement in the Hancock. the credit with what I shall put in will fill her up, if not take freight, at about 75^D payable here, hope not to be under the necessity, investing the bulk of my money in fine teas allowing you the highest freight; I was astonishd to find the Dispatch stove so badly. I address now my letters to you, and shall hereafter, knowing all will be read by our father; and if anything new occurs shall inform. in the meantime I remain your Affectionate Brother

SULLIVAN DORR

David Lamb has arrived with about 800 skins, number not certain. The China of the Hancock will consist of Tea cups and saucers, ditto Coffee and plates, to put in the ground tier to keep the teas from damaging, serving for ballast, and will pay a profit.

America Cargo, Syms

2,609 pickel Bohea Tea

2,058 ditto Hyson and other teas

150,000 pieces Nankeens

59 piquel Silks

per the Canton Dale, Duplicate per the America Syms

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, December 12th '99

GENTLEMEN, Since I last wrote under date of 30th Ulto. nothing new has transpired, except the arrival of the Sampson supposed to have been taken. Mr. Gouverneur an acquaintance of Joseph is owner and Supercargo, very much of a gentleman.

The leak in the Hancock will require a survey, as Insurance has or may be effected, therefore shall proceed regular. it will cause some detention to put her on shore or heave her out, as well as expense say for permission to put her on shore about 300 Dollars, much better than to have the goods damaged. The Dispatchs bottom is a perfect honeycomb and I hope never to hear of her going to the coast again.

Shall commence loading in eight or ten days the Dispatch, and Hancock uncertain. was she sound could dispatch them both in 18 or 20 days. being dull sailers, one will have to wait for the other, no

ships here being such compleat chumps for which reason they must sail by themselves.

13th. Since writing the preceeding Cap. Crocker is up from Whampao, and they are making preperations to heave out the Hancock. it will require ten or fourteen days to give her a thorough overhall, and to stop the leak; they will probably depart about the 10th of January, at which time I expect to see the Jenny, with Dollars and Skins.

I have received from Chunoqua forty five chests of Hyson tea, 20 of which are good, the remainder not so good. he leaves it to my conscience to pay him what it may dictate, and I declare to you it will not give him a sous. a greater scoundrel never lived, and am happy I have got thus much.

This goes by the Pallas, Ward to Salem on board of whom is Salter a State prisoner. on board of the Eliza Rowen, is Carnes, a prisoner also, the Dispatch Bruce ditto first second and third officers of Lamb, three unhappy men whose lives are perhaps forfeited, at least their reputation.

I cannot but repeat my solicitations that you will obtain good no[r]thern sailors, not valueing two or three Dollars per month extra wages. it will be made up by peace and order on board Ship, without which your vessells will not succeed on the Northwest Coast.

I have nothing material more to say at present but remain as usual
Your Brother

S. DORR

Ward has 1,000 Bohea, particulars at a future day.

Per the Eliza Rowan Duplicate Pallas Ward

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, December 26th '99

GENTLEMEN, I wrote last by the Eliza Rowan and Pallas Ward, date 12th Inst. since when the leak in the Hancock has been stoppd after two unsuccessfull attempts at heaving out; the leak proved to be in the garboard streak, where a piece had been put in but not properly secured, which has now been done, and the leak effectually stopped inside. it has caused a detention of 14 days, but am in hopes of dispatching the two Ships in 15 or 18 days from this

accidents excepted. I hope at the time of their departure to see the Jenny with many skins. Teas have fallen considerably. Good Hyson 32^T to 34 cash, Souchong 30 to 34^T Bohea same, Gunpowder 41 to 45^T cash, astonishingly low. I think monies cannot be better invested than in fine teas, and if there is room, shall invest my money in that article, or purchase the five thousand dollars credit I have of Neuqua for your account. Ginseng has risen to 300 Dollars shark skin 30^D pickel. you should hold out some encouragement to our fishermen. A Cap. Beck arrived at Macao the same time Breck and Crocker did; Beck did not come up immediately, from which circumstance and similarity of names, the Hoppo made a representation to our Consul that an American Skin Ship was smuggling her cargo, or staid at Macao for that purpose, but he soon evinced to him that Breck was at Whampao. Beck came up in a few days after what the consequences would have been, had he not cannot say This is mentiond that if you should fall into the system proposed, that the Vessells may rendezvous at Larks bay and exchange skins for cloth etc.

Annexed you will find a Memo. of Rowans and Wards cargo. it is not very particular but the best that can be obtaind. I have omitted china and small articles. they all pay duty out by weight, that is the reason you have them so. Nankeens continue at 57^D and scarce, the numbers of pieces gone home have given nearly right.

You will please make my love and regards to my Father, and all the family and friends. in hopes this will find you and them well I remain Your Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Hope Donnason Duplicate per the Mary, Moore

Ship Pallas cargo Cap. Ward			Eliza Rowans Cargo		
Bohea Tea	3,000	Pickel	Bohea Tea	610	Pickel
Hyson ditto	537	Pickel	Hyson ditto	253	Pickel mean all
Sugar	893	Pickel			kinds fine teas
Nankeens	32,000	pieces	Nankeens	40,000	pieces
Silks	39	pickel	Sugar	5	pickel
			Silks	10	ditto says lingo
					but I think 50
					to 60

Hope Donnison

Mary Cap. Moore

Bohea 1,871 pickel
 Hyson 113 ditto
 Sugar 459 ditto
 Silks 18 ditto

Bohea 2,197 pickel
 Hyson 632 pickel
 Sugar 1,477 pickel
 Nankeens 39,000 pieces
 Silks 52 pieces

SULLIVAN DORR TO MRS. B. SHAW

Canton, 29th December 1799

MADAM, Agreeable to your request at my departure from America have procured two pieces fine Canton flannel. there being a surplus of one Dollar, have purchased two laquerd green silk mounted fans; In hopes Madam that the purchase will be to your acceptation I remain respectfully Your Humble Servant

S. DORR

N.B. Cap. Breck will deliver the above articles.

per the ship Dispatch

SULLIVAN DORR TO MARY POPE

Canton, December 29th '99

MADAM, Agreeable to your request at my departure from America have procured one Tea and Coffee sett of China ware containing 84 pieces also 1 pair pitchers and two pair mugs. had I agreeable to memo. given, had them cypherd, the money would not have procured the tea and Coffee sett, therefore you must excuse the omission; hoping that the purchase may please I remain Your Friend and Humble Servant

S. DORR

D C

M.P. one box containing	One tea and Coffee sett China	6.50	
	One pair pitchers	2.50	
	Two pair Mugs	1.	\$10

My brother Henry will deliver the box.

per the Ship Hancock

SULLIVAN DORR TO EBENEZER DORR, JR.

Canton, January 14th 1800

DEAR BROTHER, I have time only to say that I have procured for you			
One sett China, say Coffee set 84 pieces	} Box No. 1	<i>D C</i>	
1 Tea ditto			
Flour Pots 5		13.50	
A painting of Macao, 1 Bogert, 1 Whampao and 1 Canton			
Box No. 3	12.		
Three paintings of Sea engagements Box in No. 3	9.		
Temple Fame on glass Box No. 2	16.		
Two Boxes Containing one Table sett China Box 3 and 4			
cypherd E.J.D. 213 pieces	70.		
			120.50

Amounting to one hundred and twenty dollars and one half which sum with a per Centage the Cargo may of the Hancock bear you will please pay to my Agent Mr. A. C. Dorr the above articles are on board the said Ship. I had to consult expense and my own taste, your own order being so indefinite, but am in hopes they will please; You will make my love to Jane, accept my wishes for your happiness, and believe me to be with affection Your Brother

S. D.

per the Hancock

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, January 18th 1800

DEAR BROTHER, I now enclose you my account Current by which and bill Lading, You will perceive I have shipped for your account in the Ship Hancock Thirty two Chests Hyson Tea and one Bale Nankeens, which exactly meets the Net Amount of your Credit for four pipes wine sold as per account Current for your account; I also enclose Invoice of Sundry Goods for my own account, which you will dispose of at Auction or otherwise as you may think proper, and by all means make Insurance to Amount of foot of Invoice as well as for Balance of account due from my father to me say about twelve hundred Dollars, to be paid you with advance which the Cargo may bear deducting freight etc.; You perceive my Memo. of

Comeshaws. present to our family as many as they will accept in my name, and send Mrs. Francour and Mady 2 Boxes Tea 2 Tubs Candy and 2 Jarrs Sweetmeats, the silk for my Sisters, One box Souchong and Pahoo Tea for our good Father. You will please pay out of the Sales my note to my Father and Joseph and John Dorr. there being any balance of monies in your hands of mine remitt the same to me, taking by all means a bill of Lading and making Insurance; Myself leaving such directions here as may enable any one I may constitute to pay some little Credit I have taken here, but I stay here this year. I have purchased some nicknacks, which you will know whatt to do with and will find them in a desk and one of my packages. I have nott time to write much You will excuse me and I Remain Affectionately Your Brother

S. D.

300 Matts	on board the Dispatch	101
3,000 Bamboos		30
		131

Per the Hancock Duplicate Resource

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, January 21st 1800

GENTLEMEN, Enclosed you will find Invoice and Bill of Lading of the Ship Hancocks Cargo Cap. J. Crocker also account Sales of Otter Skins account of disbursements, account Current etc. etc., by which my transactions for the owners of said ship and Cargo, will be better seen than I can describe, all which accounts I hope you will find free of errors, if not note them accordingly. the quantity of fine teas is great, and the quality good, that will be determin'd on trial in America; It would take pages to give a history of my difficulty with Nuequa. he being a little embarased it was with difficulty I could procure goods, rejecting everything almost he offerd me. I have no Credit of him. he paid me short of contract 2,000D which I have advanced out of my own money taking 100 Chests Souchong Tea. I have about nine hundred Dollars with me entirely dormant, as it respects profit to myself. you will make me what consideration you please at a future day. you will notice that my account Current is exactly balanced, tho there was some little new charges accrued,

which will be noticed hereafter; you will also perceive the excess of privilege by Crocker and Jonathan Dorr, all of which you will charge to them as you may think proper. rely upon it there is no ships grants such privileges as you do, therefore I would make them pay In particular I hope you will not see Breck and Jackson impose on the goodness of our Father, and was I owner Breck should not sail in her I dont know who commands her upon my word, its all hail fellow well mett on board the Dispatch. The respective American Ships being in readiness to sail will prevent me from giving you duplicate accounts, nothing more than a simple bill of Lading. shall send them Via England or otherwise. I am now anxiously waiting for the Ann and Hopes boat to come up from Whampao expecting letters.

22. I have received yours of July 30th '99 original per the Jenny to the coast etc., and note your desired disposition of her property, which however will depend on circumstances. I have taken every advantage by the discharge of ballast from the Hancock. Your Comission to Bowers is enormous. I have also yours of Aug. 3, '99 advising of the Jennys sailing, the percentage agreed to allow me, which is satisfactory, but saving your property from being sacrificed is the only inducement to stay. I declare to heaven I would not stay five years for twenty per Cent of everything coming here. Andrew and Rogers schooner I will take care of if she dont come to me. The loss of Brown that worthy man is irreparable, one of the best men you ever had. Mr. Berry is not here, but will be next season, his Agent is [blank] Berry is a fine worthy man. Am glad to hear William is about moving its time. Rubarb [*in the margin: now 80D per pickel* none at market] sold well I hope it was mine. The Hancock could take no cassia. was the Ariadne here I could take teas at this moment, at half for freight, but those who offer that are under the necessity of leaving it or paying as mentiond. Velvets are from 1D 25C to 5D per Yard time must be had to make them they are not kept on hand. flannels are not to be had unless cotton and they are worse than nothing. they deliverd me no newspapers. have got 23,000 stoat[?] skins from whence shall find out. I want someone to assist me the business coming on at one moment leaves room for inaccuracy. I dont know what you mean by rose tea. I have sent my father some Pahoo. its too late to attend your Memo. do make Insurance in season its an aggravation to leave it to the last moment. Marriage is

what I never thought my father would have entered into again, shall make no more comments. deposition shall be sent if I have time, the certificate too. Joseph's Memo. never reached me. I send him a Bidet in the Hancock. he wants me to write him often but cannot now. five idle months a coming shall write diurnally. I never had a statement of Myricks bungling. musketts is the cry on the coast they have a surcharge of cloth. Joseph is doubtfull of my competency, continually reminding me of misplacing my confidence. I repeat, I know my business and shall conduct accordingly. I have no doubt of his friendship. I am young but value myself upon prudence tho it may be egotism, but this to you. I have not duplicated on account must quit and attend to that. it is as I told you then. Chinamen lye from the Grand squeeze Gut of a Hoppo down to the lowest, they wont give Credit as Ebenezer has said except two. I know of no honest Chinamen. They are full of their cunning, and when you cannot put anything in your Ship they apparently will crowd goods upon you. I have about 1700D Credit but not of those I purchased cargo of. excuse brevity, accept of some my boxes Tea etc., making my love to all the family and friends and believe me to be Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Crocker has omitted drawing up declarations about the Massafero business notwithstanding repeated request from him. S.D.

I shall if possible sell my skins in future for Cash at 2 or 3 Dollars cheaper sooner than take good. they are not money you are grossly deceived if you think so.

per the Hancock Duplicate per the Resource

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, February 5, 1800

GENTLEMEN, My last date January 21 per the Hancock and duplicate per the Resource via Providence, enclosed Invoice of the Ship Hancocks Cargo, as well as Bill of Lading, Sales of Otter Skins account of disbursements account Current etc.; third bills of lading were forwarded under date of 24 Ulto. per the Ulysses Cap. Lamb of the Hancocks cargo, Dispatches ditto goods Shipd on board the Hancock for account E. Dorr for my own account A. C. Dorrs ac-

count and Israel Munson account all which ere this I hope will meet you safe. I also wrote a line to Joseph by the Ulysses, and to your house by the Sampson just saying so much goods were shipped on board the Hancock and Dispatch, nameing for whose account all which was done in case of Insurance. I also wrote a line by the Sampson to John, and can say no Vesell has departed for America this Season without having written by them.

I now enclose triplicate accounts reserving fourth bill of lading. you will perceive there has forty five dollars and fifty cents charge accrued since my last, which you will pass to my Credit. all those comeshaw as it is customary to pay, and something supernatural only will induce a Chinaman to alter, although I offerd the Tea packers nearly the amount of their wages not to pack the tea so heavy, yet that have custom they say, and custom is law with 'em. I could not procure with all my exertions strong clamps, therefore the teas as usual will be more or less broken, and you may expect no alteration.

I have not in my Invoice except the original given particulars of every Chest, Box etc. conceiving it unnecessary, that the particulars should accompany only the goods; I have fair copies of every Invoice and account in my own books, as well as all monies paid or received, in fact compleat account books to be inspected by you hereafter if wished.

My expenses here will exceed what has ever been calculated altho I mean to live frugal, but respectibly which my situation demands. I cannot yet form a just estimate not having procured furniture which will not amount to much, tho added to house hire at Maccao, passage down and up, together with table expense, house utensils, which I must procure, there being no house to board at, I say all together will amount to perhaps thirteen hundred Dollars; then again I shall not be under the necessity of hireing furniture when I come up from Macao. on my departure can sell what I have left which will lessen the expense some. You will see hereafter I have procured about one hundred dollars worth of silver plate for my table, which when done with shall Credit you with due proportion, taking it home with me *for my familys use*. they are necessarys that must be procured. I hope you wont think me extravagant. my Accounts will be exhibited, and perhaps will remove any such idea.

I have never noticed to you the difference in price of some [of] the Hancocks and Dispatches Teas. the Young Hyson is the same but

four tale less than contract, it being inferior to Muster, I agreed to take it at the Invoice price 28*T*. so it is with the Hyson Tea 40*T* being the contract price, but not of contract quality and you have it 5*T* less. I mean the Hancocks Hyson and Young Hyson. the Dispatch Hyson is at 40*T* and rather better quality unless changed, for it is impossible but it should remain over night in the pack house; My Fathers Souchong Teas at 38*T* is excellent, same by the Hancock is not so good, but all will meet I have no doubt a better sale than Ponquas Souchong; the difference of price arrises from difference of quality as above mentiond. The Bohea, I think you never had better, but as before observed the proof will be in the Sales. from the vast quantity gone to America I am led to think they will be slow. I forfeit my judgement if Amorys Ship Elizas Cargo is not very bad, meaning the Bohea; I told Waters I should not give them Ship room.

The seal skins brought in the Anne and Hope were purchased of a Bedford Sloop at that place. I was apprehensive they were taken from Amsterdam, where Myrick left some people. I have been cautious in my enquir[i]es. from what I can learn those fellows were left without any written agreement; I should have thought Browns knowledge of business would have pointed out the propriety, but hope Edes destination is there; they have not sold their seal skins. Snow offerd them to Ponqua for 2*D*. he may obtain 1*D* 50*C* or 1*D* 75*C*, perhaps 2*D* and take goods. I have seen pickled dried skins sold for 1*D* 25*C* Cash. dried is best and worth 25*C* or 50*C* more. The Russians haveing kicked a baubery with the Chineese is the reason skins of all kinds are higher than usual. I know of none that will answer, unless our American land Otter first chop will bear an advance at 7*D*.

It is unnecessary to say anything about my difficulty with Nuequa. I refer you to Cap. Breck or Crocker, but this much, he thought I did not treat him handsomely by not delivering him all the skins at once, tho it was stipulated in the agreement I should not, and I did not. I went repeatedly for money could get none. with a prospect of the Ships laying over New Year, I bore everything with patience. the last time his passion was very great, being roused by a rascaly purser of his, to such a height that he threatned to take them by force with his coolys, Manderins etc. and actually shut Crocker and myself up in his Hong, intimating to the pretended Manderins I

deserve strangling etc., (which I perceived by his action) I told him to make the attempt at his peril, and he well knew it was worth his Hong to do it; I observed to him I would not deliver the whole of the skins untill the contract was complied with. I advanced to go out, he would have one of us remain as hostage, but reflected and let us go. 40 or 50 Coolys were planted about, the gates unlocked and we went home; the next day I deliverd 2,600 Skins keeping the remainder waiting his compliance. I finally agreed to relinquish the Credit and take only balance of account Two thousand dollars less than contract. I have taken 100 chests Souchong Tea to my own account amounting to about 2,100*D*, making 3,300*D* which is paid from my own funds. Anticipating difficulty I did not invest it, and fortunate for all hands I did not. by it the Ships were got away before new year, which makes me more happy, than any disadvantage I may experience by the manner in which it is invested, does unhappy. It ought be noticed, that the following day I went to see Nuequa, (who himself is possessed of a very good heart, but entirely moved by his purser) observing to him that it was not the part of a gentleman to conduct in the manner he did; he beggd I would forget it.

I cannot refrain from observing, what great pay you have given Bowers; was I possessed of the knowledge of navigation I would come home to take advantage of such opportunities 10 per cent astonishing great, 7½ Tons priviledge, as much priviledge as the Master of the Anne and Hope or Resource gets, with only common wages; he will make his fortune this trip if Crapo dont get him. Thus one eight is given him and me of the whole property besides 3½ per Cent of the ship without his bearing any of the expenses of the outfit; she must do extremely well to bear it.

Rowan lost 500 Tails and 24 Skins, how is best known to himself. some doubt his integrity [*in the margin: be secret*]. I have it from good authority he sold some to the Hoppoman, which he never rendered an account of. Perkins will hawl him over the coals; Ponqua made him great comeshaws. Cap. Breck I am led to believe from the equivocal answer (when I demand with promptness), permitted Jackson and Davis to sell furs at Macao; am not certain, but this much was intimated to me; I do not know which of the three commands. I have heard indirect dictateing, and Breck said when they were cold on board Ship each took a cat from Captain to Cook and

commenced a running fight about Ship untill they got cleverly warmed. pretty business for a Captain; not only that but their principles. Crocker and Breck are such they should not have charge of a Ship of mine. they advanced in a large company that Rogers had taught them, to get skins by all means, if not one way they must another, but skins they must have by all means. I heard of that observation more than once from indifferent people, they were astonished; and seem to doubt how they got what they had. I expostulated with Crocker about the dishonesty, and dishonour such things would bring upon him, but still he declared if he went on the coast and could make a voyage by no other means he would by forcing them to trade. Now I say such fellows as those do not deserve countenance from honest men. I observed to them men possessed of such principles should navigate no Vessel of mine. by respectable people their observations was noticed to me, which they avowed in publick and adher'd to in private. what could I say? it certainly wounded my feelings. I endeavoured to palliate their conduct as well as I could, for I felt my own reputation would be tarnishd, did I not. and of all men an honest one is most dear to me; Villany finds no quarter; The vulgarity of their behaviour precluded me from inviting Gentlemen to my table, not choosing to insult them by so doing.

Cap. Breck having repeatedly mentiond his intention of stopping at St. Helena or the Cape of Good Hope I thought it prudent to give him at his departure the following letter.

Canton January 22nd 1800

Cap. Wm. Breck Junr.

SIR, You being about to depart for America in the Ship Dispatch which you command, You will pursuant to your former orders proceed direct to America touching at such places only as necessity demands. In hopes you will meet all friends well in safety at America on your arrival I Remain Your Friend and Humble Servant

S.D. Agent for the owner

gave Cap. Crocker a similar one, not for the purpose of showing authority or anything of the kind, but merely to point out to Cap. Breck in particular the obligation he was under to look at his Orders, knowing very well the Owners of both Ships would not have them touch any where unless necessitated, and Breck according to his own story boarded 2 Vessells to the Northwest bearing down out of his course for them when he had no business or authority for it, directly

contrary to his order. thinking the above measure prudent I have no doubt you will approve thereof.

The large quantity of fine teas on hand this season, and the demand not being proportionate has lessened the price, the holders adulterating it to make themselves whole. in consequence the teas that have gone to America in general are inferior. Andrew has a lot as also myself I believe the best in the Hancock being purchased with the money, with which you can always obtain better teas in small lots and cheaper; paying in skins you give 10 or 20 per Cent higher and I really believe they calculate upon cheating in the quality of teas as much more, by which you see that skins are not dollars. I would sooner sell them at twenty Dollars for Cash, than 25 Goods were they mine, but it makes little difference where you trust to ignorant Captains. My being so taught upon Nuequa, partly was the reason of his noncompliance with agreement, shewing me musters which upon inspection of the lots, were greatly superiour in consequence I rejected them choosing to have goods according to contract. I received some at a less price knowing there was little or no prospect of getting better of any one for skins. you will find them I think all good teas, tho some of the Hyson and Souchong are not of the very best quality, owing to the preceeding causes. It is astonishing to see the insinuating industry of these fellows, trying by their proffers of friendship to lead the unwary into business with them. sometimes they find chops unsuspecting of their intention, whose confidence they betray by egregiously cheating them. they have no shame.

Ponqua had 600 Chests Hyson tea, he sent to me repeatedly; offering the same at one fourth the remainder in 20 months. I went to see him, observing that one of the Ships might not be full, if not I would take the whole or part on the terms proposed. the Vessells not being able to take more than engaged, I went out of curiosity to try the fellow; what do you say about the 600 Chests of Tea Mr. Ponqua? what tea? what Tea! (pretending to know nothing of it, which he so recently offerd himself) the 600 of Hyson you offerd me at 35⁷/₄ Cash and 3⁴/₄ths 20 Months. I think you can catch paying me 2³/₃ Cash etc., purposely forgetting or seeming to forget his previous offer. thus you see these fellows endeavour to allure one into business with them afterwards deceiving him—*arch rouges indeed*.

Mr. Snow intends building an American factory, the expense

thereof (about 9,000*D*) will build 6 factorys in one Hong, letting the same in one season for nearly about prime cost; had I it in view to remain here many years and had funds certainly should build, knowing of no business brin[g]ing in more prompt and great profit. but all the Chinese dominions would not induce me to, thinking myself very happy if I get well over the following summer. I have not the least doubt of my constitution being destroyd by a residence here, and think it very probable you may see me in 16 Months.

Mr. Snows expense at Maccao last year was 3,000 Dollars. he resides here in an official capacity, I in a private one, he living in splendour (which can't be helped supporting dignity and acquaintance) I in a respectable manner; I should be afraid to bring in 3,000*D* expense, therefore shall live privately, perhaps clubing with Mr. Oliver, he not liking to bear half expense of Snows table, without any advantage accruing to him. his half was 3,000*D*, making the great Sum of 6,000*D*, together with one hundred per Cent is 12,000*D*. no can do for me. You and my father will remember I came out to this country bearing the expense of my passage myself, and should I be under the necessity of doing it home, it will make a large hole in my earnings, which are but small in comparisson with the penance I have and am undergoing valueing money not so high as to reside here, seclused from friends and friendly intercourse, rather would I content myself with a moderate accumulation at home or by going to Europe. A short tarry here gives a person a partial insight only into the difficulty, trouble, vexation etc. of a residence; These observations do not flow in consequence of thoughts that your compensation is not equivilent. on the contrary any Merchant almost would leap from his countinghouse to get the percentage you give Bowers and me; prior observations discover to you my motives in remaining here; You may think me splenetick, may be I am measurably so. surrounding objects stricking a gloom upon the mind how can I be otherwise. however I will try to think and write of something which may induce you to alter your opinion.

One whose abilities are better adapted to the work would be able to commit to paper observations draw inference and conclusions from surrounding objects which might be pleasing to you, conveying an idea of the dispositions, manners, customs etc. of this people, a work too extensive in its nature for one of my composition. Religion is deemed by most men as the basis of our happiness a conforma-

tion thereto in all our transactions is deemed worthy our attention. through that source with a due reliance on the author of our nature, man is rendered happy, capacitated (viewing things through a proper medium) for society, meeting everything thro life with an equanimity of temper, characteristic of christianity, whether it tends to the increase of or diminishing worldly possessions, loss of friends etc., yet the good man resorts to that fountain which proves a never failing balm, healing that wound which no terrestrial prescription can assuage; a deviation from moral rectitude disqualifies the mind for a reception of the consolation arising from that source, hence the perturbation of mind, which results from a wilfull counteraction of those laws (divine) which secure repose if duly attended to. Now what produces so many confounded rouges, when what just has been said procures to the mind present repose, and the soul future good? I say what can produce it, unless ambition, avarice, and other dissocial passions, takes precedence in the minds of many of those solid enjoyments, which is reaped by the goodman, who strong in honesty holds fast to that which is good, not trusting to the temporary gratification of that which his noble virtue would recoil. [*In the margin:* There is a kind of digression here, and it is too late now to proceed, but shall finish the sermon on some future occasion.]

The Chinese are great sticklers to Religion If I may judge by the external attention to forms that they pay acknowledging the existence of Jos (or God) who rules over, judges and knows the actions and thoughts of men. yet with that belief they reverence and bow down to a huge mass of wood carved to resemble him the God of their whimsical imaginations; (a poor representation I'll warrant it, tho I never saw him and dont much think a Chinaman ever did) Possessed of those sentiments one would suppose these people without date, would possess some honesty, yet the most of them, which are within my knowledge, are vindictive, lacivious, and roughish revengeful from a natural impetuosity of temper, lacivious from Custom which countenances polygamy, roguish proceeding from a continual series of oppression; from the Emperour to a washerwoman, who can't bring cloathing to a Ship, and receive a few Cash without a man-of-war boats seizeing from her part of her earnings. thus we may impute dishonesty partly from oppression, and partly natural propensity, dictating to them methods of cheating the fan-qui-las, who they hold in utter contempt.

I have visited their religious houses, the romantic situation of which, together with innumerable tutelar Gods and profound silence that reigned created surprise. the priests when I visited were saying vespers, much after the Roman Catholick manner with a rosary, their heads shaved; plainly dressed in loose garments of a light slate colour, one of whom accompanied us thro' our ramblings, but their small knowledge of English rendered it impossible to obtain an exact, in fact a very little insight into the principles of their religion. it is a fact they are very superstitious. the merchants always have joss conducted on board their junks, with musick and offering incense to a piece of wood, placing great confidence of the success of their ships by such an application. We were conducted to a large stone hog-sty wherein was deposited the sacred hogs, some of which or one had arrived at the great age of 30 Years; feed at the expense of the devotees, put there as a living monument of the goodness of joss, (in granting some request) to whom the hogs are devoted; I dare say for money or the successful maturity of some business, which are uppermost in the consideration of a Chinese. We looked into their park containing only two or three deer, returning to a room where we partook of some sweetmeats fruits etc., making a usual comeshow we bid them good evening, after being treated with great civility.

Very probable what we deem dishonest in a Chinese proceeds from this cause. The Roman Catholick religion teaches those who devoutly adheres to its principles, to look upon those of a different persuasion, to be infidels hereticks etc. utterly disqualified for proffered salvation. with such thoughts they treat other persons and property with contempt. Which I have no doubt of being connived at and countenanced by Superior Manderins, who are ever wary fearing innovations, which of all things the Chinese have to fear most. probably their being sensible of that, is the reason of keeping the Europeans at so great a distance and makes them so tenacious of custom.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, incited by curiosity was introduced to a company of Chinese Ladies, (which however was esteemed a great favor) who for delicacy of complexion are little inferior to European females. their small eyes, face, mouth and feet are distinguishing marks of beauty, tho some of the tarter race preserve the shape of their feet. they gazed upon one and the other with mutual astonishment; the elegance of their dress, as well as peculi-

arity caused surprise; not having seen any myself of high class cannot be very particular. however am promised a sight, which few are able to obtain.

Custom allows plurality of wives, too gross for an American ear, and can't but disgust. each Chinaman buys as many women as his condition will admit of except the first wife chosen by the mans parents, and the commonality have from one to three, all of whom live in separte houses, fearing they will if together pull hair and kick up too much baubery; notwithstanding the number of wives, these fellows are guilty of that vile crime sodomy, practised upon different subjects.

Feb. 11. Last evening an apartment in the old English factory occupied by a writer in the Companys service, caught fire, and before any assistance could be had, it got such head way as not to be got under 'till the roof fell in. the room where the fire began, contain'd 20,000*D* and 80,000 in Pearls [*in the margin*: fortunately they receivd no injury], the latter contain'd in an Iron Chest which they could not move untill the flames subsided; had the wind been strong from the East, I saw nothing that could have prevented the suberbs from being consumed; the factory containd 500,000 Tale property, which must have all falln a prey to the flames or thieves. the narrowness of the streets and irregular way of proceeding renders it impossible to baffale the flames as we do in America. the Security Merchants all attend on such an occasion, with their Coolys and engines. their Coolys only are admitted in to work, some of whom stand at the avenues with pikes to keep the way clear. every bucket of water is brought by the Coolys, two of which bucketts he conveys from the water side to the engine, then goes back in this manner [*drawing of a coolie*] I itched to see a Boston engine well mannd and served, the fire would have been extinguished in half the time; very frequently they have fires in the Suberbs, five or six times since I have been here the last destroyd 10 buildings. they conduct jos to the scene of action sometimes, instead of which a judicious application of cold water would prove abundantly more efficacious. their jos is too fat he dont work engines well.

The people call Jos No. 1, Schoolmaster No. 2 (they mean by Schoolmaster the Kings instructor and astrologer) King No. 3 father and Mother No. 4. Nuequas purser tells me of an instance of the sagacity of the Emperor's necromancer. visiting one day the Em-

perour, he was handed a cup of tea but would not drink it (a great slight) the Emperor requested his reasons. know then said the inspired, in a certain province the Capital thereof is in flames, at the same time throwing to the wind the cup of tea; thus are the flames extinct. three days after a courier came to the Emperor with an account of, and the circumstances respecting the fire, which happened at the place named by the wise one. the number of houses consumed, the province lives lost, and time of extinction exactly compared with the Schoolmasters predictions, all which is swallowed by the people as divine. accordingly the astrologers are held in high veneration; by which means, with a severe and vigorous Government they are kept under. The Emperour occasionally sends to a Manderin for his head, who with all loyalty pertaining to a good subject has it cut off, with previous orders to have it sent as directed. unless the order is complied with, he cannot be a good man, and a certain sign of guilt; what amazing extent of authority! The new Emperour disliking his fathers prime Minister who had aggrandized himself at others expense etc. sent him a silk hatter, a sufficient intimation his life was wanted. The Minister like a good fellow hung himself. These Stories all are told by those, from whom only we can get information, for the truth of which I dont vouch, neither doubt of their truth.

I dont see so much misery as one would be led to believe, from accounts of this country; the boat inhabitants are generally clean, with appearance of health upon their countenances; true there is many beggars but far short of what I expected. it cant but be supposed that people will draw such conclusions, when the factorys situated in the Suberbs draw many there to call upon the charity of foreigners; the ground they occupy being of little extent (the factories) leads some people to think the whole country is the same alive with beggars. it is a fact they have a great many blind people, arising from the nature of their food, supposed by some; its curious to see the artifice they resort to, to gratify the calls of nature; when they can't touch one sense they make application to another, by besmearing themselves with human odur. its effect is so potent as to bring forth Cash, when other means would not. the Shopmen glad to get rid of the nuisance launch forth a few Cash. others I have seen scarify themselves soliciting charity, with a knife similar to a pruning knife sticking in their heads, with the blood flowing plentifully down

their breasts; but their number is few in comparison to the swarms of people. the Police here is good from what I have heard; The Linguist tells me there is a hospital in the City containing 10,000 Men, incapacitated by the venereal for labour, and who are kept close confined allowed by government one man a day. the inveteracy of that disorder puts it past cure in this Country.

There are a great many itinerant fellows exhibiting their tricks and buffoonery. the most remarkable performance is a man will take a sword, from hilt to point, that reaches to the navel, open his mouth and run it down his throat taking hilt and all into his mouth. there was no deception for the man was naked almost, and the sword was inspected by the company, but he spit blood. Another instance remarkable is, a man has an Adder, he will permit the serpent to clinch his tongue, after which by applying a root the creature lets go his hold. the man is seized with convulsions, his tongue swelling so as not to be drawn into his mouth, frothing and bleeding in a distressing manner, but by applying a composition he has to the tongue the swelling goes down and in a few moments is revived from a torpid state. Amazing the variety of methods they have for obtaining money, absolutely running knives through the muscular part of the arm, and into the body, exhibiting birds, Tumbling etc., and of all tumbling I never saw anything equal those at the singsongs or plays, too tedious to describe, but all calculated to please the multitude. They are very compleat thieves, sometimes entering through the roof will strip a house as Mr. Berry had his, of pictures hats etc. five nights since they tried the English factory; made a hole in the roof and were about descending, when the watchmaker to the Company, being alarmed took his pistol, and unfortunately it went off and entered the side of his companion sleeping in the same room. the wound is not mortal. the thieves wanted to lay their hands on some very valuable clocks, watches, and some valuable Jewels; sometimes they will inject a smock confirming one in a sleep stealing with impunity. had the watchmaker been so unfortunate as to have killed his companion, the Chinese would have demanded him and executed him, however contrary to justice; that have China Custom, suppose you come here you must conform. It is in vain to attempt to kill a ladrone unless you can secure his person descending with ropes round their wastes. should you kill one he will be lugged off and you declared his murderer. then Strangling comes next, so that do they

attempt me particularly as I am alone, shall make more noise, than if I had some one to call to my assistance, for these China Servants would not assist were you to call them.

28. There has been three, and there now is five Company Ships here (English) the last five brought 280,000 Dollars, goods to about same Amount. there are five more Ships lookd for hourly from Bombaay very rich, Also an American Ship calld the Oriental from Philadelphia belonging to P. Blight half brother to Oliver now here. she is 1,000 Tons. I hope you may have heard of the opportunity. The number of American Ships gone to America this season is 17 Ann and Hope included their tonnage about 6,000. the latter ship carries about 4,000 fine teas principally hyson, 70 of which are Gunpowder, some Young hyson Hyson Choulon, Padra Souchong, Souchong, Hyson Skin etc. 675 Bohea, 5,000 Dollars in china, 80,000 pieces Nankeens cost from 50 to 54, 40 Cases silks belonging to Cargo Officers etc.; some Cassia; her funds last Voyage 80,000 now 100,000 besides seal Skins sold for I believe 1D 25C at most 1D 50C. there are eight owners of the property. those Philadelphia rich Ships are owned by from 8 to 30 people, or that number of Shippers. I have not sold my fathers cloths, they will not fetch now 75C, Tho I had sold them once for 125C. but it was at a time when Nuequa would not give a chop. I shall make the best of 'em. A person is liable to be imposed on very much. the impossibility of moveing your goods from the packhouses, gives opportunity of changing them, putting new marks on other packages. they must remain one night. the afternoon before I Shipped any goods application was made for a chop to go down to Ship, next morning they were sent down; I always deffer'd marking my fine teas untill the last moment, giving as little time for fraud as possible; if you are too scrupulous with them they will make a merit of cheating you.

There has been in the straits of Sunda a french Cruiser named the Clarisa of Bordeaux I believe, she captured 2 or 3 Americans [*in the margin*: Bataviamen]; and one portuguese Ship worth 150,000 all Specie. The Hancock and Dispatch went by the Straits of Bali, Resource and Sampson, Malacca. Probable this may reach you before my other letters.

Ginseng now is worth 300D per pickel. you must make trial of some land Otter, I see by price Current they are worth 1 to 3½D here 7D first chop. Gunpowder tea has risen from 45T to 65T owing

to scarcity, Souchongs 25*T* to 35*T* none very good Bohea 13*T*, Sugar 4*T* 8*M* such as I sent you. Cassia 16*D*. had I not been so troubled with Nuequa should and could have stowed 100 pickel without loss of room. shall take such advantages next Season. ther's nothing like money in this Country.

March 1st. Should not that Pahoo tea sent my father be palitable (of itself it is insipid to most people) take 4 ozs. and mix with 1 lb. Souchong it will drink finely then. It is difficult to get it to America good the quality evapourating on the passage. I think that tea is what John calls rose tea, but the meaning of Pahoo is hare leaf. Nuequa promised to procure me musters of every kind of tea for the purpose of sending home on trial, probably I may send them next year.

The vast influx of specie here from various quarters particularly the English Companys paying off their old scores, has put many of the Hong above those low artifices to which they were necessitated to descend for to rub along. Ponqua in particular has the Credit of punctuality, and of doing much business. he secured three Americans besides country and company Ships. Ponqua is a very plausible fellow; he and Nuequa are the only real skin dealers, and if I sell them to any one else shall not obtain so much by 3*D* to 5*D* per Skin. perhaps I may do something with Ponqua but depend upon my vili-gence.

The English Companys contract last summer for teas was Hyson 54*T* Souchong 40*T* Bohea 14*T* other prices teas cant say.

If the Jenny brings funds sufficient would it not be a good thing to send her to Hamburg with fine teas and some sugars? 2,000 Hyson would load her nearly and that at 45*T* would amount to 62,500*D*. not improbable she may bring on to 3,000 skins at 25*D* is 75,000*D*; I think so much teas have gone to America a vent must be found elsewhere and Shipments made to Europe. I expect to hear Boheas are at 40*C* to 44*C* Hyson 1*D* Souchong at 83*C*, 75*C* etc. etc., therefore a Hamburg trip will bring more proffit. these are suggestions merely for amusement; if exchange is favorable on London take bills buy Dollars and take freight from thence home, if possible buy Dollars at Hamburg. was the Ariadne here I should not hesitate to load her with Sugars at 4*T* 8 and send her to Hamburg.

March 8th. having exhausted myself in the writing way and Cap. Bently quitting here this day or tomorrow shall close with hopes that

the Jenny will arrive with a valuable collection in about 6 months, and that this will meet you well as all the family to whom please make my affectionate remembrance, and believe me to be as ever
Your friend and Brother

S. DORR

per the Ann and Hope Cap. Bently

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, March 5th 1800

DEAR BROTHER, I wrote you last by the Hancock Cap. Crocker enclosing your account Current with me, and bill Lading and Invoice of sundry goods shipt on board the Hancock for my account, in which bill of Lading was included 32 Chests Hyson tea for your account as well as one bale Nankeens, duplicate whereof went per the Resource Via Providence, and third bill of Lading was enclosed to Joseph and John Dorr, per the Ulysses Cap. Lamb, at which time I requested Insurance might be effected to amount of about 6,600*D*. I requested also you would present my comeshaws to the family, sending Mrs. F. and Mady 2 boxes Tea 2 Tubs Candy and 2 Jarrs sweetmeats etc. etc., the latter part of which do execute. I erroneously stated in my letter that my account with you was balanced. you will perceive there is still due me 10*D* 75*C* please pass it to my Credit. any balance in your hands after paying my Note to my Father and one to Joseph and John Dorr was requested to be remitted to me owing in this Country about 1,700*D*, which when I have this (in about perhaps 12 months) shall appoint some one to take up my note, but am in hopes of receiving a remittance from you, or my Commission on Jennys Sales enabling me to do it. You need not think I do not mean to Charge a Commission on Sales of Wine, purchase of Teas etc. because it does not appear in account however that have friend Pegion (as these smoothfaced Chinamen say) and you will allow what you please, and I agree to pay you 2½ Per Cent on Sales of all my Goods sent you and all I shall send. The 32 Chests of Tea per the Hancock for your account are excellent few so good gone this Year. was I to address myself particularly to every one, there would be nothing but tedious reiterations, want of connection and incorrectness, therefor you will please be referred to a particular and lengthy letter to our Brother Joseph and John Dorr by this Con-

veyance. In hopes the Hancock and Dispatch may arrive safe and meet you with all the family and friends well I remain Affectionately Your Brother

S. D.

I am astonishd you should omitt writing me by the Ann and Hope about my Adventure per the Jenny.

S. D.

per the Ann and Hope Cap. Bently

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, July 21st 1800

DEAR SIR, On or about the 20th of December 1797 the Sloop Nancy saild from Boston (in America) for the Island of Amsterdam in the Southern Ocean for the purpose of taking seals and preserving the skins. the said Vessell was commanded by Cap. John Myrick in the service of Ebenezer Dorr, Ebenezer Dorr Junior and Joseph and John Dorr of Boston to whom the said Vessell belong'd, and with whom the crew thereof covenanted to take skins preserve Oil etc. at a stipulated rate. it appears that Cap. James Pericival Commander of the Ship Mary belonging to Boston has taken off three people from the said Island of Amsterdam belonging to a sealing party put or left there from said Sloop, and that he has also taken from said Island twelve thousand seal skins collected by Elisha Wheeler, William Greene, Peter Bascom, James Woodburne, Goodal Several, Louis Launcelope, Francis Powl, Joseph W. Warner and Cornelius Fellows, all of whom were of the crew of the Sloop Nancy aforesaid, except Peter Bascom, left there from the Ship Jenny of Boston Cap. Edward Brown belonging to Mess. Dorrs aforesaid, also that Cornelius Fellows was left by said Brown Captain of the Jenny ownd as aforesaid, but that Joseph W. Warner took the place of said Fellows, who went on board a skinnery Schooner belonging to Boston. from which it appears that the said skins were taken and Cured by the men above mentiond from on board the Sloop Nancy and Ship Jenny commanded and ownd aforesaid.

My request is Sir, that you would cite or warn before you (as soon as may be) Elisha Wheeler, William Greene and Peter Bascom, now

on board the Mary, Cap. James Percival, to answer and depose to these facts, Viz. that the twelve thousand skins now on board the Mary at Whampao were taken by the people above nam'd in conjunction with themselves; and whether they were not taken, say ten thousand or thereabouts, between the month of October One thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, and the month of December One thousand seven hundred and ninety nine; Also that two thousand or thereabouts were taken between the month of December One thousand seven hundred and ninety nine, and the month of March One thousand eight hundred, at which time (March last) the said skins, together with Elisha Wheeler, William Greene and Peter Bascom were taken from the Island of Amsterdam in the Southern Ocean, by the said James Percival. And also that the said Wheeler heard Cap. Stephen Hall of the town of Boston say, on the Island of Amsterdam that Ebenezer Dorr one of the owners of the Sloop Nancy and Ship Jenny wanted and requested Cap. Hall to bring them (meaning himself with the others composing the sealing crew) some provisions which the said Hall said he would or could not bring. furthermore that the said Dorr had fitted out a Vessell which would give Wheeler and company with him a call; I would also wish Sir that you would procure a copy of the agreement made with and between Cap. James Percival and the people above mentiond.

You will please Sir to insert in the deposition if they can swear to it that Percival was knowing to their being left there by the Vessells above nam'd etc. You will also give notice to Cap. Percival of your intention and the time of taking the above depositions. With Respect I remain Your Obliged Servant

S. D.

*Agent for the Owner of the Sloop Nancy
and the Ship Jenny*

N.B. You will please to ask if Cap. Percival was knowing to the sailing of a Vessell fitted out by Mess. Dorrs which was to call at Amsterdam, or even a report of her sailing with such an intention, and his knowledge of it. Yours truly

S. DORR

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, July 26th 1800

DEAR BROTHERS, I wrote you last via England date 16th and 26 May last since when nothing particular has transpired except the arrival of Merrys Ship with Skins, also two from Batavia and America who were disappointed in getting Coffee at the former place. speculations that way will probably lessen the number of Ships to this; the low prices of goods by the last arrival is a check of itself. if so take the opportunity and send a direct Ship culling your goods from the great quantities then on hand, and cheap. let your Ship arrive on 1st December before which time most contracts are perform'd; if the contracts have not absorbed all the goods [*in the margin: no danger of that*], what remains can be obtain'd 20 to 33 Per Cent cheaper, because the Nankin and Pekin Merchants want to close Sales settle accounts and be off; and teas are always that much less after being kept over a season, unless it is Souchongs. To be under the necessity of staying and doing business here, I had rather have and do the business of a Ship with Dollars for nothing, than meddle with skin ships. any one not belonging to the family I would not touch, unless the Captain or owner would let me do as I please, that is to say there is Merchants of reputation who will buy skins, but where others give or offer 25*D* they won't give but 20*D* by accepting of the 20 Dollar mans offer I should subject myself and reputation to false accusations, particularly if a ship sold at 25 Dollars to the precarious man and came off well; should skins be at 25*D* barter price this year I will accept 20 to 21*D* in Cash promising to make it up in price and quality of goods, and as I do for you, so I would by my own. I tremble for some of N Teas.

Merrys Ship Mary Cap. J. Percival who has been sealing at St. Pauls and Amsterdam, took from the latter place three people and twelve thousand skins, collected as appears and taken off on the conditions specified in the enclosed declaration. I am disagreeably situated as respects these skins having only Myricks order which point out no certain term of time for the people to remain. what their agreement says cannot remember, but the loss of the sloop, Myrick and Browns conduct in not leaving provisions, and entering into an agreement with the people leaves them entirely at their own will. for want of documents to prove an interest shall make no demand, for Per-

cival in the course of conversation declar'd he would not deliver them up but would adhere to his agreement with the men. therefore should I make a demand and the property not be invested to advantage they would sue for damages in America; I have thought fit only to take the inclosed declaration, and shall procure a certificate of their sale etc., leaving it with you to prove your interest and recover damages having the same resort Perrons owners had. the people conceive themselves entirely independent of the owners of the Sloop, and will not come to a compromise here. Your only resort is Percival and owners; the enormous pay he has for taking them off and freight looks more like taking advantage of circumstances than otherwise, which I should not admit was a settlement proposed; (there's no fear of that) thus you see the fruits of your labours are reaped by others, owing to the insufficiency or stupidity of that quisi blockhead of Myrick. Browns conduct is little better. it is a misfortune I did not go in the Jenny, in consequence of which you may calculate upon a probable loss of 30 to 50,000 Dollars. I can't repress my anger when I think, that Myrick and Brown took away their provisions and pass'd on without an agreement, by which you see it is necessary to weigh every possible accident that may occur in a Voyage and point out a line of conduct to be pursued, in case of misfortune; for Brown err'd in that instance enormously who certainly was a good man. I will point out to you the line I was about pursuing when the Mary first arrivd after the Captains informing me he had taken off three people of the Nancys crew and 12,000 Skins taken by them. I wrote Mr. Snow, our Consul as follows (here followd my letter to Mr. Snow of 21 July, which see).

To the questions askd in the preceeding letter to our Consul, they equivocated in a manner which renderd it entirely unnecessary to take their depositions, blending every circumstance before and since they were left, too many of which were deadly strokes to any claim on your part. therefore thought fit to let it rest with you taking only the enclosed papers, and I am sorry to say from the light I have you never will get a Cash either in law or equity. I wait letters from you probably which will give me some instructions concerning the affair. Since the departure of the Hancock and Dispatch my expenses amount to about 800*D* everything included, Wine, liquors, eatables, furniture, sheeting, table linen, servants etc. etc. except factory hire. the new one I am now in costs annually 400*D* rent of ground, the

building cost me 850*D* which I can hold so long as I please to pay 400 annually. the building and rent costs me no more than 50*D* more than I should be under the necessity of giving for a factory one year only, therefore should I stay another season, all will be clear gain, meaning the house, if not sell out. A few days in all probability the Jenny will arrive, when she does shall do my best. I think she will do wonders. If Edes does very well cannot look for him untill March next. I have nothing more material to add, and will close with request you will make my love to all the family and friends, whom I long to be with, and believe me to be with affection Your Brother
S. DORR

Nuequa offers Pericival 1*D* 50*C* Ponqua 1*D* 25*C* Conouqua the same 1*D* 25*C*, Mouqua 100*C* for his Skins, payable in goods with some money. thus you see the difference of men.

The Camilla has on board 400 Chests Bohea Tea, about 1,800 Consisting of Souchong, Hyson and Hyson skin, 40,000 pieces Nankeens 18,000 Dollars in Silks.

Original per the Camilla Cap. West Via Philadelphia Duplicate per the Syren Cap. Reily

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, 28 October 1800

DEAR BROTHERS, The preceeding is duplicate of my last Original per the Camilla, since when I have received a letter from William date 21 April saying only that he was well and arrived safe off Massafuero, and that he should procure the number of skins contemplated on his departure from America, leaving a crew on the Island, then proceed to the friendly Islands for to winter; the last movement I have not from him, [n]or do I know the number of skins contemplated. if he gets 20,000 it is as many as can be expected; from what information I have, which number will little more than pay port charges at 75 cents each skin, the most that probably will be obtained for them, Tho I would not insure 50*C*. A flemish business.

I should have supposed that Ebenezer Rogers etc. with all their cunning might have told you that Bowers could have left a gang of people on Massafuero without any disadvantage; three months after you could have sent a Vessel and taken off the skins probably

50,000, he having saild in such season as to render the business practicable.

Let me go on and enumerate some more misfortunes Ebenezer when he stop'd at St. Pauls to take off Peters etc. overlookd 10,000 seal skins, packed up in a cove, hid at that time probably by the rushes, which prevented their being discoverd. when they (Percival and others) were there they had become a mass of corruption, a dead loss of 40,000 Dollars.

Your not having sent a Vessell to relieve or take the crew at St. Pauls or Amsterdam off, and my not receiving any advice, induces me to believe they are under no obligation or contract for your account, but have engaged with Perron now on Amsterdam. they can't get many.

There is now five direct ships from America, which Ships have not brought me a line, I can't account for it. it is mortifying to be deprived of that which is the most of anything in my situation pleasing. some mistake I think.

Cap. Bowles has arrived in the Alert, with skins 2,690 at 19*D* which gives 51,000*D* gross, goods at say company Nankeens 90*D* Bohea 14*T* Hyson 45*T* Young Hyson 44*T* Cassia 18*D* per pickel, silks to Amount 10,000 Dollars, Cash 4,000, silks 10 or 20 Per Cent higher than for [*sic*]. he deals with Ponqua with whom I shall be under the necessity of doing business. The low price of skins is owing to internal wars probably, being in the provinces where they are most used.

A sorry story for you, Bowers has lost on the Coast 6 men and a Mate, on shore a wooding cut off by the Indians. Bowles brings this account, he had it from the Indians. it may be worse the Ship perhaps.

Cap. Davison arrived safe on the coast; when Bowles le[f]t he had well on to 2,000 skins, with trade for 500 more. Bowles does not doubt of his bringing 2,300 skins. the Alert is the only Ship arrived from thence; he did not see the Jenny. I hope soon to have better news. About 7 Sail on the Coast, I give you the names.

Alert	Bowles	arrived 15 September	2,690 skins all told
Jenny	Bowers		
	Davison		
Dove	Duffin	belongs here	

Hazard	Swift	700 about when last seen
Alexander	Dodge	very late on
Palmyra	Trotter	Uncertain of his being there
A Brig	Simpson	belongs here

Sealing Ships arrived, and expected

Mary	Percival	Arrived 16th July	150 Tons	42,000 Skins at 1D.5 = 107 ℓ (Candrine)
Betsey	Howell	New Haven 26 August	270 Tons	110,000 ditto at 80 Cents
Rising	States	Jenks	Providence 2 October	220 Tons 31,000 ditto at 80 Cents

Seven sail besides Edes at Massafuero. besides Dodge left a crew with intention of calling for them when he comes from the coast. he did not get on the Coast till late in June. he makes ducks and drakes.

Aspassia Fanning saild from New York on a sealing Voyage 500 Tons; they must sink money.

Direct Ships Arrived					[Cargo]
	<i>Captain</i>	<i>Arrived</i>	<i>Of</i>	<i>Tons</i>	
Ship Rebecca	McEver	July 14th	Philadelphia	206	Dollars
Brig Syren	Reily	September 4	ditto	195	ditto and ginseng
Ship America	Wills	September 6	ditto	313	ditto and ditto and 10,000 Seal Skins
Ship Severn	Dean	October 2	New York	295	ditto and ditto and Camblets and furs 4,000 Seal Skins
Ship Geo. Barclay	Wheaton	October 10	ditto	370	ditto very little else, 4,000 Seal Skins
Ship New Jersey	Thompson	October 8	Philadelphia	420	ditto and Ginseng

Ships expected not namd above

Ship John Jay	Providence	450 Tons
America	Philadelphia	700 Tons

A Salem Ship Tho. Russell. 2 from coast of Africa with Gold dust and ivory, 2 from Manilla, one belongs to Dick and Barnard, from the river la plata, goods damaged selling for half cost at Manilla. how many more will come can't say, probably in all 28 sail; the fame of Philadelphia Cap. Jones I forgot to mention. It is astonishing that Merchants will run direct into the face and eyes of loss. the low price of goods in America leaves no profit.

Prices Current here

Nankeens 60 Dollars	Hyson Tea	45 $\mathcal{T}$ to 50 $\mathcal{T}$
White 66 $\mathcal{D}$	Young Hyson	32 to 36
Company's 90 $\mathcal{D}$	Imp. or Gunpowder	56 to 60
Silks 50 $\mathcal{C}$ to 1 $\mathcal{D}$ per piece higher	Hyson Skin	28
A few Boheas Shipping	Congo	24 to 28
mostly fine, and silks	Souchong	34 to 42
China ware as usual	Bohea	13 to 13 $\mathcal{T}$ 5 $\mathcal{M}$
Sewing 3/2 to 4/2 Caddy	Sugar	4 to 4 $\mathcal{T}$ 2 $\mathcal{M}$
Ginseng has sold for	Rhubarb	100 $\mathcal{D}$ per pickel
260 $\mathcal{D}$ down to 160 $\mathcal{D}$	Nutmegs sound	2 $\mathcal{D}$ 50 $\mathcal{C}$ per pound
the next arrival, if the	Otter land	5 $\mathcal{D}$ to 7 $\mathcal{D}$
Fame, they get only	Beaver prime	4 $\mathcal{D}$ to 4½ $\mathcal{D}$
130 $\mathcal{D}$ I think having		
300 pickel on board		
130 $\mathcal{D}$ is little better		
than the cost		

There has already arrived here 200,000 Seal Skins which has caused the price to fall so much, which number is a supply for three years; 70,000 being about the annual call, any more lessens the price. the business is compleatly done over. three years hence it will do to make an adventure that way. the last Sales was 75 $\mathcal{C}$. a Ship with 30,000 would not be able to get more than 50 $\mathcal{C}$ to 60 $\mathcal{C}$ I think.

I am informd those Vessells do not come from Manilla. The Guianamen are uncertain Ships, as well as how many sealers will come. My being known here will enable me to load William on a Credit. can't promise you more than 17 $\mathcal{D}$ for otter skins. the longer the Vessells are out the better its thought. a month hence more Merchants will be down from Nankin and Pekin. Bohea will fall to 10 $\mathcal{T}$ 5 $\mathcal{M}$ or 11 $\mathcal{T}$ if no more is demanded. little going our way, as well as to England.

Percival will sail soon. if you have anything to do with him perhaps the enclosed certificate or declaration may be of service. If anything more occurs I shall give it you, at present think of nothing. have not received Barry's money.

Make my respects to all friends, more particularly to our good father, sisters and brothers. tell them I have enjoy'd greater share of

health than could be expected, and hope you and they may have experienced the same, and believe me to be Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Brig Syren Cap. Reily Duplicate per the Ship Rebecca McEver

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, November 9, 1800

DEAR BROTHERS, I wrote you last per the Mary Cap. Percival the 4th Inst. merely informing you of the Jennys arrival with 2,000 skins, since when have contracted with Ponqua for the same at twenty dollars each skin, takeing in return Hyson Tea at 45^T, Young Hyson 36^T, Hyson Skin 26^T, Souchong 36^T, Bohea 13^M 5^C, Sugar 4^T 4^M and Cassia 16 dollars per pickel, some few company Nankeens at 92 dollars; the proceeds of which furrs will nearly load said Ship with fine teas sugar and Cassia, takeing only 60 Chests Bohea Tea; any spare room will be taken up by myself on freight.

Bowers would have got nearly 3,000 skins had not the Indians murderd three men, after which act (up the sound) for fear of retaliation they would not come near him which obligd him to go to the out ports, where he was under the necessity of giving treble price for skins. then had his musketts been good for anything he would have obtained 4 or 5 skins each. his powder must throw away being good for nothing; not worth ship room. however his collection won't lose you anything. have no doubts of its producing as much within 5,000^D Net Sales as Bowles tho he had 2,650 Skins sold at 19 dollars. price of teas bought by me much lower, say Young Hyson 8^T, Bohea 5^M less, Cassia 4 dollars less. his silks net no profit, of which article he has 10,000 Dollars.

Necessity induced me to deal with Ponqua, Nuequa am fearful of. Conseequa holds Jo. Ingrahams note. warn your Captains of putting themselves in his power. Nuequa offerd 17^D. no others except Conseequa would buy. Ponqua has done a great deal of business with great Credit. I am under the necessity of delivering my skins before the receipt of goods, saying they would not do business under those conditions at any rate it can't be helpd. Skins are bought now upon speculation so says Ponqua.

Bowers has little or no trade left. give good trade powder musketts

etc. the Indians wont have other than good. he would have brought down 4,000 skins had he enough of those articles, one musket 4 and 5 prime skins, 50 musketts put in the bottom of the Ship for ballast good for nothing else; this goes by the America, Cap. Wills duplicate per the Betsey Via Connecticut; Jenny will follow in twenty days or less, when I hope to say the Schooner has arrived with 2,500 Skins, at the same time being more particular and probably giving you an account of the Ships Cargos bound your way. In the interim believe me to be your Affectionate Brother

S. D.

I have received your letters of 16th December '99 and one of 3 February 1800, latter of which give me to understand that our father is married, which circumstance I pray may be conducive to their future happiness, to whom please make my congratulations and duty, not forgetting Mrs. Childs also Eben Junr. on the birth of a Son. Childs is a worthy man, who I should be always happy to own as a brother in law. Should the Bedford Ship arrive shall do everything to assist which may conduce to the Owners and others interest rely upon it. Yours truly

S. D.

Jennys Copper all rags. she requires a new mizen mast having encountered a Tuffoon. Barry is obligd to you for your exertions to send his money hes a worthy man. People killed up Christian sound Robt. Simpson of England, Wm. Brown of Scotland, Geo. Allen of Scotland.

Bowers wishes you to insure for him all risks four thousand dollars on board the Jenny. I also wish to have insured six at eight thousand dollars all risks on board the Jenny, the performing of which will oblige Your Brother

S. D.

Ship America Wills 313 Tons

Nankeens	1,403	Pickel	221,000 pieces
China	485		994 Chests
Souchong	363		465 Chests
Green Tea	936		1,460 Chests
Cassia	35		
Boglapores	4		
Silks	60		115 Cases
Ribbons	8		104 Boxes

Brig Syren Reily 195 Tons

Green Tea	213 P.	
Souchong	2	
China	268	310 Boxes
Nankeens	499	90,000 pieces
Fans		51,000
Silks	18	19 Cases
Silk thread	11	
Cassia	47	

Ship Rebecca McEver 208 Tons

Souchong	135 P.	
Green Tea	1,240	
China	380	
Nankeens	354	
Fans		18,000
Silks	41	35 Cases
Boglapores	1	

Ship Mary Percival 150 Tons

Bohea	593 P.	
Souchong	44	75 Chests
Green Tea	272	458 Chests
Nankeens	58	10,000 pieces
Sugar	186	
China	56	284 Boxes
Silks	3.70	1 Box

Ship Camilla Cap. West 270 Tons

Bohea	766 P.	200 Chests
Souchong	456	599 Chests
Green Tea	882	1,332 Chests
Nankeens	133	30,000
Fans		40,000
Silks	26	

Ship Betsey Cap. Howell 270 Tons

Bohea Tea	928 P.	300 Chests
Souchong	568	791 ditto
Green Tea	594	956 ditto

Nankeens	73	13,000 pieces
Blue ditto	40	7,000 pieces
Sugar	152	
China	54	178 Boxes
Silks	22	35 Boxes
Fans		30,000
ditto Bone		1,100
Bolapores	1	

Send December 2d 1800

Original per the Betsey Duplicate per the America

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, 2 December 1800

DEAR BROTHERS, . . . You will perceive that the Net proceeds of Otter skins amounts to thirty two thousand one hundred and ninety dollars 75/100 and the Invoice of the Jennys Cargo together with factory account amounts to 33,049*D* 12*C* leaving a balance due me of 858*D* 37*C*, which sum will be met by sales of provisions etc. (from the Jenny) nearly, which when sold shall render an account of for what I received from said Ship see my memo. little money will be left to pay my expenses to come, shall be under the necessity of borrowing perhaps I have not chargd you any interest upon monies of my own detaind for expenses, nor shall I. The factory account amounts to 1,017*D* 50*C*, a large sum of money, but much less than I expected at no less expense could I have lived with decency besides 200 or 300 of that account will always produce something.

Now let me notice to you I did business with Ponqua against my own will. although he endeavours to appear to be honest yet he cannot easily lay by old habits: but I have the pleasure to say I think you will find the Jennys cargo generally good, the hearing of which will give me much satisfaction.

Goods of any kind at this market are not to be esteemed cash as with you so I can always do better with money here 10 or 20 per Cent either in quality or price of the articles, so that if you send a money Ship you may expect the best of goods at less prices than for skins. I can never promise you great quality Teas etc. unless I procure them with Cash. There has been very little Bohea Tea shipped

to America this season; nor is there much that will be, in consequence of which it will probably fall to 11 Tale, or be kept till next season, when it will become poor stuff. if the price of the Bohea Tea should be as low as 33C a speculation in that article might prove lucrative it can't be got home for less than 33C. Hyson is now 50T first quality. Nankeens 60 to 62 Company 95D other goods much the same.

I requested that you would insure for me eight thousand dollars on board the Jenny all risks. I now repeat my solicitations that you will cause the same to be done, sending my Goods to Andrews consignment, to whom you will represent the necessity of my being punctual owing some thousand dollars here making sales of my property at Auction, rather than my credit should suffer here, anticipating sales of my goods rather than lose a season, for punctuality is the ownly basis upon which I can succeed here.

Cap. Davison of the Rover arrived at the Sandwich Islands on or about the 10 September he left Owhyee about that time for Atoi, where some are apprehensive he is cut off, others again think no such thing, but that he was in a late gale of wind, when he carried away his masts, and put into Malacca Manilla or elsewhere. I mean by being in a gale of wind that he met the Tuffoon Bowers did about the 19 to 23 October. it is certain he was at Owhyee at the time mentiond, a Portuguese being here who slept on board two nights; notwithstanding the above account I would not advise Andrew to pay any very extraordinary premium; he had 2,000 Skins besides 1,500 Tails etc. probably 2,300 Skins. I sincerely hope she may arrive soon. it would give me pleasure to advise you of her safety. Two Vessells have arrived from the Islands who left 'em after the Rover.

No more than the \$400 chargd Sales of Ship Jennys Cargo will arrive to you this season for factory hire. Cap. Bowles lived with me which lessen'd the expense some.

In hopes that I may receive some letters from you soon; and that the Schooner may arrive I remain Your Affectionate Brother

S. D.

Cap. Erving in Prince and others Brig arrived here 14 days since. I assist him, receiving a small Commission. he has 21,000 Skins sold at 75C each.

The New Jersey sails soon when shall write again.

Original per the Jenny Bowers Duplicate per the Alert Bowles

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, December 7th 1800

[DEAR BROTHERS,] I am under the disagreeable necessity of informing you that the Jenny is detain'd four or five days in consequence of the ignorance of the first mate Long, to whom I wrote requesting to know what she would store between decks, the Cabbin and every other part of the Ship, after pulling down the Cabbin births, to which he repli'd as per the Memo. enclosed, in consequence of which I sent down as mark'd thereon, after which he sent me another note requiring 14 Chests Tea to fill the hatch, which I thought was not of sufficient consequence to detain the Ship; however having suspicions I went down to Whampao, and found the Jenny would stow 150 Chests Tea more, which causes a delay as mention'd above, after she was ready for sea, owing to the incapacity of that stupid Scoundrel of a Long, who is not worth his salt. had not Bowers been sick no such thing would have happen'd. his sickness was occasion'd by his continually going down and up his presence being required, everything lagging under the charge of the Whaler, who has often wished the Ship would sink. he'd be dam'd if he cared, you having lied to and cheated him. You ought not pay him a Shillings wages, the delay is imputable to him only. I have been so engaged as not to be able to send you Duplicate accounts, which however will follow ere long In the interim believe me to be Affectionately Your Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Jenny Bowers Duplicate per the Alert Bowles

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, December 14th 1800

DEAR BROTHERS, I wrote last under date of 2nd and 7th Inst. per the Jenny duplicate per the Alert; per the Frances and Rising States 7th Inst. requesting Insurance. Also per the New Jersey 8 Inst. then encloseing Duplicate Invoice accounts and third Bill of Lading relating to the Jenny and Cargo, two third Bills of Lading of my investment per ditto also for Bowers investment, and by all which conveyances I requested Insurance for myself 12,021D 43/100, for Bowers account 4,000D, at the same time informing you of my

determination to remain here until December next year; which determination shall adhere to unless in the mean time you write me that your wish is contrary. My intention in forming such a resolution was and is that I might reap the benefit of a Commission on the Rovers cargo and probably some advantages or profit may accrue from some of the sealing Vessells. as for the Ship Pacific trader I calculate nothing from that quarter, she will make probably nothing I cannot promise more than 33C to 50C per Skin. any advantages that might arrise to me shall probably transfer to William. but the greatest inducement of all is that I may take opportunity of makeing Shipments of Teas on Credit of 20 Months thinking that I may be able to make something handsome by such means in a few years. I owe here now about 9,000D which induced me to be so urgent to A. C. Dorr about improveing the first opportunity in making remittances, that my Credit may not suffer. do I succeed in being punctual I can raise Credits easily. the necessity of being punctual need not be mention'd again.

In your duplicate letter of 16 December 99 received via Manilla 5th Ultio. you notice to me of your intention of sending a direct Ship with supplies for any North West Vessells of yours which may arrive here, sending them back again to the North West Coast. I have and do now say from every information from various Commanders from that quarter, that Ships of not less than 200 Tons nor more than 270 Tons prime sailors, are navigated at the same expence that the Rover is with more safety against the Natives as well as Seas, and a 270 Ton Ship would be worth in America 20,000 dollars more either in the different manner of makeing investments or takeing freight at 100D per Ton. it is a fact that Ships of such a size may be conducted from port to port on the North West Coast with nearly as much facility as smaller Vessells particularly if they arrive very early when it is very boisterous. and again the natives are well supplied with arms, but so large a Vessell is such a terror to them they dare not attempt her. no objections can be advanced against such a ship in point of size, the water in the sounds and on the co[a]st being so generally bold. after what I have now said I would not recommend that you should send any Ships here with views of dispatching them from this to the North West Coast or any others that may arrive from thence, but that you send a Ship of 500 Tons burthen or more, to my Consignment at 3 per Cent and 6 Tons priviledge with 150,000 dol-

lars that I may have the pleasure of sending you a cargo of goods the quality of which I can vouch for, transacting business with men of probity and honour which I am not enabled to do with skin Ships getting goods that will rub off only at home. am sorry but have done my best. did I sell Mouqua, Nuequa or Conseequa could have got only 14*D* the first, 16*D* the second and last nam'd which is too great a difference to take up with, thinking it best to use my vigilance against Ponqua, who has done an immense deal of business this and last year, and I am happy to think the Jennys goods are generally very good.

Nuequa fail'd last March, and has compounded with his Creditors to pay in six years. he does little business hes a very good man himself but has some Villians as pursers. Conseequa holds Jo. Ingrahams note with your and our fathers names given as his authority for 70,000 Dollars. I shall be cautious. recommend it to others in your employ, let 'em be secret.

Should you send a direct Ship I can promise you about 50 per Cent Credit upon the Amount of her Capitol at 20 to 24 Months with Interest which is a great object.

It is probable I may send home on freight this season some hundred chests of Congo or Compoi Tea such as Ponqua give Ebenezer at 40 Tale I have it 26*T* 20 Months' Credit if it fetches with you 75 Cents I shall make 54 Per Cent paying all charges, freight etc. at 100*D*.

The Ship Neptune arrived at Macao the 9th Inst. from London they spoke in the Java sea the Ship [*blank*] of Salem Cap. Bullock from Maderia laden'd with wines and other goods bound to Macasor Amboyena Manilla and probably to this. Cap. Bullock informd them that a dispatch Vessell arrived at Madeira from france giveing intelligence of Peace with America which is very good news. The original destination of the Neptune was Batavia, but finding it blockaded came on here all the Americans found there by the English were and are detain'd, so that it is said most of the Ships crews are dead, and would they allow them to depart they could not weigh their Anchors. A Mr. Davison of Philadelphia having two Ships to his consignment ladend and about departing were unfortunately stopped by the English fleet as they were going down. they were orderd back, and there they lay. Mr. Davison died. The ship Portland of Philadelphia finding Batavia blockaded was going to Sama-

rang an out port to trade. the English sent out a Ship and brought her to Batavia where she lays too. They cant take Batavia it is so well fortified. its probable Batavia will be blockaded a long time. they the present fleet of 5 Sail are waiting relief. they may wait too long and all die. it is very sickly there, in consequence of which many ships will come here, the Neptune is the 17th Vessell. I shall not be disappointed if 28 Sail should be here as mention'd before. The Neptune has laid at Macoa some days in consequence of haveing no cargo. the Ship Totten (of New Haven) came up and the business was represented to the Hoppo, Viz. their former intentions of going to Batavia etc. and she was permitted to come up. If you send a direct Ship put in a few Tons lead Iron etc. to make report with and fill one chop boat. the delay and danger is of more consequence than the lead and Iron.

The Fames Ginseng sold for 200*D*. Clarified is worth now 17*D* to 30*D*.

The markets here are very precarious continually fluctuating. sometimes goods are higher the first of the season than the last, and the last than the first, and the middle than either, so that no dependence can be placed on prices Currents scarcely; the navigation of these seas are so well known now that it is thought the seasons (as it is call'd) of business will be known all the year round as it was last, which is one great cause of fluctuations here in European and India goods. The Merchants say there never was known so great a redundancy of every kind of article at this market; the whole number of Ships here this is about 60 Sail.

As the demand is so is the price of fine teas and others, but they are generally lower in December January and February than at other times, which is the reason the Ann and Hopes Cargoes are cheaper than yours and others, that Ship having arrived here in December once and January the last time. I could do the same had I the means. The price of Hysons last year being so low the cultivators lost money. 35,000 thousand Chests brought to market last year, this only 21,000 which is the reason of its now being 58*T* to 60*T*. Should that tea be low with you, perhaps holding what you have or purchasing some of good quality might prove lucrative, but I'm apprehensive there will be no room for any specs. the great influx of all kinds teas will reduce the prices for some years.

Mr. Barry goes to America in the Severn Cap. Dean.

At the close of the season shall give you a list of Ships and Cargoes. The price Current is much the same as when last quoted. The Geo. Barclay carries 650 Chests Bohea Tea; Severn none.

21*D* Cochnial is worth about 400 per Pickel, shark fins 18*T* Sandal wood 20*T* Lead 8 pickel Iron 100*D* Ton. fox skins 1*D* other furs than before mentiond don't answer. send if you please one Hogshead of Skins on trial Viz. Otter, beaver and red fox all of first quality, a few sable and mink also.

Hyson Tea has risen to 62*D*, Sugar 5*T*.

Should you think of continuing in this business as large or more largely than heretofore, I would reccommend that you encourage one two or more young men of ability to come here and remain for the purpose of gaining intelligence by which means you will be better served, and the expense of their residence here amply paid by your getting better goods and cheaper than under the conduct of Captains, the Young men at the same time benefitting themselves, and I'll venture to affirm that your goods in the Jenny from Consequa should have been 12 per cent cheaper had I have been in her, or the business managed by Mr. Snow; therefore do not value 2½ to 4 Per Cent Commission when you consider that if you employ one experienced here that your goods will be cheaper and better than tho your Captain had the management, and I declare to you was I at home and wishd to Adventure here, I would sooner give 5 Per Cent to one who has had experience here, than accept the services of one who was not acquainted with China *goods* and *Merchants*. I now allude to money Ships with which Ships I can and will do business on as good terms as any American here or that has been. Such Sou-chong Tea as I sent Andrew per the Jenny at 32*T*, with money could have got 26*T* and at a Credit of 20 months can get such as the Otters Cargo at 26*T*. Young Hyson Tea is now 38*T* to 41*T* Cash.

Should I hear of your sending a direct Ship next year to arrive early shall make a conditional contract; if late perhaps shall wait her arrival before I contract, as goods may drop in price, governing myself by the knowledge I have of these markets, and leaving room in the contract to take as much or little of any particular kind of goods as I please; therefore the first intelligence of your determination may benefit you exceedingly.

A Philadelphia Supercargo has 3 Per Cent Commission on purchases and Sales 4 Tons and a Stateroom, and let me say the New

Jerseys factory account and hire was about 2,400D nearly 60 Per Cent more expense than I was at for 10 months including house hire factory account and what was chargd Sales of Jennys Cargo. You must not expect it to be so low, if I go to Macao this year. I have no desire to but may be orderd there.

If you send a direct Ship, I would thank you to engage for my service here a young man from 16 to 20 Years of age, who understands writing and figures, to remain here one or more years after the Ships arrival should it be agreeable to me, upon such terms as you and he may agree upon I would not wish one to come here for to be taught writing and figures but one that has had actual experience, and be able to give me assistance.

This is a fine place to cure wild young men they have no other incitement here than to be steady.

You will see by the enclosed account Current with the Owner of the Jenny that it is or probably will be nearly balanced when the bread is deliverd and cloth sold. I shall have little or no money left to live upon but can borrow at 12 Per Cent.

The method of transacting business here, the Merchants characters and many explanations could I give was I with you, which can't easily be done by writing.

I think of nothing more at present only that I am very anxious for the safety of the Rover, which Vessell am apprehensive is cut off at Atoi. notwithstanding till certain intelligence have hopes. The Portuguese who I spoke of says Davison was very careful at Owyhee.

I have to request you will make my respects to our Father and Mother, Sisters and Brothers, and all the little ones, as well as all friends, hoping this may meet you and them well I Remain Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Should you send a direct Ship, please send me one pipe Maderia Wine good, 6 good Cheeses old and they will keep 10 to 15 doz. good Claret Wine some 1/2 Barrels Tongues, some hams 20 doz. Cider, 2 doz. in a barrel packed in sand and I know it will keep hav- ing drank it at Snows put in that manner.

The Neptune is not permitted to come up yet information from Whampao chop house having been sent up that she has skins on board, which is not the case. they think she must have because that

was her cargo last Voyage the Chineese are very vexatious. The Hoppo has sent down to examine her at Macao.

Original per the G. Barclay Whitten Duplicate per the Severn Dean

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, January 10th 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, My last was dated 14, 21 and 28 Ult. original per the Geo. Barclay and Duplicates per the Severn Via New York, since when I have the pleasure to say the Ship Barclay Cap. Barney has arrived here with 38,550 Seal Skins at 85C, 5,716 ditto at 70C (being salted are less valuable) making in all 44,266 Skins which I have sold Ponqua with consent of Barney and advice of Snow, obtaining in price sold at and goods received in return 20 per cent higher than the Onedias sold for; which difference was too great an object to pass over, when less prices was offered by characters who are not worth the difference Viz. Cunoqua Consequa and Nuequa; and Ponquas punctuality in every respect towards me leads me to believe the goods will be as good as any gone from this the reason of skins bringing such a high price contrary to my expectations is, the large quantity of Boheas and Black teas now on hand which must be sacrificed if kept to another season induces the holders to take seal skins in payment from Hong Merchants who doubtless make a handsome profit.

The Barclays Cargo will consist of 450 Chests of Bohea Tea at 12T, 600 pickel Sugar at 4T 3M, 150 Chests Souchong Tea at 36T, some little Hyson at 45T, about 150 Tons freight at 100D per Ton; the said Ship cannot make much, but you can readily see here size is nearly 20,000D advantage in America, presumeing she will take nearly 200 Tons over and above her Cargo.

I receive from Barney 700D for doing his business, and 350D for factory hire whereby I am benefitted 1,050D; which circumstance may introduce something of more importance to me it was his own proposition.

Mr. Snow quits this year in the John Jay he deposes me as vice Consul, and any business coming to his hands will be jointly transacted by Mr. Oliver and myself for our mutual benefit. I shall write you more fully when the business is settled till then say nothing

about it if you please. it is uncertain whether I see you these four or five years.

All I want to compleat my fortune in 12 months is such a Ship as the Jenny well coperd to send from this to Valperez and Guoquimbo [*in the margin: on coast of Chili*], with such goods as this market affords, and was she here in good order, I should certainly send her a sealing and elsewhere. if Barney had 10,000 pairs of silk stockings he might have brought down here 70,000*D* Specie what I say is a fact, cotton stockings are excellent Irish linens Muslins etc. etc. Cotton goods other than mentiond wont do, but one or two Vessells from New York haveing made from 30,000*D* Invoice Sales to Amount of 130,000*D* will sett all America afloat. therefore If I had a Vessell here every advantage could be taken. A Ship is expected instantly from that quarter with 130,000.

By the enclosed Letter you will see the progress of the Pacificks crew on Massafuero. dont send such Vessells its with difficulty she kept the Iseland at all times looseing to much time, but copperd Ships then I can undertake something for you from this. It is probable I may contract for her cargo previous to her arrival.

An English North West Ship has arrived with 2,200 Skins Cap. Duffin, he touchd at Owyhee but nothing from the Schooner, and I am sorry to be under the necessity of saying that I never expect to hear of her; An English Company Ship the Earl Talbot Commander Dempster has been missing about 3 months she was in the same Gale Bowers was, and am fearful the Rover is founderd, as may be the case of the Talbot. Send no American Dollars there is 10 Per Cent loss.

Please give the enclosed note to Andrew.

The certificate may be serviceable.

The Neptune was detaind 28 days for want of Cargo.

Cap. Simmons of Providence has arrived with 25,000 Seal Skins the Ship cant go to America she is so unworthy. his Ship makes 21 in all that have been and are now here. Nothing more material at present, remaining as usual Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR .

Original per the Fame Jones to Philadelphia Duplicate per the Jane Yard

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. WILLIAM ROTCH, JR., & COMPANY

Canton, January 10th 1801

GENTLEMEN, I have the pleasure to announce to you the safe arrival on the 29th Ult. of your Ship Barclay, Cap. G. Barney, with about forty four thousand Seal Skins, sold at 85 Cents Per Skin, except about five thousand salted at 70 Cents always in that state being less valuable; I have the pleasure to say the skins are sold 20 Per Cent better than the Ship Oneidias of Connecticut which Vessell arrived 3 days before the Barclay; my most sanguine expectations led me to believe before the Vessells arrival they would bring only 50 to 60 Cents, the high price is imputiable to nothing else than the large quantities of Bohea and Black Teas now on hand, which have not been demanded much this season, and should they be kept would become less valuable next.

The Net Sales of the Barclays cargo will be about 33,000 Dollars, exclusive of Cap. Barneys Commission peoples and others shares, which sum will give about 450 Chests of Bohea Tea at 12 Tale per pickel, 150 Chests of Souchong Tea at 36 Tale per pickel, 600 pickel of Sugar at 4 T 3 M , some little Hyson at 45 Tale.

The Barclay will take independent of her cargo for owners account perhaps 150 Tons on freight at 100 D per Ton payable in America, together with her arriving here this season is in my opinion better than tho she came next with 75,000 Skins, the annual call being only about 100,000 Skins at a price enabling the procurers to make anything worthy the undertaking.

Having resided here already 18 months enables me to say I have obtained a knowledge of the method of transacting busines here, as well as the characters of the Merchants composing the Hong, and should you adventure this way to my address rely upon my best exertions for the promotion of your interest; thinking it very probable I may remain here some years, but certainly untill this time next year.

The markets here are very fluctuating, nothing answering here from America except Ginseng the lowest sales of which this season for goods clean yellow and solid roots has been 200 C per pickel of 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ lbs.

Should you wish to make yourselves acquainted with the prices of this market, together with many observations which may be service-

able I refer you to my brothers Mess. Joseph and John Dorr of Boston who will with pleasure communicate every information.

You will excuse the liberty I now take in addressing you being an entire stranger, but rendering Cap. Barney my assistance is the only apology; when the Barclay is loaded I shall forward you a copy of my Accounts etc. with him, as well as Bill of Lading of her cargo. it is probable she will sail in 15 days, when I shall do myself the pleasure of writing again. in the interim believe me to be with respect your friend and Humble Servant

S. DORR

N.B. There is a loss of 10 Per Cent on American Dollars here.

Original per the Fame Jones to Philadelphia Duplicate per the Jane Yard

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, January 26, 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, I last wrote per the Fame and Jane duplicate per the latter Via Philadelphia under date 10th Inst. this goes by the Barclay Cap. G. Barney who will deliver you S.D. Number 1-4 four Boxes China, one sett of China for my Father which he shall choose, the ornamental Urns for him, also my miniature for him, the other tea sett China for my sister Elizabeth, the box of flower pots for Lucretia, a furr trimmed, silk quilted coat for my sister Abigail, should it not fit for Elizabeth, should it not fit Elizabeth for Lucretia, all which articles please present in my name. the China cost about 28*D* which is mentiond in case you make entry. Cap. Barney is loaded and ready to depart Ponqua used me and him as well as could be expected.

The Clothier is at Macao, detaind for want of Cargo. she is from Baltimore and Lima with 140,000 specie Cap. Cambell commands her. he left Edes there who was carried there from an out port after laying 4 months was orderd away and if found in those seas after 3 months more was liable to condemnation his Spanish pass taken away and other given him. it may be false Barney thinks so. they had no idea of condemning or did they distress him. I expect him in 3 months.

On the 21 the Ship Alexander arrived here from the Northwest Coast; the day before their arrival at Macao the guns were orderd to

be loaded the gunner went to the arm Chest (in the evening it happend) for to get something where the charges of all their guns was, being put there after drawing the same at Owbye. candle fell from the place he put or stuck it, into said Chest among the carter-ages, which took fire communicateing to Shepherds state room where was two Barrels Powder which also exploded bursting up the Quarter deck killing two men and wounding several among the rest Shepherd, and one man took to the yawl whats become of him cant say. Dodge has conducted very curiously first putting men on Ambrosia Islands, then staying 5 Weeks at the Sandwich Islands behaveing licentiously there, getting on the coast late, finally quitting there could not get down to the Islands to take his men off, concluding by jumping overboard when he was drown'd. in fact his whole conduct seems to have proceeded from a disorderd brain shewing on the Voyage evident marks of lunacy; the Alexander has about 980 Skins, a flemish business as I before intimated, they want me to do their business. Shepherd has a soft pate and Bass is not much better. To compleat their distress, Cap. Simmons of Providence sold his Ship putting his skins on board the Alexander which circumstance lays them under the necessity of paying double duty, and stopping their business a long time, which is too valuable at this moment. and permit me to say putting cargo from Ship to Ship at Macao can't be done without trouble to those who remain here. and do report in the prints the necessity a Ship is under of having Cargo when she comes to this Country a few tons of anything that is merchantable will do to report with. the Clothier has been detain'd 12 days.

Having nothing material more to say than that I am Consular Agent here, and that the John Jay, Barclay, Neptune Onedia and Jean sail about or at the same time, all which Ships I hope may arrive safe, this meeting you in health as it leaves me finding all friends well to whom make my best respects believing me to be Affectionately Your Brother

S. DORR

Nothing of poor Davison.

SULLIVAN DORR TO THE OWNERS OF THE SHIP *ALEXANDER**Canton, January 28, 1801*

GENTLEMEN, On the 15th Inst. your Ship *Alexander* arrived at Macao from the Northwest Coast of America; and I am sorry to be under the necessity of saying a terrible accident happend the evening previous to her arrival, Viz. the gunner of the Ship went to the arm Chest with a candle for some purpose or another where was deposited the charges of the Ships guns, which was drawn sometime previous. unfortunately the candle fell among the cartridges which took fire, at the same time communicateing to two Barrels of powder which were in Cap. Shepherds stateroom. the explosion bursted up the Quarter deck wounding several men among whom was the Captain (tho not dangerously) two of which men have since died; one took to the yawl in his fright, and has not since been heard of. the damage done the Ship will require some time to repair and very considerable expense too much considering the small collection of Skins as well as the low price they now bear here.

Capt. Shepherd took from on board the Ship *Enterprise* at Macao about 24,000 seal Skins, which skins were put on board the *Alexander* for the purpose of saveing the expense of Measurement and Comeshaw which would have arrisen on the *Enterprise* had the Ship come to Whampo, which circumstance the Hoppo was informd of and for which intended evasion of Measurement he demands it twice on the *Alexander* the second Measurement however is to be borne by Cap. Simmons of the *Enterprise* whose Ship was in such a condition as not to be navigated to America in consequence thereof he sold her at Macao for 2,700*D* the Measurement and Comeshaw will amount to about 3,200*D*; the business is yet undecided and the *Alexander* not secured owing to the above circumstance; there is only two Merchants who make any offers and these not men of the first character Viz. Nuequa and Ponqua the former fail'd last year; but does business again. the latter has done more business of late than ever and with more credit to himself than heretofore, and seems to be the only one with whom the Ships business can be done. neither of the above named men can nor will I pledge myself for; that is they will give good goods, but shall use my best exertions to procure them good Cap. Shepherd and Mr. Bass having put the Ship and business into my hands, and rely upon my best exertions for the

promotions of your interest. Ponqua offers 19½ dollars for the skins (about 1,000 pieces) payable in Bohea Tea at 12*T*, Hyson 55*T*, Souchong 38*T*, Sugar 4*T* 5*M*, in which articles it is probable the proceeds of the Skins will be invested; it being impossible to procure more than 14*D* or 15*D* in cash and at this moment very uncertain that, for there is now here a cargo which cannot be sold unless at a sacrifice; neither can silks be had for the skins, because they are a drug here now, owing (the Chinese say) to internal commotions; it makes much against the skins there being nearly 200 of Cotsacks, upon every piece of Skin composing one of them the Merchants has to pay full duty for Viz. about 1*T* 3*M* 3*C* so that had there not have been so many it is probable they would have brought 21*D* per Skin, and am sorry to say at best your Voyage or adventure in the Alexander cannot prove lucrative.

It is a misfortune Cap. Dodge put these men on Ambrosio Island and his remaining some weeks at the Sandwich Islands instead of proceeding to the Coast direct in which case it is more than probable he would have obtain'd 2,000 Skins; his end and every circumstance put together seems to discover that at an early hour of the Voyage his mind was disorderd; as you doubtless are informed he threw himself overboard and was drownd, on his passage from the Coast, in a fit of lunacy.

It is probable the Alexander may depart from this in about six weeks her repairs occasioning some delay.

The men left by Cap. Dodge a sealing on Ambrosio procured about 12,000 Skins which with the men were taken off by Cap. Brintnall of the Ship Oneida of New Haven Connecticut and brought here at one half for freight payable in America the skins were sold at seventy five Cents each.

In hopes this will meet you in safety and well is the wish of Your Friend and Humble Servant

S. DORR

Original per the Onedia Duplicate per the Jean

SULLIVAN DORR TO CAPTAIN CAMPBELL

Consular Office Canton, February 18, 1801

SIR, Agreeable to the regulations desired to be establishd within this district by the President of the United States of America, I

now annex for your information and government the following extract from instructions to Consuls.

The Master or Consignee of every American Vessel that shall enter at any of the ports within the district of Canton is hereby desired to make a report at the Consular office specifying the name and burthen of each Vessel of what description she is (to wit Ship, Snow, Brigantine etc.) the name of the Master and Owners and number of Seamen, the port of the United States from which she clear'd, places touch at, her cargo outward and inward and Owners thereof, the port to which she is bound and time of arrival and departure, the whole arranged in a table under different columns, to which your attention is requested by Sir Your very humble Servant

S. DORR *Consular Agent of
the United States of America*

SULLIVAN DORR TO THE OWNERS OF THE SHIP *ALEXANDER*

Canton, March 7, 1801

GENTLEMEN, I last addressed you under date of 28 January via New Haven and Philadelphia, since when every exertion has been used in dispatching your Ship *Alexander* under the circumstances she then laboured together with the then approaching new year it was impossible to make greater dispatch. I have the pleasure now to say she is in readiness to sail.

In my last you were informd that the Alexanders collection of skins were about 1,000 Pieces, which I am sorry to say proves not to be the case, amounting only to eight hundred and sixty one skins or equal to that number at nineteen dollars and one half each skin. I was led to believe there was so many as mentiond in my last from the information of Cap. Shepherd Jr. who erroneously thought that every piece counted as or for a prime skin which makes a material difference. besides fifty of the cotsacks were much damaged in consequence of their not being overhauled from the package which containd them, independent of which twenty three skins were stolen after the accident happend which Cap. Shepherd informd me were known to be on board Ship when she arrived at Macao, supposed to be taken by some of the seamen, so that the number of skins really landed here is one hundred and thirty nine less than you had reason to believe there would have been. there is also one barrel of ginseng

missing of which I know nothing. the other Cask was very poor. I now enclose you Invoice and Bill Lading of the Alexanders cargo shipped for your Account, Account of advance wages, Disbursements, Compedore Accounts and my account Current with you etc. by which several accounts you will perceive every expense exhibited, which has arrisen and are very heavy, the accident which happend to the Alexander making them more particularly so. however you may rest assured that oeconomy has been studied in every instance at least reccommended to the officers of the Ship, notwithstanding what has been expended the cabbins is unfinished for want of time and its being inconsistent with oeconomy, which repairs if to be borne by the underwriters can be compleated in America.

Capt. Dodge when last here gave a note in behalf of the then Owners for silks and money had of Conseequa Security Merchant amounting to about 235*D* with Interest at 15 Per cent from date there is also a small note given Nuequa for one hundred dollars upon the same terms, which two notes I did not think proper to pay but would notice if the owners of the Alexander know anything of such notes, it would be well if the Amount and interest is remitted unless the Credit of our Countrymen will suffer here 'tis pittty it should for so small an amount.

You will perceive by my account Current there was a balance due of sixty seven dollars and 68/100ths which sum was paid Cap. Shepherd Jr. to meet some few after expenses.

Not haveing anything more material to say only to hope that the Alexander will meet you in safety the cargo proveing good and my transactions meet your approbation and any future undertaking arrive to a more successfull maturity, I remain most Cordially Gentlemen Your Friend and Humble Servant

S. DORR

P.S. There is about 30 Tons of freight on board the Alexander at 80 dollars per Ton, the best price that could be obtaind.

Should my account be free of Error please note it accordingly.

S. DORR

*Original per the Alexander Shepherd Duplicate per the Betsey Brown
Triplicate via Baltimore Ship Clothier*

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, February 25th 1801

DEAR BROTHER, The preceeding letter [*in the margin*: February dated (for which look into file)] was written to Em. Desouza at Macao in consequence of my suspicions that the Vessell namd therein was the Rover Davison or some other Vessel on board of whom or which Vessel some foul conduct had been playd; the letter was not forwarded in consequence of my getting satisfactory information from a person who was on board of her, a few days since who can have no interest to misrepresent circumstances. he says it is a Vessell of about 100 Tons say a Brig Cap. Dallas ladend with sandal wood spice etc., and is of very little value. the Vessell never has been up to the Boca Tigris nor has she any Frenchmen on board but is a real Englishman from Amboyania. the reason of her remaining so long at Macao say 8 or 10 days is that the Captain is delirious and no order kept on board, and her cargo will little more than pay port charges; should the Vessell had have been the Rover I should have ascertaind how and why she came in that situation or under English Colours, and used proper means to have had her seized which means I know how to use here, but I have never had of late any reasons to think but that she is cut off or founderd which is a very misfortune to you and Rogers and I hope you had her cargo insured from any information received by me from Cap. Bowles and forwarded you, the prospects of her makeing 40 or 50,000D clear profit was almost certain had she arrived here safe and went to you in that manner. let me spare your feelings by not dwelling any more upon a subject which cant but be disagreeable to you and me, only observing it may be possible (and is my only hope) that she fell to leeward and was dismasted at about the change of the monsoon and has gone to Malacca which I hope may prove true. instant information or arrivals is expected from that quarter. that my wishes and hopes may be confirmd is my sincere desire.

You will notice that there is another consignment of Bohea Tea per the Alexander to you from my friend J. Oliver for particulars I refer you to bill of Lading and Invoice of the same, in the sale of which you will doubtless exert yourself, and you may expect a continuance of consignments from him and me, more particularly from me when I know our markets are very good. at present I esteem them

otherwise and make little or no Shipments. you must give me correct information, and when I see an opening shall adventure largely. perhaps that opening may not arrive these some years but when it does I am in hopes in one season to make my fortune, which is a very grand inducement for me to stay, together with many ships from sealing Voyages which I have certain information almost of coming to my hands each of which Vessell will bring me from 500 to 1,000 profit which in a few years of itself will give me no small sum. at present however I shall keep all monies remitted me and all Commission and profit of any kind and to speculate upon here and pay my debts, which amount to 14,600*D* which amount I expect will be met by my Commission and the sales of duck and cordage I now have on hand before it comes due, upon which I expect to make 1,100*D* Profit, no small sum without advancing a Cash, which Duck and Cordage will all sell by the time my engagement becomes due for it. if not remittances from you will enable me to do it. even if that fails I have friends who will advance money. I hope you will let no opportunity slip without remitting me as much as you can even if 1,000*D* only, the same with Mr. Oliver.

I have promised to stay here untill January 1802 uncertain how much longer. by that time such things and undertakings will be developed to me that I shall know what determination to enter into which determination shall be made known in such season that you and our family and friends will be able to conduct accordingly. by things and undertakings I mean what is undertaken by our family and friends that may influence my determination.

Mr. Snow left this about one month since and deputed me as his Consular Agent and Oliver and myself are jointly to transact the business of any Ships which come to his immediate address at $\frac{2}{3}$ s of the Commission allowed Snow was he here, which may produce something, but I apprehend and mean to decline doing any business where I am under the necessity or it is required that I am to become responsible for any Credits to be raised, because it will militate against my interest ten fold more than the Commission will be profitable, precluding the possibility of raising any for my own account, and should the Concerns fail I am dishd at once the Chinamen siezing me; it is not meant that this should extend to our family for rely upon it I am under no apprehensions should they want a Credit here and will and can raise it easily more particularly upon a money Ship.

I live in No. 3 American hong, the house belongs to me the building of which was and is a fine thing for me clearing this last season first cost and ground rent all to 100D so that it cost me only 100D next rent is clear gain. The American flag is displayd here in front of the factories that and the nature of my office brings many to consult with me old enough to teach me themselves, and I assure you the dignity which the consulate attaches to me makes me feel ha! ha! ha! (read this to Sam I know he will enjoy it) however you rely upon the propriety of my conduct.

In hopes the Jenny, Barclay, and all my goods have met you safe and well, and that you'll remember me to our family and friends I remain Affectionately Your Brother

S. DORR

per the Clothier Campbell

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, February 28, 1801

DEAR FRIEND, I had the pleasure to receive your much esteemd favour per Pitot on the 6 Inst. dated 2nd off Linting and one date 3d then off Macao also yours of the 24th Ult. date Canton received at same time. Yours of 2nd In. addressed to Mr. Oliver and myself relates principally to the Factories and Commission business. all the monies accruing from those quarters will be applid to the reduceing of your note to Mouqua, except the small sums which will be appropriated to other uses as you desire; and in general you may expect a literal compliance with your several intimations containd in yours of the 2d Inst. except that part which relates to your No. 1 factory and excuse us if we never ask the sum you therein wish we may Viz. 1,200 dollars per Ship thinking it will operate to your disadvantage you well knowing that no factory brings that sum. mere necessity on the part of the hirer will enable us to obtain so much, and it is not often such seasons as the past happens for hiring factories there seldom being 40 Sail at one time here as lately was the case. rest assured however that upon all occasions we shall take every advantage respecting the same, and act as tho they were our own. I shall not exchange factories upon the terms proposed rather living in my own at an annual expense of 400D only, studying oeconomy which I have no doubt you see the propriety of and will applaud.

In yours of 3d Inst. off Macao was enclosed your Letter of Agency to me as your Consular Agent, and copies of your Letters patent and standing instructions to Consuls for my government all duly authenticated, Also your Letter of 24th Ult. dated at Canton pointing out the line I am to pursue in the official way, which being plain and easy shall endeavour to comply with the meaning and intent of the same, and believe me to be possessed of grateful sentiments towards you for the many and repeated acts of confidence which you have placed in me particularly the present instance, and I hope that my attention to your concerns here committed to me will evince to you that it is not misplaced.

Your Memo. of furniture etc. in the factory No. 1 is right except you omitted scales and weights, safe, rattan couch and your writing desk chair. the Compedore claims some few small articles of your Memo. which are of little or no consequence.

The memo. of Lambs property left with you cannot now attend to but shall barter the same for goods on some future day.

The English fleet arrived on the 16th five in number convoyd by a sixty four gun Ship; Off Rio Janario they engaged and capturd two french Frigates all which you must hear sooner than this can reach.
• No Americans yet.

I hope never to hear of your comeing this way again foregoing the presence of your family and friends, considerations too dear to part with unless necessity demands it which I pray may never be the case with you particularly to such a wretched country as this where ones thoughts are continually occupied in looking into his unhappiness arrising from an absence from those he loves; remember your farm and those rural delights you so often promised yourself on your return, a recollection of which I hope will dampen and [*sic*] desire you may have of quitting them and yours to come to these delightful regions.

Should you see our friend Mr. Barry make my cordial remembrance to him, also have the goodness not to forget the Doctor, Cap. Dexter, Mr. Wm. Malbone and all our Providence friends. hoping that you may meet all your friends and family well I remain Your friend truly

S. DORR

March 4th. Cap. Cambell objected to taking No. 4 Factory, it

being too small. rather than lose the rent I let him take No. 2 at 400*D*. he was offerd a front one for 300*D* by one who you well know, and has factories to let.

Should it not militate against your wishes, perhaps I may seek for the Consulship at this place when I do shall request my Brothers Mess. Joseph and John Dorr of Boston to announce to you their intention (if consistent with your wishes) of so doing not doubting you will give me your support or voice.

I have written the Governour of Macao for permission to go there, to which he has made no reply, and Mr. De Souza who deliverd my Letter says I shall not, and it is out of the power of the Government to permit me to go down and take a house, but Desouza has no doubt of his permitting me to stay there thro hospitality 2 months or so untill the season of business commences again; it is as much as to say you cannot come to Macao, because if he will not permit me to take a house what can I do. you know there is no boarding houses, whether or no If I am orderd down or wish to go shall do it and he may use his power it is just so with Mr. Shank. In consequence of the disposition of the present Governour I would thank you for to be so good as to have any future difficulties obviated by requesting our Government to obtain leave from the Court of Portugal to permit American Merchants resident here to reside at Macao during the recess of business. You may rely upon it, I cant take a house Shank was necessitated to give his up.

Not having anything more material to communicate I remain
Your Friend Cordially

S. DORR

per the Clothier Cap. Campbell

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, March 5th 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, I last wrote per the Barclay and per the Jean date January 26, 1801. since then I sent you a Letter from Edes per the John Jay and one from William per the Neptune, which I opend William perhaps not thinking me here did not write. the contents must be pleasing more so if there was a probability of skins bringing 1*D* or 1*D* 50*C*. Should Edes be on here in the first of the season say first sealer, perhaps 75*C* might be had. it is my firm be-

lief and opinion they or there will be more sold at 33C than at 60C per Skin, there being 24 Sail I know of comeing here having a list of them. I received the two letters above nam'd per the Clothier from Lima handed at a very late moment. You must not forget that part of Williams Letter wherein he says you must be as a father to his boys and two Lucindas; upon reading which I wishd myself home to perform that office myself is [*sic*] affected me so sensibly.

You see by the enclosed account Current with the Owner of the Jenny that there remains a balance due me of seventy seven dollars and 54/100ths which account if free of error you will please to book accordingly.

It is uncertain whether I go to Macao this season the Governor refuseing permission it being contrary to order however if the Grand Hoppo says yes we must go, and petition Don for permission to come on shore at Macao. If I do go down I shall be under the necessity of living different than I shall submit to he not permitting me to hire a house and there is none that receive boarders so that stay here I shall and must if possible tho I may lose my life by it. I have written Mr. Snow desireing that he would notify our government of the disposition of the Governor of Macao and desired that application might be made to the Court of Portugal for permission for our Merchants resident here that they may go down to Macao during the recess of business.

I have to desire that you will (and our family) in conjunction with Mr. Snow if not militateing against his wishes in which case I have no doubt of his supporting an application to our President for the Consulship here in my behalf. I would not wish you to do anything more than make an application jointly with Mr. Snow and no one else out of the family if that wont do I am indifferent about it by all means dont you do anything without Mr. Snows consent unless he seeks it for some one else. In doing which you will much oblige me.

I now send you corrected copy (as near as can be) of arrivals etc. here the season of 1800 and 1801, which may be of service if not amusing.

I have nothing more to say but hope this will meet you well and the family, and certain connections has taken place Viz. Joseph and Abigail and one other married, the hearing of which will certainly give my Chinawareman employ and cause happiness, and you and

all our family must believe I have their happiness at heart and remain Cordially their relation and Brother

S. DORR

Another fire lately 600,000 loss and 200 lives.

William said nothing of what was doing at Lima Strange!

Dont trouble yourselves much about the Consulship am not very ambitious about it more to my Credit than otherwise.

The English Fleet of 5 Sail arrived 18 days ago they and convoy of 64 Guns took two french frigates, as you are doubtless informed ere this off Rio Janario.

per the Clothier Cap. Campbell duplicate per the Alexander Shepherd

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, March 28th 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, My last was dated 5 Ins. per the Clothier Cap. Campbell, and Alexander Shepherd, also mine of 14th Inst. was forwarded by the latter conveyance or by Cap. Brown Brig Betsey to Boston. I two days since wrote per the Swedish Ship Queen via Sweden; mine per the Betsey and Queen were not copied by me the whole material part of which I herein shall touch upon again.

The letter per the Queen announced the safe arrival of the Perseverance Cap. Wheatland from our town handing me yours of 11, 14, 16 and 24 June and 1 September 1800, all which afford me a source of pleasure which at this moment was little expected; and are the only letters received except those Via Manilla acknowledged in mine of November 9, 1800, and one per the Jenny, also your introductory letters to Barney. the secrecy of China Voyages not admitting that you should know of their destination is the reason why I have not received any more, and many that you have written have not come to hand.

I now shall notice the important parts of your several letters above nam'd and would notice that the detention of Mr. Barneys money did not a little chagrin me particularly after the arrival of the John Jay, but secrecy as before observed renderd it impossible to know her destination on your part, and you may rely that the circumstance made no ill impression on Mr. Barney who will have personally convinced you ere this. let me recommend that your [*sic*] cor-

respond with my friend Snow Esqr. who will give you every information of Vessells destind this way.

I am sorry that the success of the Nancy was such as to induce me to make the offer of a refund which was sincere rest assured.

It is gratifying to hear that the several little things sent home are pleasing and hope those per the Jenny may prove so.

To shew you what a sum would have been lost by me had it not have been for the Commission from Barney, Alexander etc. accidents not then calculated upon a Statement of my business is annexed to discover how it will stand supposing I bear what was charged Owners Ship Jennys expenses since, and what will arrise if I go to Macao.

<i>Credit</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Debit</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>C</i>
Commission on Jennys Sales	1,056.25		If you should think proper		
Commission on Barclays	700.		to charge my account		
Commission on Frances	111.		with the sum Chargd		
Commission on Alexanders	452.50		Owners of the Jenny		
After Sales Jennys Cargo	24.92		being Amount of Factory expenses per account		
					*1,017.50
Building my house and rent			Personal expense for the		
last year cost 1,250 <i>D</i>			year past		680.
Gain without noting Interest and repairs That is to say rented for 1,150 <i>D</i>			Factory expense since Jennys departure in which Amount is 6 or 8 Months supply of Wines etc.		
700 <i>D</i> of 1st Cost		700.			900.
Discount of moneys received from the above quarters used in paying some notes		200.	Should I be under the necessity of going to Macao inevitable expence		*1,000.
Sum partly and probably to be made on a speculation of duck cordage etc. etc.		1,000.	Go or no Compadore's account for 8 Months to Come		300.
		\$4,244.67	Deduct the 300 uncertain how much		
					<u>\$3,897.50</u>

Thus you see if I do incur * expense, my earnings will not meet or pay my expenses, or only about 650*D* more too trifling a sum for to engage my attention here. at the same time it is hard that my expenses should be borne by you, and every expense since the 30th November 1800 and what may arise hereafter, I shall bear myself, and do agree to abide by your decision about the 1,017½ Dollars, and the only charges upon your Vessels to me, will be as is usual a Commission factory hire etc. it is not so much the object of a Commission or Consignments that induce me to stay here as the opportunity which the coming season will give probably of making large Shipments jointly with a Hong Merchant to great profit without any advances. your letters however will entirely influence me. any goods sent will be coarse teas etc. if freight is cheap say 50*D* or 75*D* per Ton.

Rely upon it I have a great deal of idle time upon my hands the getting through which is distressing, being from friends and home. if anything can be done rely upon it such opportunity shall be improved if without sacrifice of my honesty being frequently offered money to secure Ships or influence supercargoes to secure certain Hong Merchants, I receiving 4,000*D* if my counsel is taken and the Ship secured, but such damnable practices is not followed by me, and If I cannot make a livelihood without it, home I come knowing well how pleasing a good conscience is even in poverty, and I shall expose publicly any one who I can prove guilty of such practices, which have been practiced here too often. I set my face entirely against it not choosing to sell or see my Countrymen sold.

I had the pleasure to hear a Gentleman say that Cap. Barney informed him that he never paid a Commission with more pleasure and satisfaction to himself than the one paid me. I hope he may not say otherwise to you.

I am sorry your chagrin did not influence you to omit the Northwest business the present season, only sending one ship for information or so, because you can see the number of skins collected last season, when there was only 6 Sail enabled them barely to save themselves, in fact 2 only make money Bowers and Boles; Alexander Betsy; Dove and Nautilus Englishmen. at least the first and two last named loose money (Alexander Dove and Nautilus) therefore from last seasons collection you must know that only 5 or 6 can make anything, and unless Jonathan and Samuel A. Dorr get on first you

lose money, particularly as there is a probability of skins bringing only 16 to 20D, tho it is quite uncertain but I think shall obtain 20D in barter of Ponqua.

Samuel had have better attended to his studies I would have given $\frac{1}{3}$ my earnings sooner than have seen him go Otter hunting. it must prove a losing Voyage. should she or Littilla want cargo shall load them for Owners account without otherwise orderd.

You charge me with neglect in not giving information respecting trade for the Northwest Coast, in reply to which I have to refer you to my letter of 3 October 99 to our father November 3 to Joseph and John Dorr and January 21st 1800 all which mention some thing about trade. had I supposd that Breck and Crocker did not then write as they promised should have been more particular. relying on them together with my troubles at that time is the reason why I said no more, and you might have concluded had I have known more should have given it you.

I shall send no more sugars unless as ballast A. C. Dorr and Joseph find much fault.

When I spoke of the Hancocks cargo neting as much or more profit than the India packets it was meant upon the outfits. Of the quality of her cargo you say nothing, but I hope it is good. Andrew says it is ordinary or some part of it he expressed himself as tho not certain of its being so.

If I was to search into the conduct of and destination every paltry runaway sailor such as Lawson I should have nothing else to do.

I believe no ship ever met greater dispatch than the Jenny, for in 23 days after I saw Bowers the Ships accounts were deliverd him, and had it not have been for that stupid Long he would have gone to sea on the 25th day. You may always expect dispatch on my part and if the Ships arrive here soon so it is probable they may with you. Crocker in doing what he did at Massafuero offended Barney if anybody, who laughed at me for offering compensation for the kettle casks etc. etc. saying he deserted them to the use of anyone.

In my memo. for the cargoes of the Hancock and Dispatch it is true I made a great error, but am happy you notice none in my accounts meaning they shall always be correct. it was a mere memo. of prices only for your amusement.

My blunder in the Ginseng business was owing to false information from Snow and others who ought have known better but am

happy it is finally settled, and should Munson wish to send more it can be brought up without danger, breach of law etc. as well as other cargo tell him so if you please. however in consequence of the large quantities brought of that and unclarified it has fallen to 17*D* to 25*D* per Catty common about 160 per pickel so that he may not choose to adventure.

As it was had Bowers studied policy and not retaliated up the sound probably he would have got 6 to 800 more skins, by instead of shooting the Indian who attempted his life passed it over and encouraged trade.

I am happy to hear the little presents please sent by the Eliza Hancock and Dispatch and hope some more by the Jenny and Barclay will also meet you in safety, and you may assure Eliza that her desire for my face shall be gratified by this conveyance if possible. thinking before the demand might increase I sent one by Barney ha! ha! ha!

The 11 dollars paid Waters is right, but I thought he was ashamed to ask it, because the expense of a chop boat must have been incurred by them whether my goods came up or no.

Am happy to hear our old father has taken a journey south with Henry, which must have afforded them both amusement and am glad Henrys sickness was mending.

I truly sympathise with John for the loss of his little son who I knew not. he must derive his consolation from this reflection, that there is a moral certainty of his having gone to an eternity of happiness, also by being favoured with another son who I pray may be a lasting happiness and comfort.

As there will probably be a great many empty Ships here this season shall improve the opportunity and make Shipments of Bohea Tea if freight can be had at 50*D* to 75*D* per Ton of which I have no doubt and if the Boheas sell for $\frac{2}{3}$ in America, I getting freight as above shall make 20 to 50 Per Cent profit and should they reach the price you intimate 45*C* shall make my fortune.

C M

Cost of 1 lb. Bohea at 12 <i>T</i> 12½ per lb.	33.4	Cost
Freight at 50 <i>D</i> per Ton	5	38
Duties	12	4.6
Insurance 10%	1.2½ mills	Profit = 35% about

ditto money out	1.2 1/2
Commission Wharf Storage	
etc. in America 5%	6
Commission on Charges 5%	8
Cents	33.4 Mills

So that my speculation should one be made will prove lucrative more particularly so if Bohea brings 45C. at all events shall ship some, knowing no one can under sell any one who shall hold my teas in America.

I think the capture of the Ariadne was in time particularly as you will not loose much, and you may set it down a good loss if you will allow the expression.

I am happy to notice your Northwest men are copperd, because I place almost as much confidence in the good sailing of the ship as the conduct of the commander but all their exertions will in my opinion produce little, unless they meet with signal good fortune. the greatest collections ever made in one season was 11,300 skins or equal to that number divide that among 20 Sail amounts to about 650 [*in the margin: 560 only which makes it worse yet*] per Ship which at 17D gives 11,050 dollars deduct charges and leaves about 6,000D for cargo. how many will make money? why those 2 or 3 who get on first! notwithstanding ill luck you had better keep a Vessell going annually, cheaply fitted for information etc. if you save yourselves only, and when a good time arrives push the trade briskly, for the sufferers this year will be so many you may perhaps hereafter have the trade mostly to yourselves.

Eben thinks I had better stay here. perhaps I may 5 Years but if I can ship largely of teas upon the principles of calculation the other side this sheet shall more than probable come home to see the event of such speculation.

If you would consider the double mortification that would result in case of loss by omitting Insurance to so late a moment I am sure you would effect it seasonably unless you are determind to stand your own underwriters. remember the 35,000D on the Jenny, cutting that. am glad the Hancock run clear.

I cannot but express my gratitude to the Owners of the Hancock for their liberality and kindness in presenting the Amount of my freight in said Vessell to me, which is exceeding handsome, and

should they when I come home make farther offers as intimated in yours of 1st September it would imply a want of sense I just expressed was felt towards them and wound me exceedingly never desiring or shall I receive anything farther.

After what you have said although I see evident fortune in the undertaking shall never alter the destination of any your Ships. when I spoke of sending the Jenny to Europe it was only for amusement and to show you my opinion of the markets there at the time she would have got there.

The ship you intend sending to the Northwest Coast to give new trade and receive the others collections will prove a losing business for you if that is the sole motive. you must not expect otherwise than loss this season. I hope you will send her to the main for dollars and then the coast to this.

Sending the Dispatch to Vera Cruz is too distant from this to make a Voyage and return here. should it be your desire I should like to send her from this to Lima Guokimba or Valperez with quicksilver and to go directly into port without smuggling. as you say the quicksilver will insure her safety, and probably sell well particularly as the Spaniards have had their fleet taken going that way lately.

At one moment you say "if I tarry in Canton this season it is probable that business will amply compensate you, and that amidst the general misfortunes which must result from the Outfits of the present year and last to the Northwest Coast you may be much advantaged, and able in some degree perhaps to retrieve by judicious use of experience the disadvantages which may attend our Interest in particular coming that way" how can I mend the misfortunes of a bad Voyage you say I must not alter the destination of your Vessels, of course they must go home I using no discretion which hurts me to think you have so little confidence in me or my judgement; however if the Dispatch belongs to my father solely shall venture upon her if a good opportunity presents; he told me after weighing every thing maturely and could see a good chance of making anything handsome to improve it which I shall certainly do. And it is astonishing to me after you was sensible that the outfits to the Northwest would prove a general misfortune, you should have sent two Vessels and about dispatching the third to the Coast; if raising credits to fill your Vessels will do any good you may rely upon it.

You say nothing of Salter Bruce and Carnes etc. poor Lamb has

been exceeding unfortunate. it appears to me that Salter and Bruce merited by our Laws death. they are very Scoundrels. Shepherd of the Alexander is a Jackass do not listen about giving him employ. Young Warner is a good young fellow but wants to be taught his duty by a better man than Dodge. the puppy left the Alexander in charge of the sailors with a chop along side to come up to Canton, in consequence of the inclosed note. The best way is to get good officers who understand stowing a cargo when it will come out in good order, and room be saved in the Ship to more Amount than his wages; to get good men they must have handsome pay; the single instance of Long is convincing proof of the necessity of their being such.

I shall remember you to Edes and William certainly, and am very happy to hear his wife is agreeably situated, and the children taken care of.

30th. I am just this moment informd that the Ship Diana Jared Gardner arrived at Manilla the 31 January and will sail from thence the 1 April with a Cargo of Sugar 1st Sort at 5\$ and Indigo at 80D per hundred lbs.

April 14th. The Perseverance Bohea cost 12T, Hyson 40T, Skin 22T, prime Souchong 28T, Nankins 45D to 53D per hundred silks 1D less per piece than any (generally) sent this last season, sewing silks black and colours 4D Catty of which articles her cargo is composed to amount of 170,000 Dollars.

I could now load a Ship with excellent Souchongs at 22T and 26T Congo 18T, Confeu 14T, no fine green teas now at market, common rubarb 35T. I have contracted for 30,000 pieces Nankins, 10,000 2nd Sort at 42 dollars, 20,000 1st Sort 46 dollars per hundred deliverable in 6 months paying in advance about 3,000 dollars upon which contract I hope to make 1,800 to 2,000 dollars.

22nd. I know of nothing more to say than that I am very heavy of heart, every body quitting this for Macao in a few days, when there will be left no European, left no Physician should I be sick it might prove fatal, for want of necessary application. Then again I am not permitted to go down to Macao; but must thinking in fact being informd that the Governor will connive at it. I dont like sneaking as Oliver has getting Dutch and Spanish to intercede for him. putting all those things together and the expenses attending upon the

jaunt makes it very disagreeable. however my health is excellent at present and has been which I hope may be continued.

I send some little presents as per Memo. accompanying which I hope may meet you safe and prove pleasing, wishing that my ability was greater.

You will please make my love to our Good father and Mother sisters and brothers whom I hope this may meet in health. do not forget the little ones and all my friends to whom please remember me and believe me to be most Cordially Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Perseverance Wheatland Duplicate via England Ship Exeter

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, April 10th 1801

DEAR BROTHER, My last was dated 25th February per the Clothier Cap. Cambell via Baltimore, since when I have had the unexpected pleasure to receive yours of 28th June 30 August and September 1, 1800 per the Perseverance Cap. Wheatland with your remittance of five thousand dollars, and let me observe it was very seasonable and I beg of you never to let a few per Cent influence you in making remittances, for the small sum which you have now sent will enable me to make handsome advantages at least, tho I cannot make any Shipments now, yet can speculate. The letters receivd by Wheatland are the only ones from you that has reachd since my departure.

I am happy that the wine Sales is pleaseing. I also feel particularly pleased to think the Ginseng business is entirely settled to Mr. Munson's Satisfaction.

I am sorry to say it will (I think) be out of my power to execute your order for knicknacks out of funds arrising from the Rovers cargo, which vessell it is more than probable is lost tho as yet have not heard from Malaca to which place it is possible she may have been driven. I sincerely hope she may yet appear.

You think Bohea will command 40C if so I make large Shipments by the many empty Sealers who will be in here. for particular calculations (and many other observations) about Bohea Tea which

it is unnecessary to repeat here I refer you to Joseph and John Dorr's letter from me per this conveyance.

I cannot but feel happy when you say the small things selected for presents are pleaseing.

At all times you may expect inferior goods for Otter Seal or any other Skins and cargo, unless you accept the price at which they can be consolidated into money or receive goods in exchange at an extravagant price, so as to make the difference bear between the price of goods barterd with a Hong Merchant and the real cash price of teas, so that in barter one generally loses in quality what he gets in price in fact much more. I have expressd myself to this purpose many times; I feel sorry to think the Hancock and Dispatch cargo is old tho I new it was partly so at the time. it was my only alternative to take what I did or keep the Ships here. however if they fetch the prices quoted am pleased. Joseph and John Dorr say nothing of the quality of the cargoes. I will repeat once for all that I never will promise good goods for skins unless I am allowed to sell them at 14D to some men, when others will give 20D which last sum I think the best and shall accept the highest offer thinking my influence is such here as to obtain good goods now and hereafter, tho I do not promise unless I have the money.

It is owing to the Ignorance of those who stowed the Ships cargoes, that they were injured by the sugars, foolishly putting them on top of the teas when they should have been put next the ships skin only, being properly damaged from the Teas. however shall send no more unless for ballast.

Please to send all damaged goods out under notorial seal with three or four names all attesting to the same, also of any deficiencies in Nankeens etc. sending chops or marks and China characters on or in the same. The tooth pick cases are of little consequence my servant stole them.

Saving insurance of goods on board the Hancock was a good thing. I care not how often it is done if with security to myself. I feel no uneasiness about the settlement with our father rely upon [i]t. the relinquishing the freight per the Hancock is an exceeding handsome thing. you say I wrote nothing about the Northwest trade. I refer you to mine of this date for answer to Joseph and John Dorr perhaps I have written too much and confounded you.

Your Sales is pleasing particularly of the goods per the Jenny,

and always sell my goods at a living profit if opportunity presents for remittance; what you say respecting teas being a drug confirms my former opinions that they will really be so except Bohea Tea only 4,000 in all having gone this year Perseverance included.

Shall never trouble you with small articles more. Now having noted the material parts of your several letters shall wait for something new to transpire to add.

20th. Nothing new having transpird I shall now close hoping to receive some very particular letters in the way of prices by the next direct arrival, also of my goods having met you in safety etc. and a quick sale, also that this may find you healthy and well as well as all the family and friends to whom make my love and Cordial Remembrance and believe me to be Affectionately Your Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Perseverance Wheatland Duplicate via England Ship Exeter

SULLIVAN DORR TO J. ST. KERR

Canton, April 17th 1801

DEAR SIR, Our friend Samuel Snow Esqr. departed from this country for America on the first of February last having deputed Mr. James Oliver and myself his commercial agents, and myself his official one. in consequence of which on receipt of your letter dated Manilla 20th December 1801 received the 16 Ulto. the same was opend, and am sorry to say upon trial Mr. Buenvecinos indigo could not be sold here unless at a great sacrifice which influenced him to return with the same to Manilla where he will give you a more circumstantial an account. Mr. Buenvecino did not come to Canton putting it out of my power to shew him any civilities.

I would thank you to inform Mr. P. Darvin of your city that the several letters forwarded to Mr. Snow were all duly dispatchd to their several destinations.

It would afford me pleasure to learn of any arrivals at Manilla, and should you have any letters to forward to America rely upon my attention to the same. also should you think proper to commit any business to Mr. Oliver and my direction our best exertions will be used in the execution of the same.

I shall forward your letter of 20th December to Mr. Snow per

the *Perseverance* of Salem bound to Boston commanded by R. Wheatland who sails in 10 days.

Should any Ships arrive at Manilla from Boston Northwest (my native place) I would thank you to notice to the Commander or Supercargo that I am in Canton, some of whom may be of my acquaintance from whom should be happy to hear perhaps getting something new from my family.

I would thank you to inform me the prices duck, rope Ginn and spermaceti Candles will bring with you, and generally, the goods adapted to your market from this with their current prices, it not being improbable I may adventure your way.

You will excuse the liberty I now take in addressing you, hoping you will lay your commands upon me here at the same time believe me to be very Respectfully Your Humble Servant

S. D.

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, April 18th 1801

DEAR FRIEND, I last did myself the pleasure of addressing you under date of 28th February and 4th Ultio. Via Baltimore. in a poscript to the letter I then desired you would forward my brother Mr. A. C. Dorr of Boston an instrument of conveyance of the ground upon which my factory stands, by virtue of Ponkeequas engagement with you. Since my last the Ship *Perseverance* has arrived from Boston handing me many letters from my friends and family. there was handed me one addressed to you from your friends, also one from Mr. S. Blanchard of Salem relating to a business with Twinshaw etc., the contents of which letter will point to you his object. with the letters aforementioned I now enclose a letter from Mr. F. Buenvecino whom J. St. Kerr of Manilla would introduce to you desiring your assistance in disposing of some indigo as mentioned in St. Kerrs letter which accompanies this. I used my best exertions to dispose of that Gentlemans Indigo but without effect, and he has concluded to return to Manilla with the same, the price being much less here than from where it come; Mr. Buenvecino did not come up to Canton.

Mr. St. Kerr sent a package of letters which are forwarded to their

destiny. The Perseverance Cap. Wheatland arrived at Macao the 16th Ult. they took your No. 3 Factory at 300\$.

When the two last rents was received for your factories I offerd Mouqua the balance due you about 350D which he said was too small a sum and refused it. on the receipt of 300D more for the No. 3 shall insist upon its being endorsed on your note as orderd.

19th. I this day paid Mouqua six hundred dollars on your note in behalf Munro Snow & Munro date 29th January last, being about the balance due you.

I have written thro' Oliver for information respecting Twinshaw & Blitterman etc. but have had no important reply therefore can say nothing upon that head, only that I am informd Twinshaw is dead.

I believe the Governor of Macao will connive at my going down which shall try soon. Oliver has been at Macao nearly a Month through the influence of the Duch and Spanish he got down.

I hope this may meet you in full enjoyment of health amidst your friends and Family and believe me to be most cordially Your Friend
S. D.

Original per the Perseverance Wheatland Duplicate per the Snow Pacific Trader Edes

SULLIVAN DORR TO THE GRAND HOPPO

SIR, Fifteen days past the American Snow called the Pacific Trader commanded by Samuel B. Edes put anchor at Whampao. on the 19th Inst. I secured the said Snow with and sold her cargo to Nuequa Hong Merchant. the cargo consists of about twenty nine thousand Seal Skins. nine days has passed since the cargo was sold and I have not been able to procure permission for the skins to be brought to Canton; Nuequa saying Your Excellency pleases that he should not secure said Ship, but that Paunkeequa or some other Merchant should secure her. I have to pray that Your Excellency will permit that she may be secured and her cargo be brought up to Canton, and a Cargo of tea etc. be put on board of said Vessell in Exchange; I pray you consider the said Vessell is at heavy expense and unless her business is done soon and a Cargo put on board, and she permitted to sail for America, that it will be impossible for her to reach that Country under twelve months, the Owners suffering great loss by

her detention particularly as the monsoons is changed, or about changeing. therefore I hope you will instantly order her cargo up or that I may sell the same to some other Merchant; you setting aside every other Consideration seeing the impropriety of detaining the said Snow, the Commander not having broken any of your revenue laws or otherwise missbehaved.

Seeing the propriety of this my petition Your Excellency cannot but instantly order the necessary measures to be taken that the Brig may no longer be detain'd.

In hopes of a speedy compliance I have the honor to be with Sentiments of respect Your Excellency's Much Obliged and Very Humble Servant

S. DORR

Canton, May 28, 1801

SULLIVAN DORR TO THE JAUN TUCK

SIR, Twenty one days since the American Snow call'd the Pacific Trader arrived at Whampao. the said Snow is commanded by Samuel B. Edes and has on board about twenty nine thousand Seal Skins; Seventeen days past she was secured with Nuequa Hong Merchant and her cargo of skins sold him, and to the moment have not been able to procure permission to bring said skins to Canton to the great detriment and loss of the Owners ariseing from such detention, the said Vessell having already been twenty one months from America, every one on board being desireous of seeing their Country and Families, which is prevented by the Hoppo, to their inexpressible grief. I have written the Hoppo which letter has been return'd unopen'd; I hope and pray your Excellency will inquire into the reason and cause that the business of said Snow may be done that she may depart for America, her detention here causeing great expence to the Owners; at the same time being fearful if she does not sail soon it will be impossible for her to reach America under twelve months, also I fear should she lay here much longer the Sailors will become sick so that it will be impossible to send her away at all The damages already amounts to about two thousand dollars, in consequence of her being detain'd which sum I pray may be reimburs'd me for the Vessell makes a very bad voyage at best and the present grievance makes it still worse.

Seeing that the Commander of said Snow has conducted himself every way properly, you will be convinced of the impropriety of the Hoppos conduct and cause that such measures be taken as to render further application to Your Excellency unnecessary.

In hopes of a speedy termination of the embarrassed situation of the business of the said Snow Pacific Trader I have the Honour to be your Excellencys Most Obedient Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

Canton, June 2th 1801

Memo. *June 7th.* Carried my Letter of 2th addressed to Jaun Tuck to the city gate, twenty four hours after presentment and order came out permitting the cargo of the Snow Pacific Trader to be brought up to Canton.

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, July 4th 1801

DEAR FRIEND, The preceeding is duplicate of my last which I now confirm; Since when I have not visited Macao as then contemplated the Snow Pacific Trader arriving at the moment of my departure from this; say 15th May when I had the pleasure to take my Brother William and Capt. Edes by the hand; her cargo consisted of 30,000 Sealskins which were sold at 90 dollars per hundred. her arriveing at that moment only enabled me to procure so high a price. I however expect that none will bring so much this season; In my last I noticed to you a letter was received from Mr. S. Blanchard of Salem relating to a business with him and Twinshaw, who is banished for insolvency, putting it out of my power to do anything in the business, no legal transfer having been made of the debt to the present possessors, but shall recommend them to trust to the honour of Mr. Blanchard whom I have no doubt will do the thing that is just.

The Brigantine Lovely lass arrived here the 10th Ulto. from Philadelphia with an assorted cargo most of which will not bring prime cost particularly her ginseng. not more than 60D to 80D can be obtained for it. the large quantitys last year say 1,600 pickel has caused it to fall so low together with the early arrival of the Lovelylass; and few sales having been made of the last importations. also the Chinese knowing there is four or five ships instantly expected with that

article has reduced the price and you may not be surprised to hear of its bringing only 40*D* to 60*D* per pickel when more arrives.

In consequence of the *Lovelylass* requireing many Nankins they have risen to 54*D* to 58*D* per hundred from 48*D* to 52*D* other goods no price can be set against, there being few or but rubbish of the Tea kind at Market at present. The *Hoppo* has grown extremely troublesome. when *Edes* arrived he demanded or orderd that *Paunkeequa* should secure her, for the purpose it is said of raiseing the Duties immediately and to squeeze *Paunkeequa*. others say his object was to have American ships secured in order as they arrive commencing with *Paunkeequa* and so down conformable to the custom or order observed by the English Company, which custom has been observed by none else, and in his desire that it might prevail as it respects Americans he has been disappointed; consequently the *Vessell* was securd by *Nuequa* but having some difficulty with him the skins were sold *Ponqua*, after experiencing vexations which would require pages to expatiate upon. suffice it to say that finding an Application or an address to the *Hoppo* through the *June Chune Kune chop house* availd nothing, I was determin'd to visit the *City Gate* with a Letter adressd to the *Jaun Tuck*; twenty four hours afterwards an order came out for the skins to be brought up. twenty five days had elapsed however from the arrival of the *Snow* before such orders came out in consequence of my application to the *Juan Tuck*; I never felt more anxious to leave this de[te]stible place such vexations are insufferable. the enjoyment we leave is distressing enough without experiencing them.

The *lovelylass* is not secured to this moment her difficulties are somewhat similar to what I have experienced; *Oliver* does her business and has been to the gate but his object is secret from me.

I now enclose you a half yearly report of arrivals and departures from this commencing with the first of January and ending the last of June 1801, by which you will perceive in that space of time there is and has arrived six sail three only of which have reported, although I desired it as you instructed me. the *Lovelylass* arrived within the half year but not having departed no report is made. therefore such report must be enterd in the next returns I make.

I can inform you of nothing new. you cannot but of heard ere this that there has several expeditions taken place from *Bengal Calcutta* etc. supposed t^o be against *Batavia Isle France* and *Manilla*.

The Minerva Capt. Folger has arrived from Massafuero with Sealskins.

I now enclose a Letter received per the Lovelylass from Messrs. Anthony & Co. of Philadelphia date 6th December 1800 which I took the liberty to open which I hope you will forgive also the almost unintellegibility of this Letter knowing you had rather have it so than none.

The Schooner Rover belonging to my Brother Andrew C. Dorr has never been heard of, also the English Campany Ship Earl Talbot, both of which are undoubtedly lost.

Having nothing more material to add (only that I shall drop a line when Opportunity offers) but to hope this may meet you and yours well, offering my best wishes for your felicity, You must believe me to be your Cordial Friend

SULLIVAN DORR

Capt. Folger has 65,000 Sealskins 6,000 of which is per Jenkes. please make my respects to him and all friends I expect they will bring 75 Cents.

Original per the Snow Pacific Trader Duplicate per the Lovely Lass Galloway

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, July 4th 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, I last wrote date 28th March continued to 22 April per the Ship Perseverance, Duplicate Via England. on the 7th May I dropped a few lines Via England, Since when say the 15th of May Capt. Edes in the Snow Pacific Trader put Anchor at Whampao. the same day I had the pleasure to see our Brother William Dorr in health.

On the 19th May I secured the Snow with Nuequa expecting the skins would come up in two days. however eight or nine days elapsed without boats being procured for the purpose at which time the true reason was made known, Viz. that the Hoppo would not permit any one to secure her but Paunkeequa the Head Hong Merchant who never has been in the skin way or done any American business, and accordingly he would not secure her, saying the motive of the Hoppo was instant payment of duties and a desire to squeeze him; The Hoppo assignd this reason that in future all American Ships should

secure first with Paunkeequa and so down to the eight Merchants in succession as the ships arrive and conformable to the custom of the English Company which never has been observed by any other nation, or the English Country Ships; being desirous to hold Nuequa to his agreement I waited he saying that the difficulty would be over in a few days. finding that what he said proved untrue, he observing that he was sorry it was impossible for him to secure the Snow, influencing me upon the promise of Ponquas ability to secure if I would get up my agreement from Nuequa to sell them to Paunkeequa in consequence Nuequa gave up the agreement not knowing that I was under a new one; waiting a few days more I had the Mortification to find Ponqua was as unable to procure permission to do her business as Nuequa in consequence of which thinking any further delay might be attended with great loss, either by her skins damageing or another arrival reducing the price; I addressed a Letter to the Hoppo carrying the same to the Jaun Chune Kune chop House which letter availed nothing. then my only alternative was to address a Letter to the Jaun Tuck or Viceroy which was done, the letter being dated June 2d and carried by myself William Edes and Sailors making in all 6 men to the City Gate after remaining there $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour the letter was taken. when carried three days had elapsed from date; on the 6th June an order came out for the skins to be brought up to Canton when a new difficulty presented itself, Nuequa saying he would not give more than 85*D* per hundred skins, when his contract taken up spoke 100*D* per hundred. however Ponqua said previously that if Nuequa would not take them he would adhere to his verbal promise, Viz. to give 90*D* per hundred and the price of his teas being so much less made it equal to my original contract with Nuequa therefore I insisted on Ponquas performing which he has compleatly to my satisfaction he taking and furnishing cargo, Nuequa securing the Ship only and I feel happy in saying that the goods I have procured are such as will fetch something when those offered by Nuequa I absolutely refused. positively I would not have accepted them without giving any Consideration had he offered them.

The Brig Lovely Lass Capt. Galloway now lays under a similar embarrassment having been here twenty two days. her cargo is assorted with about 40,000*D* Speice; 220 pickel Ginseng sold for 80*D* per pickel, cost 80*D*, most of her goods sells at a loss. dont send any-

thing at present (nail rods 15D pickel) there will be great losses on ginseng this year, 1,600 pickel last, great quantities this [*in the margin: a comeing*]. it may bring 50D pickel, no knowing these markets are so precarious.

When the Snow arrived all thought she would stow two hundred tons measurement or two thousand chests of Souchong teas, or chests of their size, which measure about ten to the ton, but to put myself on the safe side, I calculated sixteen hundred chests to be her storage besides small articles which do not lose the room of a single Chest; but I am extreemely sorry to say that she has on board only about one hundred and fourty tons everything included, so there is an impossibility of putting on board four hundred and twelve chests Confu Tea amounting to about five thousand nine hundred dollars, which teas must remain here to be sold or shipped by me as circumstances may be. perhaps, in fact I have no doubt it will bring 14T money when Ships arrive. I could not accomodate matters and take other goods because they were contracted for by me and purchased with the Snows skins laying it out of my power to change them for other goods of more value and less bulk; and let me say there is no old green teas or Black tea at market now, otherwise she would have taken all her funds in coarse and some finer teas. the small Quantity Edes has only could be had to fill up his tonage. to show you how miserably she stows, a Memo. follows of what she has on board.

700 $\frac{1}{4}$ Chests Bohea Tea 10 per Ton	T 70
433 Chests Confu	43 $\frac{1}{3}$
Edes investment per measurement	5.16.9
500 Boxes China Ware 40 per Ton	12.20
47 Bundles fans making about	1. 4
4 Boxes Gumbooch	8
6 Boxes Borax	12
150 Bundles Window Blinds 6 each bundle	1.20
	134.14
Wm. Dorr, Officers etc. People about	2
	T 136.14

The quality of the teas now sent are such or rather the nature that the flavour evaporates if kept too long, therfore I would recommend a Speedy Sale.

Nankeens have risen to 54*D* to 58*D* at which rate my contract is worth 3,600*D*, and had I funds at the time it should have been worth 50,000*D*.

I now enclose you Invoice of the Cargo of the Snow Pacific Trader S. B. Edes Commander, the foot of whereof amounts to 14,692*D* 73*C* together with the accompanying Memo. of Teas amounting to 5,842*D* 74*C* makes 20,545*D* 47*C* and 343*D* 50*C* paid Wm. Dorr, exactly meet the Credit side my account Current now enclosed, which credit arises from Net Sales of the Snows Cargo of Sealskins, and monies received for which my account particularises, by which several accounts it appears notwithstanding the smallness of the Snows burthen necessitating me to keep cargo behind that there is a probability of the Owners making something however the sufferings of William I hope will be a sufficient inducement to prevent you from sending any more of our Family upon such Voyages particularly in such a good for nothing Clump.

You will notice besides my Invoice account Current and account Sales that I enclose you bill of Lading, Memo. of Chinaware, Seamen's receipt Compradores account etc. etc. by which it will be seen the expences have been heavy part of which Charges however arose in South America together with about thirty days detention here makes them rise so high.

I would recommend that you send no cargo to this Country except Lead and Iron to bring ship up with. everything most always sells at a loss.

5th. I have to congratulate you that our difficulties were got over previous to the arrival of the Minerva M. Folger with 65,000 Skins. had he arrived at the time of our troubles it would have affected both perhaps materially. I however think he will obtain 75*C* payable in Bohea tea.

The Pegasus of New York is condemn'd at Pisco on the Spanish main. it is feared the Diana is taken also, Perkins ship. The Spaniards are about garrisoning Massafuero. Seal most all Killd. fewer will come here this season then was expected.

On the 12th Ult. a Violent Tifoon was experienced here the violence of the gale lasted seven hours such was the rapid influx of the Sea that the labourers in the rice grounds bordering on the river were unable to save themselves, many thousands losing their lives. besides the destruction of Juncks and other losses render it

impossible to find the value. 8 to 10,000 lives however were lost, and about 100 Juncks lay between this and Whampao sunk dismantled upset or shattered to pieces it made terrible havock it came on so sudden that no one was prepared.

I have the pleasure to say that William remains behind to go in Folger. he will probably see you much sooner than though he went in the Brigantine which vessell I pray may meet you in Safety and believe me to be most Cordially Your Affectionate Brother

SULLIVAN DORR

Original per the Snow Pacific Trader S. B. Edes Duplicate per the Lovely Lass Galloway

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, August 5th 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, My last per the Snow Pacific Trader was dated 4 and 5 July since when say the 16th or 17th Ulto. she left Macao roads for Sea after having his best bower cable cut off while at anchor in the roads, when the Snow drifted on Tiper Island her thumping on the rocks awakening those who had the watch to a sense of their danger. such conduct merits enquiring that you may know who to trust in future, for it appears by Edes letter of 15th Ulto. that it was blowing heavy. having put off from Macao in the evening he was unable to find the Snow till Morning, when they got her off from the rocks, she leakeing much. he was under the necessity of procureing a new anchor Cost 116 Dollars 2 pieces duck 44D having had his sails torn, going down the river, some few other small charges making in all about 200D due me which I have paid, which you will see by my account enclosed. You will notice that my duplicate accounts etc. etc. respecting that Vessell and cargo accompany this as well as my duplicate Letter of 4 and 5 July.

Since my last the Ship India, Hathaway, and the Ship Dispatch, Benners has arrived from Philadelphia bringing news from America to the 12th March past, announcing the Election of Jefferson to the Presidency, which important event was consonant to the wishes of the Majority of our Countrymen therefore like good people the minority submitted to the change which I think will not be productive of evil. We have here all the news relateing to the French suc-

cesses in Germany down to 20 January their successes together with the northern combination will bring in all probability Britain to terms. their present situation will not admit of their warring with us in consequence of our negotiations with France; therefore we may hope for a long continuation of our present prosperity.

The two late arrivals here have risen the price of Silks and Nankins exceedingly. to shew you how the prices have got up, here follows cash price [*in the margin*: About 8 per Cent higher than last year and 12 to 14 per Cent higher then the cargo of the Ship Perseverance of Salem].

	<i>D</i>	<i>C</i>
Nankins 12 covits small pieces	55	to 59 <i>D</i>
White much the same		
Company Nankins	96	
Silks		
1 Sort Black Sattin 18 yds.	19	
2 ditto	16	
3 ditto 30	19	
1 Lustring Black	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	
2nd ditto	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1st Colourd Lustrings	14	
2d ditto	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	
3 ditto $\frac{1}{2}$ Nankin and $\frac{1}{2}$ Cotton Silk	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Colourd Linshaws 30 yds.	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Black	17	
Colourd ditto $\frac{1}{2}$ Canton and $\frac{1}{2}$ Nankin Silk	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1 Sewing Silks Colourd	4.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	Catty
2 ditto	3.75	
Black	3.50	

So high that the money Ships this year will make small if any profit, particularly on teas they bearing so small a price with you, which exactly compares with my ideas heretofore expressed respecting Chinese goods. the prices of teas are not yet fixed but I think will be cheap. The two Ships above namd brought 200 pickel Ginseng. sold for 80*D* per pickel less than cost by 10% or more.

I have receivd no letters from you this Season but hope to soon.

Capt. Folger of the Ship Minerva of Salem has employd me to do his business at a Commission of 2% on gross Sales, his cargo Seal Skins, which I have sold to Ponqua at 80 Cents per Skin 61,850 amounting to 49,480 Dollars giving me a Commission of nearly 1,000 Dollars. I receive payment of Ponqua in the following articles

300 Chests Bohea Tea at 13 Tale Hyson 40 $\mathcal{T}$ Young hyson 32 $\mathcal{T}$ Skins 26 $\mathcal{T}$ Souchong 32 $\mathcal{T}$ Campoi 26 $\mathcal{T}$ and Gunpowder Tea 66 $\mathcal{T}$ Sugar 6 Dollars pickel, Cassia 16 $\mathcal{D}$ per pickel.

I do not think skins will bring more than 60 Cents next ship. however there is no knowing; it depends upon the circumstances wether or no they take much Bohea Tea perhaps, if so, more price will be paid because little of that article will be shipped this season. I think by and bye shall send some notwithstanding the small price with you.

You will have the goodness to forward Messrs. J. Anthony & Co. of Philadelphia the names of the first and second Officers of the Ship Eliza, Odell, for the purpose of taking a deposition the which together with some others will go to prove them Villians as you will see hereafter. at present say nothing.

6 th . The Ship Mount Vernon arrived from Philadelphia the fifth, also the Thomas Russell from our place or town. poor Hall in going ashore was upset and drown'd, a melancholy circumstance for his family to hear of.

I now have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours 14 th and 22 November 1800 and 23 January 1801 by your duplicate of 14 th and 22 November. I perceive the distination of your Ship Hancock was Sumatra and Canton or Macao, which information is not all consonant with my wishes in and about the destination of that Vessell and you could not have proceeded from any information which I have given. it is I presume one of Ebenezer's productions, who I will venture to say possesses no correct information of this and any other India trade. therefore do not I pray you speculate without proper information. was I to relate all the stories which take deep hold of credulous minds I might run you into projects and ruin very soon. therefore I would not listen to the stories of those who could not have the Opportunity of forming opinions from things which comes immediately under their eye, and I cannot conceive how you could send the Hancock upon such a Voyage when you ought know that the country trade meaning English Ships embrace every branch that can be made lucrative of trade to this quarter, besides the proffits of such small funds must be absorbed by the expenses. Ebenezer must not be offended, but it is certain his will is good but knowledge small respecting business. Pepper now is 9 to 10 Tale pickel all goods in fact are low. he cannot sell at Macao. was his

ship larger could charter her. perhaps I may as it is when she arrives. I note the several parts of yours 14th and 22 November and 23 January all which will be complied with if consistant with your interest which at all times influences me. I am sorry to think your better stores had not prevaild so as to influence you to omitt the Northwest business entirely the Bostonians are playing a ludicrous farce indeed. do lett reason operate with you. Joseph's opinion led him to extremes. so has yours. better had you compromised and sent one Ship only. I have heretofore said so much on that business it is unnecessary to say more only to ask how many skins each ship will have to her share when 11,000 is about the annual collection admitting there to be 22 Sail, skins fetching 16*D* to 20*D* uncertain how much.

Confounded ungracious scoundrells that Breck and Jackson am happy to find you will bring them to disgrace. A man that will maintain such an opinion as Crocker did in publick and private shares little of my good opinion, tho in other respects I know nothing of or to the contrary of his honesty It is unnecessary to say anything more about Edes than what you find accompanying this. You may rest assured that all my Commissions will not pay my household and personal expences unless it exceeds 3,500 dollars for it will amount to that sum, counting from December 1800 to December 1801 rely upon it. I am under the necessity of seeing company upon a more extensive scale than heretofore. besides I am not so frugal as when at your expence. the proffits arriseing from your business does not influence me to stay here speculation at a proper time is my grand motive. my health is excellent no one enjoying so good. the climate agrees with me, my inclination leads me wherever my interest lies. Yet it is distressing to live here secluded from the world aye from happiness for I am truely unhappy. I cannot promise you how long I shall stay here, but let me say your Commission on Northwestmens Net Sales is no inducement; I shall comply with my previous promise to stay till January 1802. The name of Long makes me sick he is an unworthy drinking man who I hope you will dismiss. I am not fond of men who are given to jocularity where reputation is in the way particularly yours or mine therefore Long is a scoundrel Crocker may reform under your hands admitting your being very complimentary and without detracting from my real Opinion of your Capacity. I am happy to hear of the flourishing condition of our country.

am apprized of all the late transactions and changes with you I wave observations on politicks time preventing. desert plates next time in the same crazy ship perhaps.

I have received by the Thomas Russell a Letter from Andrew C. Dorr Ebenezer Dorr Esqr. Lucretia Dorr, the contents of which are all interesting and rememberd it affords much pleasure to hear of their happiness.

The markets are fluctuating no dependence to be placed on them; send nothing; Teas will be low I think in December tho it is impossible to tell so many Americans are expected here. 58 to 62 is now demanded for Nankins.

Mr. Park meets the attention from me your letters entitles him to. The Hancock was at Batavia about the last of June. I hope she will do well and that I may say something respecting her that will be pleaseing next time I write when shall be more particular now being in great haste you will believe me to be your Brother Affectionately
S. D.

Original per the Lovelylass Galloway Duplicate per the Lavinia S. Holbrook

SULLIVAN DORR TO TIMOTHY WILLIAMS AND NATHANIEL WEST

Canton, August 5th 1801

GENTLEMEN, I have the pleasure to announce to you the safe arrival of your Ship Minerva M. Folger commander on the 5th Ulto. with a Cargo of Seal skins for Owners account, say fifty five thousand seven hundred and forty three skins which I have sold to Ponqua security Merchant; Capt. Folger having employed me to transact his business. the skins were sold at eighty Cents each receiving in payment Bohea Tea at 13 Tale per pickel, Hyson 40T, Young Hyson 32T, Hyson Skin 26T, Gunpowder 66T, Souchong 32T, and Second Sort Souchong Tea at 26T per pickel, Sugar 6D per pickel, Cassia 16D per pickel and some money to pay expences. Silks and nankins were not to be obtained for skins they at present being a heavy article, and at all times inferior to specie with which silks and nankins can only be obtained at this moment. Silks have risen very considerable since your Ship Perseverance was at this say 12 to 14 per Cent. Nankins are now up to 55 to 59 dollars per hundred pieces of the common sort and are riseing because three

Philadelphia ships have demanded 660,000 pieces since 60 days; Company Nankins is now at 96 dollars per hundred.

The Minerva will sail about 1st November next or after the change of the Monsoons, waiting till then for new teas, and cooler weather to pack her Bohea Tea, no new tea being now at market or any old except of a very inferior quality.

My next I hope will be per the Minerva then encloseing you an Invoice of her cargo, a bill Lading also a copy of my Accounts with Capt. Folger. At present I wait for Capt. Folger to receive some instruction respecting the quantity of the several kinds of fine teas which would be most agreeable to you having left room in the contract to take as much or as little of the several kinds as I may think proper. however should no letters come to hand in season I shall govern myself in the quantity and in the proportion as you have already intimated to him.

The sugars will be boxed and put in the bottom of the Ship, putting none in bags fearing it would deface and damage the Teas.

Having resided here already two years enables me to say I have gained a knowledge of the method of transacting business here as well as of the Characters of the Merchants composing the Hong and should you think proper to committ any business to my management rely upon my best exertions for the promotion of your interest. at present it is uncertain how long I may remain here but shall notify my Brothers Messrs. Joseph and John Dorr of Boston when I come to a determination of quitting this.

In hopes this will meet you well, I have the Pleasure to be with sentiments of respect, Gentlemen, Your Humble Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

7th. The Thomas Russell has arrived but no letter from you as yet.
Original per Lovely Lass Galloway Duplicate per Lavinia S. Holbrook

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW GWIN

Canton, August 22d 1801

SIR, I received your Letter dated Whampao 18th Inst. Ship Mount Vernon, Yesterday the contents of which is noted by which I preceive there is some difficulty existing between you and your Commander, so that he has suspended you from performing any duty and still threatens more, viz. sending you from the Ship; It does not I

conceive come within my Province to diside upon the legality of the treatment observed towards you by Cap. D. Hart, it being a subject of civil jurisdiction to be considered by the Law and your Peers in America; have you as intimated in yours of 18th conducted in an Officer like Manner and as has become your station, you need not fear the award of the Law, because justice will be administered, when should you make it appear that you are innocent of what is alledged against you; then your resort is the Law, whereby you will find yourself righted and justice administered towards you.

I would recommend that you observe a patient modest demeanour towards all, whereby you will prepossess your judges and everyone else in your favour, not using any irritating language.

Should Cap. D. Hart send you out of the Ship, procure if possible a written order, otherwise do not quit the Ship, unless he uses force, when your affair will come under my cognizance. if Capt. D. Hart should be desirous of getting you out of the Ship and should intimate that he would procure you passage in some other Ship, procure by all means a written order for the purpose, otherwise you may come under censure. By no means quit the Ship without Premission, for such conduct will lay you further liable in the event of your commander turning you on shore. Procure your evidence of the fact, when if you will come before me, I shall do what I think is proper in the business.

I have had no relation of your situation except from yourself therefore cannot make any judgment, respecting your conduct, but hope it has been such as to exonerate you from anything which will bring distress upon you or your family; hoping this will meet you well, and that Capt. D. Harts treatment will not be so severe as you intimate I remain Your Humble Servant

SULLIVAN DORR *consular Agent*
of the United States of America

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, 15th September 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, Since mine of 4th, 5th July original per Snow Pacific Trader, duplicate Lovely Lass, and my Original of 5th August per the latter, they have both returnd to Macao, the former after having been at Sea 39 days, arrived the 24th Ult. and the latter

12 days arrived at the same time, experiencing the most terrible of weather so that Capt. Edes found himself under the necessity of throwing overboard 4 Guns, wet provisions on deck; water etc. besides such was the violence of the gale the Snow was so wrecked together with the Loss of provisions etc. that Edes was under the necessity of returning, and I fear her cargo is much damaged; as will appear hereafter when she is unladen at Macao, which is now doing; and such is her situation that it will require one to four thousand dollars to put her to sea again; when it is contemplated to tell her [to] call at Batavia and fill up with Coffee it being impossible to put new cargo into her; otherwise then by sending it down to Macao little by little upon ships decks, which will be hardly worth while; shall be more particular when a decision is made on that point.

List of Ships now at Whampao. Minerva, Folger. Dispatch, Ben-ners. India, Hathaway. Mount Vernon, D. Hart. Thomas Russell, Davis. Connecticut, Sword. Diana, McCall. Ann and Hope, Bently. Aspasia, Fanning and Lavina, Holbrook with about 2,000 Otter skins which are sold by James Oliver the Captain employing him to his business. they are sold at about 25 dollars to an outside Merchant (not of the hong) though am not certain as to the price, yet I am happy I shall procure in all probability 25 dollars for any of our families which may come.

Information from Capt. Holbrook Hazard, Swifts collection 3,000 skins. Dispatch 3 to 400 skins. Lattitia Jonathan Dorr 700 to 1,100 skins uncertain, Bumstead 600 about; Jo. Pierpoint left his ship for the Islands he being delarious, the mate gets about 400 skins. Polly Kilby 1,200 skins. Atahaulpa 300. B. Magee 200. he saw (Holbrook) 14 Sail on the coast. some will not get 100 skins; they being excessively dear; sugar, bread, Molasses and elements are the best articles to buy skins with at present; this information is from Capt. Holbrook judge of it as you please. Samuel and Jonathan Dorr were well. The natives rose upon the Bellsavage Oakington and killed a girl of Pleasure (he took from Batony Bay) also the Cabbin boy. he had collected 4 to 500 Skins.

Capt. Porter of the Country Ship Generous Friend, relates the following story, received by him from one of the Rajahs of the Suloo Islands. That about the 1st June last the American ship call'd the Fair American of and from New York commanded by Capt. Neil and bound for China, got intangled among the said Islands, when he

with a boats crew went out for the purpose of sounding their way out etc. etc. some Malays got between him and the Ship whereby he became their prisoner; and agreed to give 10,000 dollars ransom money to the Malays, would they release him, which was agreed to. accordingly two Malaymen were dispatched to the Ship for to procure the 10,000 Dollars but the Chief Officer misunderstanding them orderd them from the Ship; and such was their disposition that one drew a dirk the officer fearing he would kill him, shot the Malay, the other leaping overboard swam to the shore; took a dirk and stabbed the Captain and the four seamen who were prisoners; on the hearing of which the Chief Officer cut the ships cable and proceed on for this; Capt. Peter saw the ships boat and some cloathing which were offerd him for Sale, yet for the truth of this account as it relates to the particulars, Capt. Peter has no other proof then seeing the boat and cloathing and what the Malays told him.

There has been brought this Season about 175,000 Sealskins in the following Ships,

	Aspasia	45,000 at 80 Cents
	Minerva	62,000 at 80
Sold with money	Diana	20,000 at 80
Sold with ditto	Thomas Russell	19,000 at 85
	Snow Pacific Trader	31,000
		<u>177,000</u>

Contrary to my expectation skins have brought the prices you see, however they were of the first quality generally. I have no doubt the price will be yet lower.

The Underwriters must refund Andrew half of the 17½% on the money shipped in the Perseverance and I wish him never to insure that way again, because I can insure from this to America when I ship any goods and advice cannot be sent him.

The Hancock not arriving leads me to believe she has gone home, which I hope is true for such a Ship is not proper to go on the trade she was upon; I could never dispatch'd her from this unless it was for home, without trembling for the result. If you mean to be successful in your undertakeings send Ships of 3 or 400 Tons Copperd and good sailors, then I can conscienciously undertake something that may be lucrative; to the Malay coast etc. etc. It may perhaps be better to bend your pursuits to another point.

Ship Charlotte, Ingersol and Caroline, Derby were on the Northwest Coast, also the Ship [blank] Cap. Hubble of New York not having succeeded on the Main was going to try it again; O. Cain was on board Hubble who said Winship of our town commander of the Betsy was dead, or such was the report on the Northwest Coast. Hubble cannot vouch for the truth of it.

Capt. Fanning left at the Isle of Georgia Ship Hope, Capt. Ray of New Haven. Ship [blank] Cartwright of Boston. Schooner [blank] Capt. Pinkham of Hudson 8th February last. on the 8th May last he left at Isle of St. Marys the Ship Concord Wier (Salem) Ship [blank] Worth of Boston. Perseverance Delano (Boston) Ship [blank] Swain of Norwich. Mars Swain (Ship say of Nantucket). Schooner Oneica, Howe Norwich. Capt. Fanning saw at Valleperz, Brig Sally Capt. [blank] of Philadelphia the 20th April last. no other Vessells did he hear of, except the Assia at Lima and a Brig from Philadelphia by permission making great Voyages. Since the Capture of the Pegassus no smuggling has been carried on. information has destroy'd all confidence.

I had forgot to mention the Catherine of Boston, Prescott Supercargo he has done nothing. Publish all this ships news if you please it may be interesting.

The Aspassias Sealskins were sold at 85 Cents about, they were South Georgia skins and mostly salted. he has many dollars as net proceeds of skins, and takes principally Bohea Teas and Sugars which enables the Purchaser to give him such a price. Why? because any Merchant can make 50% profit on Bohea Tea which he may sell so little is the demand that it is very low to the Merchants and as Fannings cargo consists chiefly of that article it will be wonderd how he sold his skins so high. it is possible that I may obtain 100 Cents some time hence take all Bohea Tea should the demand be small for that article, yet it is uncertain.

19th. The Hazard, Swift has arrived at Macao also another American. I know not whom or where from. South Georgia skins are superior to any I ever saw. William is well and joins me in wishing you all, so, beleiving us to be Affectionately, I am, your Brother

S. DORR

Original per the brig Lovely lass Cap. Galloway Duplicate per the Lavinia S. Holbrook

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, 18th September 1801

DEAR FRIEND, My Letter of 4th July went per the Snow Pacific Trader S. B. Edes, duplicate Lovelylass for Philadelphia, also mine of 7th August accompanied my duplicate Letter of 4th July per the Lovely Lass, since when both Vessells have returned to Macao in distress say on the 24 Ulto. the former after having been to sea 39 days the latter 12 days. such [h]as been the violence of the winds this Season, that its ravages has extended far and wide on land and Sea, other Vessells having experienced distresses as well as the two named above. such is the situation of Edes that it will be impossible for him to go to sea untill the change of the Monsoon and it is feared one half of his cargo is damaged, as yet uncertain how much.

Your No. 1 Factory is let for 1,000 Dollars had it not have been accepted It is a doubt wether I should have let it at all. No. 2 Factory is occupied by Mr. Thompson at 600 Dollars for half 800 Dollars should I putt in anybody else. I thought best so to do thinking you did so with Capt. Dean.

The Ann and Hope arrived the 30 Ulto. such is the nature of her business that I and J. Oliver have nothing to do with her concerns, tho I have given Mr. Thompson all the information I possessed. it is better perhaps that all the advantages of Commission should be for his benefit. some considerable loss is experienced on the Sales of the Ann and Hopes camblets etc. no goods that can be named answers here now. such a redundancy never was known, therefore I hope you will not speculate. Thompson may obtain 60 Dollars for his ginseng per pickel its now a drug Otter skins 20 to 25 dollars no certainty Brig Lavinia Capt. Holbrook of Bristol brought 2,000 skins; Seal skins 60 to 80 Cents.

Should you be desirous of obtaining any more particular information of Ships etc. etc. please write to my Brothers Joseph and John Dorr of Boston whom I write every particular worthy mention.

I pray you be so kind as to make my Respects to all our Providence friends.

I hope this will meet you and family well, believing me to be most truely Your friend

SULLIVAN DORR

I have lately learnt the Susan was bound to Manilla.

Original per Lovely Lass Galloway Duplicate per Lavinia S. Holbrook

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL B. EDES

Canton, September 27th 1801

DEAR SIR, I have your Letter of the 18th and 22 Inst. now before me. by the former it seems necessary that Ponquas people render you some assistance in repairing the chests etc. which may be damaged or broken. accordingly I made application to him and two days hence, he will send down men for the purpose with every necessary. Make enquirey whether or no their meddling or rendering you assistance will not cause trouble with the Portuguese. if so it will not do to empty them.

Capt. Kilby could not deliver you any beef and Pork, however before you want those articles enough probably can be had.

Your contract for heaving out the Brig is very proper, a copy of which was enclosed in yours of 22nd. The Letter sent you from America came in the Thomas Russell and was found among S. Halls papers.

When any Ships arrive from Manilla enquire for any Letters that may be addressed to me, and dispatch them up instantly. I fear you do not take proper means to send your Letters they being 4 to 8 days reaching me. do not write by Ships coming up it being very uncertain whether I get your Letters or no.

I hope your next will say that very few goods is damaged; be careful and note the numbers of the Chests and marks so that I may know which and how much is damaged.

In future address all your Letters to me it will be esteemd as tho' they were to William. then your attention will not be devided and I shall understand you.

Keep a minute account of all your expenditures. I fear they will be heavy.

Always keep in view the propriety and necessity of being acconomical, more particularly so when there is every reason to believe the Snow is not insured; therefore I pray you substitute or use new rope etc. etc. only where necessity demands it, at the same time considering that you will in all propability make a fair weather passage home,

besides every charge which now arrises on the Snow in repairing her I consider a dead Loss.

I this moment (12 O'Clock A.M.) received yours of 23rd Inst. I hope Galloway will sail for I believe there must be much damage on board his Ship and I fear he will be under the necessity of returning again causing grater distress and damage; he ought have taken his cargo out of his Vessell entirely, calling a survey thereon at least. I fear should any damage have happend it will injure him unless he calld a survey, who said it was unnecessary. Keep this to yourself. make my respects to him and others should he be still at Macao; prevail upon him to remain if you think proper, tho' do not say It is my opinion, he should it may cause some uneasiness or something disagreeable.

I am glad your health is much better; you will write often. my Brother and Thomas is well whome with me wish you so, and remain yours Truly

S. DORR

It appears that the Islands which you said you had discovered on your arrival, are absolutely laid down in Charts, and are calld King-smith Group. they lay between 50 minutes and $1\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees South latitude and 175 and 176 East Longitude therefore I hope you will erase from your Log book any names you may have given them.
Yours

S. DORR

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, October 18, 1801

DEAR FRIEND, Since the accompanying duplicates of my last nothing material in the way of business has transpired, otherwise than what relates to your Factories which are improved in the following manner by Ship Supercargoes

	<i>D</i>
N. 1. Ship Connecticut	1,000
2. Ann and Hope	600
3. Ground Rent	400
4. Minerva	550
5. [<i>Blank</i>]	
6. Arab	550
	3,100 dollars

By which statement it appears something considerable will arise over and above the ground rent to this day, with prospects of their being let again, which I hope may be realized. The money for rent is yet unpaid. however when it is received your orders shall be complied with, that is it will be endorsed on your note to Mauqua.

As to the Ann and Hope, you must undoubtedly be apprised of her bad business here and the dispositions made by Mr. Thompson, who probably has addressed the concern particularly about his transactions.

The Ship Arab arrived a few days past from Gogo in the Gulph of Camby not far distant from Surat; she brings a cargo of Cotton purchased in the Marrata country, and the whole business has been so conducted that no dispute can arise respecting the voyage out of our Treaty with Great Britain.

Yesterday I had the pleasure to learn you was well at St. Helena, the 16th May last, as by your letter appears, and I hope that soon after you was well with your Family; in which belief I now have the pleasure to Subscribe myself, Your Cordial Friend

SULLIVAN DORR

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, October 18th 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, Duplicates of mine date 5th August and 15th Ult. accompanies this; since when Capt. Edes has overhauled the Snow and finds contrary to my expectations very little tea damaged, yet the expences in heaving out the Brig and repairs will amount to about (2,500) two thousand five hundred dollars, so that she will be ready for sea about the 1st November and when Cap. Edes exhibits his accounts they will be transmitted you or a copy thereof. The 412 Chests of Confu teas remaining here which could not be put in the Snow (for particulars see my Memo.) I shall barter for finer Teas or Rhubarb with Ponqua and freight the same home. The damage on the Snows cargo being so small she will not call at Batavia.

Otter skins have been bartered for 20 to 21 dollars, of which I have no doubt, tho I cant speak positively, the sellers having been extremely secret, yet I know Mansire skins were sold at 21 dollars barter in Teas. and that every man may have his due let it be known

that the Brigantine Lavinia and the Ship Hazard were secured by Ponqua he standing security for the Vessel, only, their cargoes having been sold to Merchants out of the Hong. therefore if the Ship Masters have been cheated Ponqua says he furnishes none of their cargoes of course no blame can be imputed to him. thus much he says that his character may not unjustly suffer in America.

Since my last the following Vessels have anchored at Whampao. Hazard, Swift; Polly, Kilby. Industry, Ingraham. Arab, Bryant, and Betsy Cartwright. the two former and two last named belong to Boston; the Industry to New York. the business of the Arab and Betsy will be transacted by me. the latter has about 14,000 good South Georgia skins sold at 95 Cents those kind of skins being vastly superior to any others. The Arab belongs to David Sears of Boston and Israel Thorndike of Bevely she last came from Gogo or Bownaghur in the Gulph of Camby little distant from Surat. she has a cargo of Cotton worth about 46,000 dollars purchased at the above places of the natives Marratas, and the whole business has been so managed that no evil can result, or arise out of our Treaty with Great Britan in consequence of the affair. The Arab is the 17th Vessel here this season already, counting Edes the first, the tonage of which Vessels is 4,596. distressing sacrifices must be made on Sales in America. in all probability the number of Vessels will be 34 to 40 Sail this season, that is to April next.

I am happy to learn (or at least I am led to suppose so) that the Hancock has gone home from Batavia. her cargo will do well with you. I received an old duplicate Letter from you per the Hancock Via Manilla forwarded by Moses Barnard Ship Lydia of our Town; Mr. Park did very wrong by not writing me a line, so I do not know any farther then what the outside of your letters says per the Hancock.

A few days since I received a Letter from James Odell master of the Eliza date Manilla 23rd September wherein he says "I left your family well the 27th March last and I have letters for you from them, which I shall bring with me to Canton," and let me say I am very anxious to get the said Letters; I confirm the story relateing to the Fair American nearly as stated in mine of 15th Ulto., she has arrived at Manilla.

I have to request you will have taken Capt. Samuel Holbrooks deposition before a Magistrate relating to the ginseng business and

the two Mates of the Ship Eliza I came out in; have it taken so as to be used and improved in an action against them as the case may be.

The prices of Teas depend so much upon circumstance, that it is almost useless to quote them; silks are still high Nankins 1st Sort 60*D*. 2nd Sort 56, so that little will be made by regular importers.

Not having any thing more at this moment to add, I with William join most heartily in wishing you well, also all your family and friends, to whom and you, we offer our wishes for you, and their felicity, believeing us to be most Cordially your and their Friends and Brothers

S. DORR

Witness

WILLIAM DORR

Original per the Lavinia S. Holbrook Duplicate per the Aspasia Fanning

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, November 30th 1801

DEAR FRIEND, I now inclose you my account Current up to this day, by which you will perceive that after the rent of No. 2 is received for its second occupation, there will remain a balance of about 1,680 dollars which together with 400 Dollars ground rent for my habitation, will be appropriated to the paying of Ponkeequa the amount of ground rent for the whole Hong, and at the end of the season shall send my accounts balanced. Your factories have not been so productive as was expected; since your No. 1 was let I offered it for 800*D*, but an other front one was chosen and taken up at 500*D*, so that I have thought some one has made it an object to undervalue yours, and may expect little more advantage will result from the letting of your factories this season. I shall not however cease in my exertions for your interest. Some expences must be incurred by repairing and painting the factories for the next year.

I return you by the Ann and Hope a packet containing letters received here by me many of which have been opened but such as were supposed to be from your House and family were resealed without being read, as Mr. Thompson can attest to whose care I now deliver them, also some visiting cards handed me by Doctor Carter and

Mr. Bell, not expecting you here again otherwise I should keep them.

I have nothing very particular to add, but shall refer you to Mr. Thompson for every information respecting Canton and the business of this season here; I miss or experience the want of your good company here much particularly as I am not hand and glove with your old friend. In hopes this will meet you well as well as your family and connections I remain most Cordially your friend

S. DORR

Shall be more particular at some future day.

Per the Ann and Hope Duplicate per the Arab

SULLIVAN DORR TO DAVID SEARS AND ISRAEL THORNDIKE

Canton, December 27th 1801

GENTLEMEN, Since my last respects date 21st October I have experienced the most unhappy sensation arising from the detention of your ship Arab to this moment, the Merchant (Ponqua) with whom she was secured having met with some embarrassments which was not calculated on when the Arab was secured with him. already 27 days has elapsed since I had every reason to suppose the Arab would have sailed. her detention together with the trouble with the Merchant is one of the greatest misfortunes I ever felt. Yet I have the satisfaction to say all the Arab's funds is out of his hands and now in the Ship I remaining his creditor for about seven thousand dollars which however I have good security for. for any further particulars I refer you to Capt. Bryant respecting the disagreeable circumstances attending my business with Ponqua this season.

Accompanying you will find an Account Sales of the Arabs Cargo of Cotton, an Invoice of goods received in return for said Cotton, a Bill of Lading of the cargo now on board and my account Current with Capt. Bryant and Mr. D. S. Heard, whereby you will perceive the nature of my transactions with them. and let me notice that notwithstanding the difficulties I have met with I think you will find the Arabs Cargo generally good except the Skin Tea, and upon that you will perceive there is a deduction of 3 Tale per Pickel and 5 Tales upon one half of the hyson Tea making together about 1,000 dollars deduction by which if any satisfaction is offered for the detention I shall feel very happy. you'll further notice that the quantity of skin

Tea is lessend Capt. Bryant thinking Nankins a more favourable article than Tea.

The amount foot of return goods for the Net Sales of the Cotton is 40,576*D* 53*C*. any other additions to the Invoice are purchases made with the specie by Capt. Bryant and Mr. D. S. Heard, upon which I drew no Commission.

The Arabs has on board about 380 Tons Measurement about 10 Tons of which is on freight not being able to calculate nicely, and the Arab's funds being otherwise disposd of.

It is with pain that I have to say this must be the vehicle of mournful intilligence Mr. D. S. Heard contracted at Bownaghur, the fever Ague. making a long passage without any medical aid he arrived here very much debilitated. every assistance was renderd that the place offered but melancholy to be said he fell a victim to the enemy of man *death* on the 13th Inst. he expired on the 14th his remains were committed to the earth all our Countrymen attending on the solemn occasion when usual ceremonies were observed. thus we see the uncertainty of *life* and certainty of *death*. A young man cut off in the bloom of life whose character was excellent, whose prospects were fair and whose relations and family must feel the weight of this painfull deprivation, as well as society the loss of a promising member; I pray you will have the goodness to convey the foregoing intelligence of the decease of Mr. D. S. Heard to his family.

Wishing the Arab safe to your hands and that I may never experience such troubles again, also that you will have the kindness to write me a line noting if my accounts are free of errors it not being impossible but that I shall remain here some years; finally wishing that this may meet you well I remain with Respect, Gentlemen Your Obedient Servant

S. DORR

The Eliza Capt. Odell has arrived purchasing all the Nankins now at Market at 56*D* first quality; I think they will be up to 60*D* soon, as more Ships are expected. the Eliza is the 25 Vessell already.

Original per the Arab Duplicate Lucy Letter only and Triplicate accounts per the Lucy Duplicate accounts per Guatamozin and Triplicate Letter

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOHN HEARD

Canton, December 28, 1801

DEAR SIR, However painful, it is incumbent on me to say that this must be the vehicle of mournful intelligence. Your Son Mr. D. S. Heard having contracted at Bownaghur the fever Ague, making a long passage to this without medical aid he arrived here much debilitated and borne down by the weight of the disease, every aid was given which the place afforded, but grievous to be said he fell a victim to that enemy of man *death* having it is hoped fallen only to a rest from whence to rise, to an eternity of transcendant felicity; nevertheless we are human and sorrow is inseperable from our natures, and upon this occasion paternal affections must feel a shock which religion, a sense of the uncertainty of our tarry in this world of trouble, and time only can assuage; and may God Almighty give you grace to support this his painful visitation. Your Son died on the 13th Inst. and his remains were interred on the 14th at French Island Whampao, the usual place to deposit the dead. A stone is erected with this inscription. Here lies the body of Daniel S. Heard late Supercargo of the American Ship Arab of Boston. He died on the 13th day of December 1801 Æ. 23.

Every ceremony was observed on the mournful occasion all our Countrymen attending, and the flags both at this and Whampao were hoisted half mast high.

Thus you are deprived of an amiable Son whose character was excellent, whose prospects fair ripening to an importance which you and society must be deprived of by his *death*, death, that cruel enemy; but God is just, he giveth and taketh away.

Accompanying you will find an Inventory of the effects of your Son. as to any Merchandize on board the Arab for his account I refer you to Capt. Bryant.

Hopeing this will meet you and family well I offer you and them my sincere condolence for your and their late privation, and believe me to be with Respect Dear Sir Your Friend and Servant

S. DORR

Original per Arab Duplicate Guatamozin

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, December 28, 1801

DEAR FRIEND, The foregoing is Duplicate of my last respects, since when no business has come to my hands relateing to you. I only have to say that the No. 1 Factory is again let for 700*D* and I have reason to hope that 1,000*D* or 1,200*D* more will arrise from renting your factories; I have thought it for your interest to put the rents lower otherwise other factories would have been taken up, and let me say none have been occupied with more profit to the owner.

I have to congratulate myself upon being entirely clear from Ponqua. I pray you inform Mr. Thompson and Capt. Bently of the circumstance who both I know felt an interest in the business and will be happy to hear that I am free from loss by Ponqua. Say also to Mr. Thompson that I have not sold any of the Ginseng he left with me, but hope to soon. I think it is riseing. common Ginseng is now 110*D* Cash.

I return you three letters two of which I open'd. It is painful to say that Capt. Smith commander of the Ship George Washington of your Town died some time since at Juan Rio Jan fernandez; thus are the family deprived of a father which must be distressingly unwellcome tidings; I was formally acquainted with the family to whom have the goodness to communicate my sincere condolence for this afflicting visitation of God.

Mr. D. S. Heard Supercargo of the Arab died here on the 13th Inst.

The Ship Washington is expected instantly after having made sale to Amount of about 100,000*D* on the Coast of Chile, so says report.

The Ship Concord Capt. Wyer of Salem has arrived from Massachueto with about 58,000 Skins sold at 112*C*. Simons has on board 13,418 Skins, sold for Cash and Nankins at 95*C*.

The Jefferson and Eliza Odell have arrived from Manilla the latter purchasing up all the Nankins now at market at 56 first quality, from which they have risen to 58*D* and must be 60*D* soon. Seal Skins I think will be down to 75*C* to 80*C* soon. 200,000 will fall into Market directly.

Hoping this will meet you and yours well I remain Most truly
Your friend

S. DORR

Per the Ship Arab Duplicate per Guatamozin

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, 28 December 1801

DEAR BROTHERS, I now come to say that I have Received all your Letters per the Eliza Capt. Odell, and some from our family, Viz. Ebenezer Dorr, Esqr. Henry Dorr Lucretia Dorr Joseph Dorr and A. C. Dorr, all which are interesting. I wrote a line by Pierpont which will be noticed herein. You and William will congratulate me when I say I am clear from Ponqua: poor fellow he has experienced heavy losses which is the reason of any delays I have experienced in my business with him. You say he is a great cheat. rely on it he knows nothing of the Stones and chaff in tea it is done in the tea Country or in the Chop boats. the English Company have large quantities rubbish returnd every year. As to Bowers silks and my Skin Tea shall procure a refund if possible. Ponqua is one of the best hearted Chinamen here goodness and rediness to Credit everybody has brought him to rather a low ebb, but thank fortune I am clear of him never to do anything more with him unless with perfect security to myself. his embarrassments has deranged my plans so that I consider myself a loser of some thousands of dollars.

Substance of what I yesterday wrote by Pierpont. firstly he employed me to do his business at 2% Commission and is fearfull Cobb will deduct it from amount his Commission if so he desires your aid or assistance. besides I told the old man I would give him the Amount should Cobb distress him. he is poor and if you possitively know that Cobb makes him pay I would thank Andrew to refund the Amount my Commission to Pierpont which will be seen by my accounts with Joseph Pierpont.

Secondly (I now write from memorandum) The Concord Capt. Wyer has arrived from Massafuero with about 58 thousand Seal-skins sold at 112C. 10,000 belon[g]ing to Simmons of Providence came to my hands sold for Cash and Nankins at 95C; the difference between 112C and 95C they will be cheated in in the quality of Teas. you see how fluctuating these markets are. there is about 200,000 Skins comeing down instantly which will cause them to fall in all probability down to 75C to 85C in barter. Miantinomo brings about 70,000. Delano Ship Perseverance 70,000 about, besides some smaller craft. the Oneco goes to Northwest Coast. I desired that you would fit out a Sealer instantly giving me a concern of $\frac{1}{4}$ to one half;

if the Ship should be 200 Tons or more, copperd and a fast sailer to cost Outfits 20,000 Dollars not more; she must be copperd and staunch not a Pacific Trader. skins in two years may bring 1 to 150C yet it is uncertain. they are yet plenty at Massafuero. And I do hereby authorize you to draw from the hands of A. C. Dorr five at ten thousand dollars for the above purpose and if you do anything I pray you to be expeditious. Let the Ship have some trinketts to buy all the pearls (clear white and round) they can lay their hands on at the Friendly Islands. prohibit smugglin on the main with the Spaniards. The Ship must be of the above description otherwise I would not accept a concern as a present.

Report says that Perkins Ship Diana had been into the Main, and made Sales to Amount of 40,000D and the ship Washington of Providence to amount of 40,000 to 90,000. The Commander Smith a Providence Captain died at Rio Janario. I was well acquainted with his family. The Washington is expected instantly, also the Miantinomo and Perseverance you must have heard of. Prescotts fright quitting his Ship and going home he lost the opportunity of making a great Voyage so it is said, instead selling his goods he run away from a smaller Ship than his own. however do not give publicity to everything I say; the Ship had 200,000 dollars for him in Exchange for goods. Prescott sent in a Whaler to Lima a considerable quantity of goods which were seised and the Ship liberated. Many other things in my Letter perhaps of no consequence I forgot that is my letter by Pierpont.

Mr. Heard Supercargo of the Arab died here on the 13th Inst. as you will see by my Letter of this date sent you unopend by the Arab to his father.

I fear Edes Cargo will spoil by remaining in the vessell so long a very unfortunate thing for William. Put him into some steady business otherwise fear the worst. he was extreamley melancholy while here, unfortunate man.

I sent three turtle shell fans per the Thomas Russell for Abigail Eliza and Lucretia.

My last before that per the Lucy Pierpont was date 22d November and the 6th letter of the same date went per the India Via Philadelphia I forebore writing you the situation of Ponqua which I little expected when I began business with him.

Major Winslow I believe has been taking large Credits with Oliver as you may hear. William will say much to you about this d——d hole. if you want to know what trouble is, a residence here will prepare a person for any other country.

The Eliza is the 25 Vessell to this day arrivd here she brings large funds. I was witness to the purchase of 300,000 pieces Nan-kins at 56*D*. she has 230,000 dollars.

I notice what you say of bad markets at home however I will put my teas against any that has gone in the profit counting way. It is impossible for me to deduct the Villany of any one who chooses to gull or cheat you out of skins; however I believe I was the first to make the discovery of Brecks selling skins as you will see by my Letter of 5 February 1800 to you. however shall be vigilant it is out of my power to substantiate the fact (as my father requests) of Brecks having sold any.

It is with great pleasure I learn the Hancock will make you 50,000*D* proffit in the opium speck and all this I learn from Manilla a Mr. Shepherd there having had something to do with the Hancock. tell Ebenezer I *chin chin* him not to be angry for any observations I may have made heretofore respecting him and the Hancock.

Andrew must obtain a refund of premium on Cash per the Per-severance Wheatland.

Gingseng Common will bring now Cash 110 dollars pickel Clarified dull first quality 8*D* to 12*D* Cash I advise you to Adventure in Ginseng if cheap at home Do not send any goods to Manilla all the East has abundant supplies. I will send you Edes account soon or rather my account with the Owner of the Snow Pacific Trader.

Give the Sealer you may fit out provisions in plenty that they sell some at the Island for skins, some other goods things also. A Ship is in the River now, from Massafuero it is supposed. I remain Very Affectionately Yours

S. DORR

I recommend Cap. Bryant to you as a worthy man and a good Ship Master should you wish to employ him. In my opinion the proposed sealing Voyage depends on expedition or dispatch as no one has so correct and early information as you.

S. DORR

24 seamen at least is necessary.

If Cap. Bryant will command and own the Sealer with us you have my consent to give him the command The Arab is a fine ship for the business buy her and copper her if possible.

Original per the Arab Duplicate Guatamozin

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton December 28th 1801

DEAR BROTHER, If Joseph and John Dorr call upon you for five at ten thousand Dollars for the purpose of fitting out a Sealer in which Vessel I am to be concern'd $\frac{1}{4}$ to one half, you will give them that Amount out of any monies of mine in your hands causing the ship to be insured.

I have your Letters of 25 May, 21st March and June 8 now before me, also that of 31st January the Contents of which are all noted. by the Eliza I have yours of 21st March covering your account Current, and let me notice that I settled with you before my departure say in February giving you my note for balance of account Viz. 163D 39C for which you give no Credit. the Charges of a hatt I do not know what It means its of no consequence. you will be so kind as to procure deduction of premium on money shipped per the Perseverance. I can tell more about your Accounts when sales is received. at present shall say nothing about them. forgive me if I do not write you much. I have nothing to say, but return you many thanks for your attention to my business; and the minute prices of articles; receiving my thanks for your exertions to send me money etc. etc. And Believe me to be Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

When I write particular Letters they will be to Joseph and John Dorr to whom I refer you.

Original per the Arab Duplicate Guatamozin

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, Febuary 13th 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, My last was dated 30 Ultio. Via Isle France which informd you of the safe arrival of the Dispatch and Lit-

tillar at Whampao on the 13th of the same Ulto. the former made a passage of 5 months and 14 days to the Land or Northwest Coast the Latter 6 months and 10 days into the harbour.

I will just mention in confirmation of what I have before said that Musketts sold 2 and 3 for 1 skin, 1 and 2 Clement for 1 skin, Bread, Molasses, Rice, wright whale Oil a few of the best musketts double and single barreld, pistols a few and the best; good powder; Balls and shot of all sizes, barr and sheet lead, Ball and shot moulds, If any cloth of the thick Duffill Kind, garments no better than common cloth; the eatables were the best articles; a bucket of bread one skin; the foregoing are the best articles for the Coast in future. your brass barrell guns will sell a few at one for a skin So small vessells as the Dispatch and Littillar are now obliged to keep together, the natives being so well armed that otherwise they would be inevitably shot off to a man at a single volley of Muskettry. I recommend that you give serious attention to what I now say and let your Vessells in future be 150 at 200 Tons with good quarters otherwise fear their destruction besides Vessells accompanying each other stands less chance of making a good collection than tho they were single. I hope you will send a single Vessell only untill prospects are better of making something. Samuel takes passage in the Active to Philadelphia Jackson commands the Dispatch.

I now enclose you account Sales of the Littillars Cargo an Invoice of return Cargo received for skins sold; and my account Current with the Owners; account Disbursements, Bill of Lading etc., by which my transactions are clearly displayd. You will perceive that the bulk of her cargo is in Souchong Tea; my reasons for so doing are that I think it to be the best article of the Tea Kind to send our way at present few Souchongs having gone in proportion to others. another powerful reason is that there is no other teas at Market now of a quality I thought proper to meddle with, besides the teas sent you are of an excellent quality, and I speak truth when I say that in five days after I sold the Dispatch and Littillar's cargo Souchong rose up to 40 Tales per pickel let me assure you Souchong Teas will keep in America 3 or 4 years without injury, when green teas will not. I could not procure nankins other than what I have got, there being none at Market. The teas marked LA calld Anki Souchong is good for immediate use only the quality evapourating therefore If you think proper to abide by my knowledge of the article

sell it at auction immediately for the best it will bring; noting to me the result of the sale that I may adventure more largely if it proves good. it is experimental. Samuel wanted me to load the Dispatch with it. All or most of the Skin Ships have Anki imposed upon them for Prime Souchong, the ignorance of the Commanders preventing their detecting of it. it is an absolute fact that I have seen tea paid in barter for Skins at 40 Tale which I could purchase at Eighteen.

You will notice that I send you a few chests of good skin tea. The Rhubarb must pay well it is very fine. The Nankins at 76 Dollars I esteem to be good articles, they have risen to 84 Dollars Company yellow is up to 104 Dollars. No Hyson tea to be had nominal price 60⁷. A speculation in that article may prove lucrative, the quantity gone home being small in proportion to other teas. Bohea Tea, I presume the quantity amounts to about 7 to 8,000 Chests. Yellow common nankins 1,500,000 Pieces about; none at market now price nominal 60 Dollars. Otter skins have been sold to Amount of about 12,000 pieces old way counting. Seal Skins to the number of 462,000 about sold at an average of 90 Cents a piece that I little expected. there is no depending on these markets what is today will not be tomorrow. I however confirm my wish that you fit out a sealer as heretofore desired giving me a concern of one half, putting provisions on board to buy skins, also Rum and clothing, giving the Commander power to buy all the skins he can at 50\$ each giving orders for the same on you, and I hope you have done as desired for in all probability 50,000 skins can be had on freight from Massafuero at $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$. therefore the size of the ship is a grand object; let her sail well and be copperd; should she fail in succeeding as wished I can freight her to Europe at 100 dollars per Ton, thereby making myself whole a 250 or 300 Ton Ship will do very well. I still think skins will bring 1D to 150C in 14 months from this.

Barney Magee was killed at Jacques on the Northwest Coast of America. he imprudently ventured on shore.

Mr. Boot came down in the Dispatch and takes passage with Samuel in the Active about sailing say in 10 days. Ginseng brings now no more than 70 Dollars.

The General Washington, Cole, the Hope Ray and Perseverance Delano have arrived making 32 Sails to this day. Washington has about 100,000 dollars Hope 34,000 Sealskins Perseverance 75,000. Sold for about 90 Cents.

The square garment sold miserable here; there is muskets and pistols belonging to the Dispatch and Littillar now remaining with me to the number of 260 of the former and 87 pair of the latter which will not sell at present, or ever for much which with some few other articles when sold will be accounted for. you will see by my account Current with the owners of the Littillar that there remains a small balance due them of 179D 61C which will be remitted on some future occasion.

I now enclose you my account Current with the Owners of the Snow Pacific trader by which it appears there is a balance due them of twenty five hundred and eighteen dollars and 99/100 for which balance the Owners are interested to that Amount in my Adventure per the Diana Capt. J. McCall to New York of Bohea and Souchong Tea. and it is easily seen that I am reimbursed 3,323D 75C Cash advanced, in Bohea and Souchong Tea nevertheless I am content to abide by the circumstance of your being interested as above. I am extreemly happy to think that I am so clear from Ponqua. Poor fellow; he still does business I am under the necessity of borrowing money therefore I hope a remittance soon.

I now address my letters to Joseph and John Dorr as usual knowing what is said to one is no secret to another of the family. At the end of the season I shall send an account of arrivals and departures, perhaps it may serve to amuse also cargoes inward and outward etc.

Not thinking of anything more at present I do myself the pleasure to subscribe Affectionately Your Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Littillar Duplicate per Eliza Odell Triplicate Dispatch Quadruplicate Ship Active

SULLIVAN DORR TO EBENEZER DORR

Canton, 13th February 1802

DEAR FATHER, I now do myself the pleasure to enclose an Account Sales of the Cargo of Sea Otter skins of your Ship Dispatch, an Invoice of return Cargo received in payment for said Skins, a Bill of Lading for the same signd by Job Jackson whom the former Commander Samuel A. Dorr thought proper to appoint, to Command the said Ship home, he having concluded to take passage in

the Ship Active to Philadelphia thereby thinking to see you and friends sooner also liveing more convenient in the Active.

The enclosed account Current shows you that there remains a balance due of three hundred and eighty eight Dollars and 44/100th which sum will be invested on some future occasion for your account. The whole of my transactions will be better seen by the enclosed Accounts than otherwise explained. Excuse me if I do not write you very particularly having already done it to Joseph and John Dorr as per my Letter of this date, to whom and which I refer you, most of my observations therein being applicable to both Vessels, the one being very nearly a duplicate of the others Cargo. Hoping the Dispatch will meet you in Safety finding you and yours well, I Remain Most Affectionately Your Son

S. DORR

Original Dispatch Duplicate Eliza Odell Triplicate Ship Active

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, February 28th 1802

DEAR FRIEND, I now do myself the pleasure to enclose you my account Current by which it is seen there remain a Balance due you of 100D 44C say one hundred dollars and 44/100, for which Amount you are credited in New account with me; I have the pleasure to think your factorys have been profitably improved, at least I can say that none have been more constantly so; tho the rents are lower than stipulated, or that you contemplated would be obtain'd; In the letting of your factorys I was necessitated to reduce the prices otherwise they would not have been occupied; because some other persons have endeavoured to undervalue factories by endeavouring to obtain a preference for their own by reduceing the prices; which I also thought proper to do, thereby serving your interest.

You will notice in my account Current the several sums paid Mouqua on your Note of 29th January 1801 which sums are indosed thereon.

Since my last the Ships Mars Swain, Missouri Vickery, Dispatch, S. A. Dorr, Littillar, Jonathan Dorr, General Washington Cole, Hope Ray, Perseverance Delano and Diana Folger have arrived here, making in all 33 Sail to this day. all the Ships in the last term

of time for report not having departed, it is impossible for me to hand you the half yearly report, which however will be done when feasible; yet I will observe that very few Vessells have reported altho requested in the manner you instructed me; on some future day I shall forward for your amusement some statement respecting our trade here that at least may be *amuseing*. All kinds of China commodities have been demanded in such quantities that few or none are now at market. indeed had I a Vessell to load I should be absolutely at a loss for a Cargo no Nankins at market except Company and common White; no teas of a good quality except Bohea; Chinaware plenty; Sugar *5T 5M*, Company Nankins *105D*, white *84D*, Common White *52D* to *54D*, Sealskins in barter *85C*, Cash about *60C*. Ginseng has fallen to 60 to 80 Dollars. English Company goods extremely low. indeed such has been the quantity of goods shippd from hence for America that I am led to think there cannot be less than 2 or 3 years full supply, all which thrown into our markets at once must cause the prices to be low, and great sacrifices to be made. it is useless to say that there has been little of this or that kind of article shipped, for it may be said that much of all kinds has been sent to America this Season.

I have let No. 5 factory the 2d time; for *100D* this last; which is low but better than otherwise; No. 5 and 6 should be rebuilt thereby rendering the Hong rents 800 to 1,000 Dollars more valuable than at present. they are decaying fast. 4 to 500 Dollars repair is necessary to be expended on the Hong.

Momently expecting some letters from you I wait with anxiety their receipt. In the interim wishing you and your families felicity believe me to be most Truly Your Friend

S. DORR

Original per Eliza, Odell. Duplicate per the Active

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, February 28, 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, My last was dated 13th Inst. since when I have the pleasure to announce the safe arrival of the Ship Diana Capt. Folger (the former Commander having died) from Lima after experiencing great detention and being mostly stripped of their property. her present funds amount to only about *14,000D* for

Owner's account it will however be a Satisfaction to hear that the Diana is safe Mr. Burling is well and at present at my house, the Diana remaining at Macao in consequence of her having no Cargo she however will come up in a day or two.

The Ship Active Capt. Clay still remains here in consequence of some difficulty with Conseequa the Hong Merchant who in every respect has behaved like a Scoundrel. the Active is the fourth Ship that has experienced a long detention from him. It is uncertain at present whether Samuel will or will not remain with me till next year.

No goods now at market except silks, Company Nankins yellow and white; common white Ditto, Rhubarb, China ware and Bohea Tea. Seal skins barter 85C Cash 60C.

In case of failure in our Seal Voyage, order the Commander to take hair seal and return home.

I hope an arrival from our way will take place soon for I am very anxious to hear from home. Make my love to our Family, and believe me to be most Truly your affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Original Eliza Odell, Duplicate per the Active

SULLIVAN DORR TO J. H. RABINEL

SIR, Haveing heard it intimated that the English Company is about takeing possession of Macao for the purpose of preventing France and Spain from so doing, for which intended object the former have a fleet now lying at Lintin with seven hundred troops on board I have reason to believe that the English Supercargoes here have endeavoured to impress the Chinese Goverment with an Idea of the necessity of suffering them to land the troops to prevent any invation from Manila by the French and Spanish, by which circumstance the English trade here would be annihilated or suffer such interruptions as induces them to obtain possession of the place if possible; let alone conjecture respecting the truth of the French and Spanish intention of attempting the place: The true motive of the English Company is easily to be seen, for it is well known that an establishment here has been a favourite object with them, and still must be the case, and at no time have appearances been more favourable for such a project however I hope they will not effect their purposes.

It appears to me that the story of the French and Spanish Invasion of Macao is merely calculated to cover the Company's real intention, for if France and Spain ever intended to have gain'd possession of Macao it is probable that they would have effected it three or four years since when their fleets in the China Seas were more than equal to the purpose.

Whatever the motives of the English Company may be in wishing to take possession of Macao, this I am certain of (if they do) that should my Country be so unfortunate as to be at War with England on a future day, the American commerce here would certainly be at an end. no Vessells could come into Macao roads without being taken and sent to Malaca or elsewhere, when on the contrary if the Portugues hold Macao it is certain that our Ships would meet with less interruption. therefore it is for the interest of every Nation perhaps, that the least potent power (which I conceive to be Portugues) should hold the place, particularly as the English may be aiming at something not at this moment contemplated by every one.

Having heard (but nothing authentick) that Mr. Drummond is now down at Macao for the purpose of settleing the terms upon which the troops are to be landed, also that you with others have addressed the Chineeese Government in the form of a *remonstrance*, I have to request you will favour me with a Copy of the same, together with any information respecting Macaos being taken possession of by the English Company.

Feeling interested in the foregoing enquiries is the reason I now address you hoping you will forgive the liberty; I have the pleasure to be with Great Respect Your Obedient Servant

S. DORR

Canton, April 11th 1802

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton 3d May 1802

DEAR SIR, Since my last nothing very material has transpired that concerns your interest here. I have only to notice that your No. 2 factory has been let the 3d time, the last for 200 Dollars only.

Since mine of 13th March, an English fleet has arrived at Macao for the purpose of takeing possession of that place, but the Portugese being tributary to the Emperor of China it was thought neces-

sary by the Senate at Macao to obtain his permission; in consequence of which disposition on the part of the Government of Macao the fleet was waiting orders from Bengal how to proceed, when happily peace yesterday was pronounced with all the world by a Spanish Frigate which arrived at Macao from Manilla and St. Blas, a circumstance which bleeding Europe has been sighing for a long time.

In consequence of peace perhaps Factories may be demanded this Season in which case shall do my best for you.

On the 2nd Ulto. the Ship Ganges arrived here from Philadelphia after a Cargo of Teas, which they will obtain but the quality cannot be very excellent as they are the refuse of the market. The Idea of peace has prepossessed the minds of the Chinese that goods will be very much demanded the coming Season so that the prices cannot but be enormously high. Witness Nankins now at 52 dollars to 56, Cash price. 56 Tale is demanded upon contract for Hyson Tea and other goods, except silks in proportion.

I am under an agreement to sell the Ginseng Mr. Thompson left with me for Souchong Tea at 34⁷ Ginseng 9 dollars per Catty all round, Yet I fear the person will not adhere to his agreement in which case I fear I shall not be able to obtain more than 4 to 5 Dollars. it begins to injure, such is the humidity of the climate that it turns black however shall do the best I can.

I hereby apprise you of my intention to quitt this takeing a passage for Manilla to return in two or three months, being fully sensible my health will be better'd which at present is worse than since I have been absent from home.

In hopes this will find you and yours well I remain Your Friend
S. DORR

Ginseng Common Cash about 100 Dollars.

Cap. J. Smith chartered the Ship Semerimis at Manilla for the enormous sum of 125,000 Dollars Payable in Manilla after her return from Accapulca.

Original per the Missouri Duplicate per the Ganges

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, May 3d 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, My last was dated 27th March and 2 Ulto. when I announced the safe arrival of the Ship Ganges from Philadelphia. her destination being private no letters came by her she comes for a Cargo of Black Teas mostly, which however cannot be now obtain'd of a very good quality. She will sail in June.

Capt. Smith of the Ship Simiramus arrived here in the Ship Missouri from Manilla. he charterd his ship to the Spanish Company at Manilla for about 125,000 Dollars to go to Accapulca and return. the return freight will clear expences. Smith is now with me, who intends returning to Manilla where I shall accompany him, to return here in two or three months, when I shall prepare to quitt this abominable Country. . . .

I have now been in China 33 Months, and have received a remittance of only 5,000 Dollars, and had I availd myself of the Credits offerd heretofore as I have been advised to do, what a pretty situation should I now have been in; harrassed by Chinese Creditors but thank heaven 10 Months will elapse before any one has claims on me which cannot be satisfied; in the interim I hope to receive a large remittance from Andrew.

I feel evident marks of this climate on my constitution, which together with the trouble and anxiety with and about my business the past Season has at times almost distracted me therefore God willing I go home the coming Season.

The price of Hyson Tea in America has risen as I expected when I recommended a speculation in that article. I calculated well when I loaded the Dispatch and Littillar with Souchongs. if my Adventures mature well I shall when I return home be worth 30 to 50,000 Dollars which property I dispose of in Case Death should scise me as per the enclosed Will or Letter to be open'd in case of my decease only, the same to be as good as tho lawfully expressed.

Mr. Larkin who went out in the Snow Pacific Trader remains in my house at Canton who will write you if any thing important happens.

In hopes this will meet you well and all our family and connections believe me to be Affectionately Your Brother

S. DORR

Nankins 52*D* to 56*D* Ginseng 100 about.

Everything will be dear the comeing Season, peace sending so many Ships here.

Inform Mr. Waters or F. Amory that all the Cheese perished on my hands that Waters left with me except about 30 Dollars worth.

I do not now enclose my Will.

Original per the Missouri Duplicate per the Ganges

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Macao, 2nd June 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, Being disappointed about obtaining a passage for Manilla, I have taken a House here where I shall remain untill the Season of business commences again when I shall return to Canton. I find myself a new man almost; a change of air from inland to Sea, together with opportunities to exercise and more society unburdens the mind of the course the body is at grater ease and flourisheth.

It is said the Hong Merchants have contracted (for teas at 15% to 20% higher) with the Tea Merchants this Season than heretofore known. in consequence of peace they Suppose many ships will be here from all Countries. Nankins 56*D* to 60*D*. Bombay Cotton 11*T* to 12*T*.

I am determin'd to go home and probably purchase a Ship of 500 tons put her up for Canton and myself for Supercargo, because I know at any period I can make this trade profitable; I have every advantage over any man that has not resided here, also I have yet youth on my side thereby I shall be able to make a handsome fortune before I am 30 years old.

I do not feel in the mood to be prolix; besides it is extremely tedious to write much in warm weather otherwise I might endeavour to give you some description of this place and its poor degenerate inhabitants. I refer you to Van Brams account it being a true picture.

I flatter myself that no more than 3 or 4 months after you receive this I shall have the pleasure to be with you and in the interim believe me to be your affectionate Brother

S. DORR

The English fleet that came here for the purpose of takeing

Macao still remains waiting orders from Calcutta; it will cost the English Company 1,400,000 Dollars a foolish expedition unless they meant to war with China.

The Ship *Severn* Capt. Wheeton has arrived in 126 days from New York.

Original per the Ganges

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, July 28th 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, I now have to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters under date of 25th July, 24th October 3d and 23d November and 11th December 1801, also your letters of 9th February 3rd, 6th and 15th March 1802. By which I preceive with (and the circumstance affords much Satisfaction) pleasure that my friend "Viselius" has been with you, whom you treated with kindness as he has acknowledged by letter to me, and most probably to the Dutch Gentlemen here whose attention towards me in this Country is truly friendly, and I know they will (when they come up from Macao) acknowledge your goodness towards the Doctor, by reiterating their civilities towards me.

The prospects of the Jennys making a good voyage is very dubious in my mind; I hope the sealing crew may prove successful particularly as it is possible I shall be concernd one fourth at least if not one half in an other outfit.

There will be American Ships here this season to the number of 30 Sail, you may depend upon it, I know it, 10 direct Ships already.

The silk coat of which you speak cost me about \$20. The skins you never had Credit for. I will just say how it happen'd when I sold the Hancocks cargo upon counting the same there remaind an Indian jacket for which the Merchant would allow only the value of half a skin which I would not accept, and threw the jacket aside. some time after when at leisure I thought it would make a nice slaying coat for a Lady or Gentleman and to be brief it is where you have seen it.

I expect the Miantinomo every moment and the Oneco very soon; whether or no the narrow policy of the Owners will give a Commission or no is uncertain.

You wonder why I did not send nankins and silk goods instead of teas per the *Snow Pacific Trader*; I have to observe once for all that

skins are not money and without which Cash goods are very hard to be had, besides the very particular circumstances under which the Snow labour'd here render'd it impossible to do otherwise than I did.

I once informd you that Iron and Copper was prohibited to be exported after being once landed. I have known trouble caused by endeavouring to send down two or three sheets only; Therefore the Copper per the Amethyst will not be reported unless I can sell it for the cost; which I apprehend will not be the case. I was astonished when I noticed you was holding out for 100C for your Cassia. I will say no more than that when I can obtain a good profit for anything I invariably avail myself thereof and make Sales and I hope Andrew C. Dorr will do so for me. besides your calculations of no more arriveing with you might have proved fallacious to your great cost.

As to Capt. Browns pillageing the Owners of the Betsy I cant say; there is sufficient room in this country to cheat Owners and it is not improbable that Brown allowed a high price for teas and received a private compensation for so doing equivalent to the true difference in price. his Hyson should have been chargd 45^T Souchong 36 to 38^T. You cannot be too scrupulous about employing men of integrity whom you must pay well so that may not turn thieves, for there is ample field for villany here.

I thought I was acting very judiciously when lading the Littillar and Dispatch with Souchong Teas. Nankins I could not get nor silks; rest assured the quality of their cargoes is excellent and when any teas acquire their value in America those will.

I am astonish'd you should spend so much breath about advancing Bowers for deceased Seamen. it was an oversight in me. Yet all that you had to do was to obtain a refund from Bowers and have paid the same to the deceas'ds executors. if Bowers refused to refund he must be a bad man. he is however comeing in the Amethyst.

Snow and Magee would certainly be very powerfull rivals should I intend remaining here, but I adhere to my former determination of clearing off old debts and returning home leaving this in January next, if nothing which I now do not know of prevents, when I shall be able probably to convince my Brother John that I have acquird a property of 28,000 or 38,000 Dollars and all that by Commission Adventures and other honest laudable ways, and not as that insignificant puppy of a Bass intimated by presents (which have frequently been offer'd me) which however I have rejected with disdain. and if

Mr. Bass or any other person says I receive a doceur in the way intimated you having the least affection for me will knock him down as a person who means to injure my reputation by calling me a *thief*, for I esteem any person who introduces business to a hong merchant on such principles a *damnd rascal*, and so far from doing anything which may have a semblance of receiving anything of the kind, that I always state my objections to introduce people to Hong Merchants; And I never offer to do so, except asked by any friend who I know has confidence in my integrity. and to show you further I never have had Credit from Hong Merchants exceeding all together 12,500 Dollars together with 13,000 Dollars of Youqua, Kingqua, and a Moreman, the latter sum of Credit was anticipated on remittance expected some time since from Andrew, that I took only for 6 Months which has expired about one month so that I am not much indebted to Merchants particularly Ponqua, of whom I never took a Credit while engaged in business for other persons, with whom I have done business to Amount of 270,000 dollars nearly, and met with punctuality and dispatch till engaged with the Arabs Cargo. The circumstances attending which grieved me to such a degree that my spirits were preyed upon, loss of sleep and sickness insued so as to make me compleatly unhappy; you no doubt must have noticed the unusual brevity of my letters all which arose from the unhappy situation of my business last year; I pray you inform Mr. Sears that Ponqua's punctuality to me before and the cargo's being well sold, biassed me solely, for it cannot be supposed that I would commit the interest [of] Mr. Sears for the paltry Commission of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ wittingly; Ponqua gave me 9 to 15% more than some others offer'd, particularly Mouqua who only offerd 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ % for the Cotton, and as the returns were mostly to be made in Bohea Tea, I felt as though I was doing right (and as I would have done for you) in selling the Cotton to Ponqua; the first packing of Bohea was fine say No. 1 at 300, the 2d packing not so good the other teas pretty good; furthermore I was so grieved that I could not say so much to Mr. Sears as I intended who I am afraid will entertain a poor opinion of me; it has always been my misfortune to barter skins etc. never having it in my power to display my knowledge of business by purchaseing with money; it aught to be considered that Ponqua experienced an embarrassment after I had engaged with him, which human foresight could not prevent: Viz. an Armenian arrived here who owed Ponqua 115,000 Dollars Cash

which he could not pay (nor never will) thereby preventing Ponqua from doing me that justice which I know he intended. I sincerely wish the Indus had come to me I would have proved to him I can do well with specie. In all the transactions of a Merchantile nature that I have been engaged in, I have aimed at right and my conscience is free of guile towards any human being. I shall have the pleasure to see Mr. Sears some future day giving further explanations and with whom and you if circumstances authorize it, I mean to be concern'd in adventureing here myself, Supercargo being determin'd to follow this trade personally 'till I am 30 years old I am now only 23 and 9 Months. Captain said he should inform of the Arabs destination. The decease of Mr. Heard did not a little increase my uneasiness; he fell a victim to the fever Ague which might have been in all probability cured if he had not been obstinate in refusing the aid of medical men who have been in this Country Years. and I venture to pronounce the American doctor, who attended him made no radical applications but applied barks strength[en]ing the disease against the patient, whereas they ought have removed obstructions by mercurial cathartics, then have applied barks strength[en]ing the patient against the disease but they conducted on the contrary in consequence of which the stomach rejected all food and the patient lingerd or in fact starved to death; keep what I now say to yourselves if you please it may cause uneasiness.

I notice what you say respecting our markets and shall conduct accordingly; there is no room with you or even here to make speculations. Goods low in America and high here. and I have to congratulate myself on the happy circumstance of having confided in my own judgement in preference to that of my friends, Snow, my own family and others in not shipping goods on a Credit to America. That is I never have taken any credits except where in all moral certainty I could pay for the same without depending upon returns for goods so sent on Credit. and let me assure you that I stand upon such a footing with a Number of Merchants that I could at any time last year (or even now) have loaded many Vessels with tea, but thank fortune I thought I should be risking my reputation on too slender prospects and have done as you see. Mouqua the 2d Hong Merchant offerd me 30,000 Dollars worth of skins and Souchong Tea at a fair price payable 18 Months interest after 12 Months at 12%. no I told him that circumstances did not authorize me to do so fearing I should

lose my face with him. he was not a trifling I assure you I could have taken the teas at an hours notice if I pleased.

I built a factory two years since and gave you notice of so doing; it cost me about 900 Dollars tho' some suppose some thousands. building is very cheap here, tho the annual ground rent amounts to 400*D* per Annum notwithstanding which I have clear'd the house by rents, and the house will sell for now at 1,000 to 1,200 Dollars. my letters must not all have reached you for I was particular.

I have made enquiries respecting pearl Tea and find it to be a particular round kind of Gunpowder of a large size put up in Catty canisters with the name thereon, also Gomee a Superior Hyson tea and Hyson Chulon that is Hyson with an odoriferous flower added, are such as the French formaly took from here, upon which I shall perhaps experiment largely with some Rhubarb.

Gunpowder, Pearl and Imperial Teas are the same teas with this difference the fine by some is call'd Imperial when by others it is call'd Gunpowder the English call it all Imperial.

I can procure only about 10 or 12 Thousand desert plates at 4*T* 2*M* and 5*T* 4*M*. shall procure also some dishes, besides which I contracted for (previous to my going to Macao) sundry goods which I can now sell at a handsome profit Viz.

	<i>D</i>
1,824 Yds. striped and Cut Velvets; Black stripes as well as other colours at 30 dollars for 16 yds. (prime goods)	3,420.
100,000 Nankin and Canton fans at an Average of about 18 <i>D</i> per M	1,842.
10,000 Green Garden fans at 40	400.
1,000 Bamboo Hatts	500.
200 Blinds	360.
500 Matts 10 yds. long at 2 <i>D</i>	1,000.
500 Matts a little wider at 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,125.
200 Bagomen boards at 2 <i>D</i> 1 and 2 Size	400.
10,000 Dice at 2 <i>D</i> per hundred	200.
3,000 Wood sticks white and Straw mounted gold edged fans at 56 <i>D</i>	168.
150 pieces Black neck handkerchiefs at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>D</i>	1,237.50
China ware (plates)	500.
Dollars	11,152.50

I am in expectation of obtaining 10 to 15 pickels Nutmegs at 270D of an excellent quality I shall pack them in cloves I esteem them a good article. It is probable I may put all the goods contracted for in the Amethyst for mutual benefit without my availing myself of any difference in the prices now.

I have a Cannister preparing for Indus to contain 16 lb. Tea, lacquer'd and leaded a pretty Chest enough. I meant some of the Boxes heretofore sent for Johns use and particularised what I would have done with the presents sent (see my Memo.) but I believe I passoverd over Johns wife, Esther she must forgive the affront, and accept of a reconcileing Kiss when I come home if it wont be esteemd contraband.

Doctor Creighton received Berrys money and receipted therefor on the bill of lading as Berry's Agent he has written you.

As I before observed to you am happy no Ginseng has been sent me of the fine kind there is an infinite deal of trouble attending it unless sold as he Mr. Wait did his all together to Mouqua for 10 dollars payable in Teas; I shall make him a Witness of the sale of any that comes in the Amethyst putting it out anyones power to say I render false accounts as has been said of Magee of whom shall say more when I see you.

Whatever you may think of my note to Warner, the loss of Simmons Nankins may be imputable to him because he left the ship with none but Seamen on board.

Oliver inform'd that he gave Andrew orders to sell his Bohea Tea when 38C could be had for it. if so Andrew cannot excuse himself, for not selling the same Oliver however expresses no dissatisfaction.

I am sorry that what I have said respecting the Hancock had no influence with you after her arriveing from this. I thought and knew more than I dare say then, and I pray you always consider that it is highly essential to own good ships and copperd ones for long voyages, for I mean always to consider these qualifications in a Ship as the forerunner of success, when I would not accept of a Snow Pacific Trader; and what is still a matter of astonishment is, that my family have stood so often their own underwriters, to my great grief and I think them much to blame. I make it an invariable practice not to engage in any business which will not pay Insurance for a fortune is easier lost than won.

I now come to notice Andrews haveing engaged for me as one

fourth owner of the Amethyst without my particular authorizing him so to do, whereby (had she cost much) he has encroached upon monies destined to meet my debts here by which my reputation might suffer and I hope he will never engage for me again as he has in the Amethyst. but as he has I conceive myself to be one fourth owner of said Ship. It is highly probable as I offer'd to take 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ or one half of a Ship to go a Sealing that you will not wait the return of the Amethyst but dispatch a ship as recommended, tho I do not feel so sanguin as I did in consequence of there being about 15 Sealers now out.

Common Ginseng is now at 30D to 70 per pickel. I was at Macao when Mr. Wiggins arrived and as you wished do and shall treat him civilly.

I thought you knew enough of Magee to give proper weight to such a Story as his having written the Merchants here much Ginseng might be expected.

When Edes returnd to Macao I gave him permission to open my letters to you per the Lovelylass because there was one enclos'd therein from his wife (supposed) after which he was to reseal the same and put it on board the Lovely Lass, which he did together with my Original per the Snow, but sooner than hear you complain of postage being heavy I insist on your charging me with it in future.

When I said that your Commission of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % was no object to me, it was only meant, it was no inducement to remain here independent of other considerations, such as availing myself of making handsom shipments to you; which I declare was my only motive in remaining otherwise I should have gone home with Mr. Snow. but my prudence has got the better of speculative notions and I have not made any large Shipments, tho' Snow advised me to it. I believe him to be a considerable loser by Shipments the Season he left this. all his freight cost 100D at home. Furthermore I did not remain here with expectations of increasing patronage or business from strangers; You may rest assured that I feel myself under the highest obligations to my family and If I have expressed myself savouring of ingratitude impute it to the life I lead and indisposition, being naturally phlegmatic and my mind too often overburthend.

My letter per the Perseverance to John said something about Breck why did you not open it. in future you have my permission to open all my letters. I could not nor can I give any evidence about

Breck. extract from my Letter of 5th February 1800 to you "Capt. Breck I am led to believe from the equivocal answer (when I demanded with promptness) premitted Jackson and Davis to sell furs at Macao; am not certain but thus much was intimated to me." Croker was the person who inform'd me.

Doctor Tilton of the Ship India of Philadelphia Holbrook Samuel Bumstead and S. Burling all know something of the Ginseng business. Sargent and Gardner declared to one of them or to the hearing of some one of the foregoing evidence that they never made such a voyage in their lives he Gardner making 750 dollars by it etc. etc.

I wrote you under date of 19th and 28th Inst. per the Ganges of which letters I kept no copy.

What will be the price of Goods from this Country when 36 Sail have poured their Cargoes on our Shores? distressing sacrifices must ensue.

Davis of the Thomas Russell had the impudence to ask the loan of 200 dollars from me. I told him my funds were otherwise disposed of. Perron seems to be a very well behaved man and I treated him civilly as I do all others.

Yours of 15th March did not inclose the sales alluded to. it is of little consequence, I have such ample documents before me. I keep no copies of private Letters therefore am not able to answer about any ambiguities therein contain'd, but thus much I can say that the Shipment I sent to New York might be better property in the 8% than otherwise tho' I often say much more than I mean the thing was only hinted, and afterwards drop'd.

Enclos'd you will find a list of arrivals this season and a Memo. of my debts and credits for your amusement.

I shall inform Henry of the Insurance and shall attend to John Dorr's memo. Cups saucers Bowls etc.

I am not a little surprised that you omitted sending me some instructions respecting the disposition of your funds in the Amethyst because if I had have known your wishes goods should have been bought when Wheatland arrived a profit cheaper particularly silks which have risen 6 to 15%, so that I hope you will not in future trust to a Ships fast sailing. Your Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Severn Whetten Duplicate per the Indus, Wheatland Triplicate Amethyst

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, August 1st 1802

DEAR BROTHER, I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letters dated 25th July and 14 December 1802, 24th February, 6th, 15th March 1802, the several contents of which are noted. I shall obtain about one hundred dollars in lieu of the three chests musty Tea.

You ask me the use and consumption of Ginseng and I have to say its specific qualities are these viz. it promotes digestions, procures appetite, calms the mind thereby the patient obtains sleep; a good diurectic and sudorific; it gives strength to a patient enabling him to conquer any debility, procures easy births, gives vigour to old and young, exciting them to Coition when nature would not. it is a Chinese nostrum applied to all diseases and possesses every virtue in their estimation, and many of them believe it to grow as it is presented them in the clarified state. It is however proved to possess no virtue over many common vegetables only it is a good ingredient to compose a bitter; It produces a great revenue to the Emperor not being procured from Tartary but for his account. it being used at court and by all Superior Orders together with the Chinese being so tenacious of their own is the reason of its being so high, Viz. about 10,000 Dollars a pickel, when ours which is of equal quality in my mind brings one tenth only of that sum.

It is uncertain what quantity of refined Ginseng will do at this market annually, because the quantity brought is unknown to me. Yet I presume that if it was possible to monopolize the business, ten at twenty pickels might be brought by one hand only; and in time the same Weight per Annum would probably be made to fetch one at two or Three Hundred dollars per Catty. That is it must be of the quality Wait brought in the Indus, but as it is impossible to monopolize the article it will remain perhaps at its present low price rising perhaps some years hence to 15 to 30 Dollars, but not till the clarifying of it is neglected and the quantity brought here lessened. the Dutch Company previous to the War never suffer'd more than 40 pickels of Nutmegs to be brought here which sold for the fixed price of 1,500 dollars per pickel. now unless Ginseng is managed in the same way it will never bring a great price. Common Ginseng is used for the same purpose which fine is, by those who cannot purchase

better. The first Season I was here about 800 pickels common was brought. it sold from 400 dollars down to 190 Dollars per pickel. The second Season the quantity amounted to about 1,600 pickels and sold for 200D down to 120D about.

The Third the quantity amounted to about 1,700 pickels which sold for 80D down to 50 Dollars a small quantity however at the last of this season sold for 110D Cash, but the English fleet arriving it fell to 80D in barter. There has been of late years two at five hundred pickels Ginseng brought from England.

The first quantity thrown into market this season amounting to 300 pickels in one ship is sold for 70D. There has besides perhaps 500 pickels more fall'n in what it has sold for shall say hereafter. a Chinese holder of Ginseng says he cannot sell it for 90 Dollars duty included, which is 60 Dollars per pickel, makeing with cost 130 Dollars. it is a doubt in my mind whether it will bring more than 30 Dollars hereafter till the importation is again neglected. From the first of the season I arrived here Ginseng has been falling as you see the quantity imported increased, so that I believe there was some remains of the 800 pickels the 1st Season, which increased in the hands of holders by the large following importations, and I think six hundred pickels were they in the hands of a monopoly might be made to sell for in time 300 or 400 Dollars per pickel, and I conceive that 600 pickels is sufficient for this market so as to enable the adventurer to make a handsome profit. The holders here cannot keep Ginseng long the humidity of the climate breeds worms and the consequence is a total loss if not sold out to small dealers who can with little trouble preserve small quantities; thus much for Ginseng.

I notice you have interested me one fourth in the Amethyst and made some conditions about my funds comeing out in her; which circumstance as it respect being $\frac{1}{4}$ owner is of no great consequence but the laying my money under any conditions, it will be impossible (perhaps) that I can comply therewith; for my debts here will not admit of it. even if it did, you had no authority to lay me under such obligations for the whole of injunctions respecting remittances have been these, *Sell my goods and remit me instantly*, notwithstanding which you advised with the Old Gentleman etc. etc. acting diametrically opposite to my wishes; Adhere to the Vulgar Adage (nevertheless true) Obey Orders or break Owners, for a contrary conduct may ruin my reputation, but as it is I consider myself one fourth owner of

the Amethyst and perhaps may remit 10,000 Dollars worth of goods in her.

It is perhaps well you did not copper the Amethyst, but in future it is an insuperable objection to my being concern'd in a Ship for a long Voyage. Therefore consider what I say, and I will venture to pronounce that I can convince you many of our families Northwest Ships would have made their bottoms pay three or four fold if they had have been copper'd.

I may possibly obtain 30 to 40 Dollars for the Copper in the Amethyst per pickel in Teas quite uncertain.

I thank you for silk patterns and Camphir but I had a good knowledge of those goods before, having picked out 20,000 Dollars worth for Capt. Smith a little before I received your Muster and principally of the same cost silks. Camphir is dear and will not do to be put with a Tea Cargo.

For very many particulars I refer you to Joseph and John Dorr as per my Letter of the 28th Ulto. to them, and many of their and your observations I pass unnoticed referring you and them to Samuel and William.

I once more repeat what I said to you 2 Years since Viz. if I forget to desire you to insure for me, I pray you on the first knowledge of any Shipment make insurance to the full amount immediately. if you do not I shall hold you as my underwriter.

I come to notice your several account Sales received per the Indus Viz. That of goods per the Jenny, Edes Commander, per the Hancock and Dispatch, the Jenny Bowers and the Barclay Barney, all which are free of errors of any consequence, except the sales per the Jenny Edes Commander Viz. 562*D* 25*C* should be 560*D* 50*C* difference against you and in my favour 1*D* 75*C* which I have not noticed in booking your Accounts neither shall I unless you do hereafter, and conformable to your account Current I have debited you in New account with the balance as therein appears (and as per my own account Current now enclosed) due me Viz. 21,516*D* 56*C* say Twenty One Thousand five hundred and Sixteen Dollars 56/100th. on the first sales for particular reasons you have charged no Commission. I notice however the storage is one half of a Commission. never mind Andrew we will settle these differences hereafter. particular reasons are I suppose my Selling your wine and here if I had have charg'd you 20% as I might for freight and you could not have complain'd;

50% would have been about the balance of account due you when I left home. however I am compleatly satisfied with your account and mention these things by the way of saying something.

Never make insurance again as per the Perseverance. the Amethyst is insured out and home I hope.

It affords me pleasure to notice you insured most of your concern in the Rover and I hope will in future always insure for as I say to Joseph and John a fortune is easier lost than won. Your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Original per the Severn Whetten Duplicate per the Indus Wheatland Triplicated Amethyst

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR, JOHN DORR, AND ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, October 12th 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, Since my last of August 1st the Amethyst Bowers commander has put Anchor at Whampao, say the 30th August, by which Vessel I have received Joseph and John Dorr and Andrew C. Dorr's letters of 29 and 31th March last, and as recommend I will endeavour to be as concise as possible also intelligible to yourselves and others; therefore that my attention may not be divided by tedious repetitions I do address myself to you respecting the concerns of the Amethyst, mixing my observations upon Joseph and John Dorr's letters with those upon Andrew C. Dorr's received per the Amethyst.

You will perceive by the enclosed account that your Nail rods are sold at a loss the Net Amount being carried to the Credit of Joseph and John Dorr and Andrew C. Dorr, say 1,688*D* 87*C* also your remittance of 18,000 Dollars per the Amethyst you will find yourselves credited 357*D* 96*C* Net Sales of ginseng for account H. Mead, 327*D* 24*C* Net Sales of ginseng for account William Hall so done by virtue of their letters per the Amethyst their drafts in your favour are returnd unaccepted, hoping they are men by whom you will lose nothing. at the same time I am sorry you had more confidence in ginseng than myself, for had I any I should have adventured myself; it is attended with infinite trouble and lays a persons character open to insinuations unmerited and disagreeable for what Shipper of ginseng in the Amethyst can reconcile to his mind the low sales made of that

article by me. it was the best to be done with it and Porter urged me to sell it for he was well convinced that it speedily spoils in this country so humid is the air that in a few days I have known the article to turn black. I now declare to you (which corresponds with what I have always said) that I had rather have nothing to do with it and will not accept the consignment of any more unless by one Shipper made in a body as Munsons was; for one wants silks another Nankins some every package to be kept seperate which is impossible, so that I will never receive any ginseng unless as before observed, for had I other business to attend to at this moment my employers must suffer I cant be pester'd with ginseng. Andrew says my Commission is $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and 5% Joseph and John Dorr says $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ I have thought proper to charge only $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and 2% or 5% only on Sales thinking it improper to do otherwise The whole is sold for Bohea tea at $12T$ Freight commission etc. not being able to do otherwise, which however gives the ship part of a freight at $60D$ per Ton.

Such are the markets here now that many people suffer exceedingly camblets 11 to 15 Dollars per peice. Ginseng common 30 to 60 Dollars good refine one to 2 Dollars in fact this is not the place to adventure much and I am astonished at your countenanceing people to send cheese and such articles here who is to consume them? the respective companies are supplied by their own ships, and it is very seldom that any articles for European consumption here bring cost. the chinese do not eat cheese and drink wine. even if they did such trash as Stackpole sent would not suit. I never saw such adulterated stuff. the Quarter cask my Father sent me is so poor that I have given it away, never offering such wine at my Table. Other Chinese productions much as last quoted you. I think that goods will be much lower in January next.

I shall not procure any credit of consequence choosing rather to send an empty ship that [*sic*] take teas, prospects are so poor. If I do take Credit it will be Anki Souchong tea at $18T$ to 22 Tale such as that sent per the Littillar. All your letters via Isle France, Manilla, Batavia and Bombay have come to hand and at another time would have been very important.

I am sorry when I consider how much the Gentlemen ginseng shippers will be disappointed when their sales are exhibited; Munson 1 quality $5D$ no. 2 $2D$ per Catty, all other shippers $2D$ for first, $1D$ for second and $80C$ for third, common $60C$ payable in Bohea, as

well as the sales of Nail rods, copper etc. Copper 32*D* per pickel. Nail rods 8*D*. Dutch chees 25*D* per pickel. Wine I am offered for 90*D* as good as South American cheese will sell for 10*D* per pickel. whale Bone 14*D* per pickel. this market is inundated with everything, so that no one article brings any proffit, except Cotton having risen from 11*T* to 14*T* 5*M* to 16*T*. Seal Skins 100*C* to 110*C* at a barter in goods. I presume they would bring 90*C* cash as none have arrived it is impossible to determine. A good cloth coat cost me made up 10*D*, other apparel in proportion.

Bowers did not build the Coach House (he had a disagreeable passage out) nor will he it is conceived to be unnecessary and ruinous to the ship, for freight does not authorize it and if it did I should object to it upon the principle of its doing more injury than any advantage it would offer. I omit sending a Memo. of my debts and credits, however rest assured of what I have said.

As no freight of consequence is to be had more than what 17,000*D* worth Bohea will give, I have purchased but few silks and no Nankins of course you will be $\frac{3}{4}$ ths interested in all shipments made by the Amethyst, which will consist of some additions to my former Memo. There is now shipping from here about 6,000 chests Bohea tea and you need not be surprized if 10,000 or 12,000 goes hence this season for America, large quantities of silks, and much china ware, with fewer Nankins than heretofore, perhaps 1,800,000. last years exports were 2,600,000. Johns Memo. will be attended to if possible, Andrew C. Dorrs not. Nutmegs heretofore mentioned will be omitted, cups and saucers are not to be had now and no goat skins the chinese eat the skins as they do pork after the animal is scalded. Johns chairs and sophia will be too bulky Young Hyson, Gunpowder and Hyson Teas are cash articles so that I shall send but little.

I mistook when I said that Tarter ginseng was only as valuable is [*sic*] ten times ours, however incredible it may appear. it is nevertheless true that the sale of that article is farmed out and so judiciously spread over this vast Empire that it is retailed as medicine at 576*T* to 7,200*T* per catty which is equal to 1,000,000 Dollars per pickel which ginseng does not lose its quality for being in small lots a little trouble keeps it from injury neither does it lose its value in consequence of the quantities brought from America for they say their own is infinitely better, one root possessing more virtue than a catty

of ours; furthermore it is said untill the Americans cease bringing it in as large quantities as they do of common the price will continue low, already 150 pickels of clarified has been brought here this season; and about 1,200 pickels common in American vessels with about 600 pickels from England.

19th. When the Amethyst departs from this I shall be indebted here to Amount of about 5,000 Dollars which would not have been the case had Andrew C. Dorr remitted me as ordered and I hope what I have said will impress his mind with the necessity of obeying orders, particularly where my credit is at stake; 'Till I received his letter of 2d April I was not apprized of my being interested in the Amethysts cargo, it being entirely new, and which I disclaim together with any concern in the bills drawn on me as being unauthorized unjust and diametrically opposite to my orders to Andrew C. Dorr. one fourth of the ship I consider as mine and shall conduct accordingly in adjusting my accounts.

It a little surprises me that King & Talbot have not remitted me as you ordered neither did they write or send any papers by the George Barclay. My nankins heretofore sent were truly valued. I cannot find any root or anything else here by the name of Zaffer or Zaffa.

There was about a month since a rebellion in this province about 80 Miles distant from this in the district of O-uy-e-chu some thousands of men having assembled of the sect or religion call'd that of Heaven and Earth their purpose was the reestablishment of the Chinese Dynasty on the Throne, the true heir having been preserved by them, the right still existing in the person of a Young Prince or Person brought forward by the rebels, besides which their cause was strengthen'd by the prediction that the Tarter Dynasty was to exist only 160 years; under which auspices they commenced their career supposing that the whole might be realized previous to the time allotted the Tarter Dynasty having existed 158 years at the commencement of their operations.

The Saun-Too personally appear'd at the seat of the rebellion but finding the delinquents disregard his commands and appearing on the offensive he was necessitated to send to Canton for a reinforcement which was forwarded him to the number of 15,000 men. the consequence has been that the rebels were dispersed and good order restored, their Chiefs having been taken and decapitated. Whatever

you may think of the business, at one time the Europeans felt and thought it might be a very serious affair. what I have said respecting the rebellion is meant for you and your Friends to read. I beg you never to publish anything I write except expressly desired.

On the first the Caroline Cap. Sturgis arrived here from the Northwest Coast leaving Cap. Derby at the Sandwich Islands for to better his health which is supposed will never take place. he is in a rapid decline. The Caroline brought down 2,800 skins which are sold large and small cash down at 20 dollars, which considering the method of counting the quality and cash being had for them is a very handsome sale and I conceive it to be as good as 28 Dollars the old method of counting every thing considered. Mr. Lamb brought down about 700 sold at the same price.

Ebbetts will be down soon for the purpose of loading with bread, molasses, sugar and rice to return to the coast where he will make a great voyage if no ships have arrived with cargoes from America nothing does on the Coast except those articles 100 lbs. of Sugar and a little rice or bread brings a skin when 6 to 10 Fathoms of cloth, or 3 to 6 musketts will not so that you see the trade is over done. if I can buy any vessell which may come here soon it is possible I shall dispatch her to the Coast for my own account. There is hardly a probability of my undertaking it, so that if you know that no considerable quantity of eatables say rice, sugar, molasses and Bread have been shipped for the Northwest Coast will it not be adviseable to dispatch a cheap fitted Ship there lett her be copperd and strong; at the same time I am not desirous of being interested a cash in such an adventure.

It grieve me when I have to relate to you that you now have realized what I have intimated respecting John Crocker, commander of the Jenny, a character without consideration, in few instances regulated by reason and quite equivocal in my estimation, a man that has more consideration for the gratification of his *damnd* passions than for your interest. The Jenny arrived on the Coast on the 14th of January and Crocker being desirous of keeping up his authority as usual regulated the conduct of his men and Officers by what is called *Club law* and such has been his treatment to his men that the best seamen and most of the crew run away to the Russians leaving the Ship in such a weak state that he was necessitated to leave the Coast for the Sandwich Islands there he procured Indians to assist in working

the Ship back to the Coast. in the mean time the season of business elapsed and the whole number of skins procured amounts to 150 only say *One Hundred and fifty Skins* when the industrious, ease and bearaway disposition of the little fellow Ebbetts (with no better advantages) will enable him to bring from the Coast 1,600 Skins. Ay such has been his conduct that his Brother threatened to throw him overboard. Mr. Henry Dorr had so much business on hands that he did not think of writing you or me, so that what I have said comes from Mr. Lamb and Cap. Sturgis. I understand however that he and Crocker were hand and glove.

Now you can see that with a small portion of prudence a man with less capacity than Crocker, would have procured skins enough to have at least indemnified you, for your outfit, a small portion of which enters into his character therefore I hope you will study your own interest and dismiss such men from your service Also Edes for I would sooner have nothing to do with ships than employ them. encourage Couzin Jonathan Dorr and Nathaniel the latter is coming forward finely, and conducts with great propriety.

The Caroline left the following vessells on the coast at Kigarnee

Ship Globe	Cunningham	300 skins
Atahaulpa	Wilds	1,300
Vancouver	Brown	400
Alert	Ebbetts	1,300 including those brought down in the Caroline
Schooner Hitty	Briggs of Philadelphia	100 in May
English Ship Unicorn	Barber	200 about

Ship Catherine Worth (of Boston) on the coast but not seen. his name and the ships, however was cut on a tree 12th February 1802.

Juno, Kindrik left the Sandwich Islands bound to the Northwest Coast he was deranged in mind so as to be compleatly unmannd. Hazard, Rowan not arrived. Louiza, Haswell, Ditto, supposed to have foundered. No other Northwest ships have been seen or heard of. its ascertained that the Ship cut off last season was a Russian.

The Ship Catharine, Woodward, of Boston was going into the port of Callio (south America) on the 23d February 1802; but getting i[n]formation from our Countrymen that he would be ill treated

if not condemned he did not enter port, and it was supposed that he would quit the Coast for this. My compliments with the above information to Samuel Torry Esqr.

The Ship Miantinomo and Schooner Oneco, belonging to our Friend Tracy and others went into Conception on the Coast aforesaid, where they were arrested and sent to Velporiso, on a charge of having given information to the British ship Chance of some Spanish vessells which sailed from Conception for Lima, in consequence of which information, one of which vessells was afterwards taken by the Chance it was supposed that the Miantinomo and Oneco would be condemned. the Miantinomo had about 64,000 seal skins on board.

You will notice that I charge no Per Cent freight on your money and Credit the Ship with none for freight of mine.

About one Month since a Spanish Ship bound from Manilla to this, was caught in a Tifoon near Pedro Blanco where she struck on the rocks and broke in 3 pieces 60 men perished, the others reached the shore. the amount of specie on board said ship was 1,200,000 Dollars, company and private property. on getting the intelligence the Spanish Supercargoes applied to the Hoppo for permission one of the English Company Ships to save the money, which was granted and she has gone, but what success they have met with is not known only that 21,000 dollars have been taken up by the Chineese.

24th. Tomorrow I commence the packing of the Shippers and our own Bohea Tea for the Amethyst, and I see no reason why she will not sail by the 10th November. My accounts are not in such forwardness as to enable me to lay them before you by that conveyance.

The Ann and Hope passed Anger Point the 16th August bound to Manilla and this. It is hoped that 400,000 Dollars will be saved from the Spanish Ship.

About the same time that the Spanish Ship ran on the rocks an English ship from Bengal was wrecked and totally lost on the Grand Lodrone a few of the crew only being preserved.

I know of nothing material more to say at present than to desire my Affectionate remembrance to all friends and the family Your Brother

S. DORR

*Original per the Severn Whitten Duplicate per the Indus Wheatland
Triplicate per Amethyst*

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL TORREY

Canton, October 23d 1802

DEAR SIR, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favour of 27th February last the contents of which are noted. Conformable to your request I will hand Cap. Woodard of your ship Catharine the letter enclosed me for that purpose and should I be here will offer all the assistance in my power. Your Ship Catharine was going into the port of Calleo (South America) on the 23d February 1802 but getting information from our Countrymen, of the Ship Tyre of Providence, that they would be ill treated if not condemned, they did not enter port and it was supposed that they would quit the coast for this. I have made the necessary enquiries of Mr. Bozman respecting the monies received by him from Cap. Woodard and find that the same has been invested and conformable to instructions shipped to you in the Eliza, J. Odell commander who sailed last year for our Town. The prospects of the Catherine making a good voyage is by no means favourable, the late peace having extended its effects to the remotest corners of the world commerce reverting to its old channel has already not only caused the markets of the Spanish American possessions to be glutted but all the East is inundated with European and American productions so that those men who were least concerned in speculative voyages at the conclusion of peace, were certainly best off. and it is a matter of astonishment to me when I see my countrymen d[a]ily arriving here after the productions of this Country when no probable prospect of profit appears to me can result from such advent.

The vast Exports from this the last and the present seasons are sufficient for several years consumptions 36 sail of Americans were here last season Tonnage 8,629. 17 sail here now Tonnage 5,510, with a moral certainty almost of 17 sail more arriveing here betwixt this and April next. The cargoes of which vessells poured into our ports may possibly cause a still greater depression of our markets then heretofore. In hopes this will meet you and your Family well I have the pleasure to be with respect Your Obedient Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

Original per the Severn Whetten

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. BROWN & IVES

Canton, October 23d 1802

GENTLEMEN, I now do myself the pleasure to address you authorized by the circumstances of Mr. Thomas Thompsons having left with me on the departure of your ship Ann and Hope from this last season a quantity of clarified Ginseng with discretionary instructions respecting the disposal of the same.

I have the satisfaction to say that in the month of May last being well convinced from the impression of several letters from my family that large quantities of that article would arrive here this season the secret of cristilizing the same being out and every one seized with the mania influenced me to make immediate sale of yours at 9 Dollars per catty say 281 lbs. first sort, 314 lbs. ditto second 584 lbs. third sort clarified ginseng make together gross 1,179 lbs. Tare 47 lbs. 1,132 lbs. Net=849 catties with $1\frac{1}{2}$ catties as muster so that $850\frac{1}{2}$ Catties at 9 Dollars gives the gross sum of 7,654*D* 50*C* against which my commission will appear viz. 5% = 382*D* 75*C* which with 9*D* 75*C* for sparrs, cooly hire etc. will be deducted leaving the net Amount 7,262*D* 53*C* say seven thousand two hundred and sixty two dollars 53/100 the sum is and will be shipped by the Ship Amethyst, Jonathan Bowers commander bound to Boston in Souchong Tea at 36 Tale per pickel as per agreement and for which the Ginseng was sold and which sales I [am] very happy to say are good in comparison with the present price of that article say one Dollar the price at which Capt. S. Jenckes has sold that brought in the Arthur.

Ginseng of the same quality which I sold for you will not now bring more than 1 to 2 Dollars per Catty, so great has been the influx of that article here this season 160 pickels having been already imported. The souchong Tea will be (per order of Mr. Thomas Thompson) shipped for your account one third and Mesrs. Jones & Tuttle and William Barton Junr. of Hartford two thirds, the whole subject to your orders. The reason for my shipping the Tea in the Amethyst are these. 1st I calculated on the Freight a long time before the Arthur arrived. Secondly, I was under the necessity on Capt. Jenckes arrival either to incur 3 to 400*D* rent, expence in keeping the same here or trusting it in the Merchants Hong. Capt. Jenckes not being in readiness and the Amethyst completely so I sent it on board the

Amethyst at 60 Dollars per Ton Freight besides Capt. Jenckes said it was not material whether he took it or no. Therefore I hope the circumstance will make no improper impression. The Ann and Hope I have the pleasure to say passed Anger point for Mannilla and this on the 16th day of August last. Capt. Jenckes undoubtedly will give you such information as to render it unnecessary for me to say anything respecting this market.

In hopes this will meet you in safety I have the pleasure to be your Very Humble Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

N.B. The Amethyst will sail in about 15 days.

Per the Severn Whetten

SULLIVAN DORR TO DAVID SEARS

Canton, October 22d 1802

DEAR SIR, I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favour of 29th March last the contents of which are noted. It gives me pain when I consider the disagreeable embarrassments under which the business of the Arabs laboured, by no means calculated to give you a favourable Idea of my discernment in the transaction of the business of that Ship in which however I was solely actuated by a regard for the interest of the Owners. Pecuniary embarrassments which Ponqua experienced about the time that I had engaged in business with him was the reason why the departure of that ship was delayed so long and why some of her cargo was not so good as it ought to have been; One Man having fail'd at that moment who owed him 115,000 Dollars besides some other circumstances of no little moment, which human foresight could not have prevented, to which I was a stranger when I engaged with him, and beleive me when I say that had the cotton have belonged to me I should have done the same. Ponqua has not fail'd but is quite low in circumstances. he is a well meaning man, and would have rendered justice had it been in his power the circumstances before mentioned only prevented it. I hope that the Arabs cargo has proved as good as the generality of those which went from this last season. the destination of the Arab together with the disagreeable situation of

my business with Ponqua so oppressed my spirits that some months elapsed before I could reflect upon the circumstances with any degree of composure particularly when I considered that it was my essay for your account, upon the agreeable maturity of which might depend your future patronage and good opinion, the loss of which (I pray it may not be the case) would make a painful impression.

Barter business in this Country is attended with great uncertainty as it respects the quality of goods had in return, and I assure you that I can transact business with specie 10 to 20 per Cent better, and with certainty in point of the quality of the Merchandize received in return, for there is few or no Hong Merchants but that will avail himself of those little and mean advantages which being in his power gives him yet there is a wide difference in the characters of the merchants now composing the Hong.

As you observe the uncertainty of life and other circumstances, influence Gentlemen adventuring this way not to trust to the existance of an Individual person on whom reliance is entirely placed for the transaction of a Ships business. so forceably am I Impressed with the truth of the observation that I find it hardly worth my while to remain in this country longer and I know of nothing at this moment that will prevent my return the ensuing year to my home and Friends should I come to a contrary determination I shall take the liberty of informing you of the same the Position which I now am in will be quitted in consequence of my not meeting with that encouragement which the privations I undergo (perhaps) entitle me to and the expence of my establishment being heavy. considering circumstances I have however been fortunate. The state of the Market and business here this season no doubt will be fully detailed you by Capt. Wheatland and Mr. Wiggins of your ship Indus, causeing it to be unnecessary for me to say any thing on that head only to observe that the vast exports of Chineese productions last and the present seasons, from this to the United States will cause such a stagnation in sales, and such losses to all concerned that few will adventure here for some years, when the trade will revert to its old channell and when I shall (probably) do myself the pleasure to make you some propositions respecting a concern in a constant trading ship to this.

Should you wish for any information not contained in this I refer you to my Brothers Joseph and John Dorr to whom I have been very particular. I hope the Indus will return in safety and this find you

well at the same time beleive me to be with respect Your Obedient
Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

Original per the Severn Whetten

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. JAMES & THOMAS H. PERKINS

Canton, October 23d 1802

GENTLEMEN, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favour of 29th March last with the two letters inclosed one for Capt. Barnard, or Mr. B. the other for Capt. Hutchings of your Ship Diana and Massachusetts the destination or termination of which ships voyages must be known to you long ere this reaches you When Capt. Cunningham of your Ship Globe arrives shall deliver the same to him to be returned you. The unfortunate death of Capt. Barney Magee must make a melancholy impression, the peculiar circumstances still heightening the painful reflections of relatives and friends. I am happy however to inform you that your interest is supposed not to suffer in consequence of Capt. Magees disease Capt. Cunninghams exertions having been crowned with success so that his skins will not fall short of 3,000 pieces nor exceed 3,500, by the present method of counting which is large and small, and I presume her cargo will bring as much as Capt. Sturgis of the Caroline etc. viz. 20 Dollars cash to the number of about 2,800 which I esteem to be an excellent sale considering the quality of the skins, the method of counting and dollars being had for the same.

The Northwest trade is compleatly overdone 3 to 6 musketts per skin 8 to 12 Fathoms cloth. in fact nothing answers so well as eatables one cargo however would overdo the market. I think the trade must be neglected for some years, unless the old and first adventurers unite and make a monopoly of the business as near as possible. if so I think individuals will soon find themselves under the necessity of relinquishing a trade which a union of the old hands will enable them to crush, more particularly as those who have entered into a competition of late have not met with the greatest success. there has no seal skins come to market this season which prevents my saying with precision what they will bring, but I presume a cargo of 100,000 would bring 100 to 110 cents in barter and perhaps 90 to 95 cents cash, yet it is quite uncertain I beg you to accept my best wishes

for your felicity and believe me to be gentlemen Your Very Humble
Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

N.B. I have written my Brothers very fully of whom you will
make such further inquiries as you will think proper.

Original per the Severn Whetten Duplicate per the Silenus

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR, JOHN DORR, AND ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, 30th October 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, I informd you that I expected to pack Bohea tea
on the 25th. accordingly it was commenced on that day but
finding the tea on inspection after it was started to be much inferior
to contract and muster, I objected to the quality of it but without any
avail for the Merchant Looquer (one of the new ones) told me that
I must take that or none after waiting 5 days without any pro[ba]-
bility of gaineing redress, I must submit to his Villany so that if
you find the tea very so so it could not be helped, for it was impos-
sible to sell the Ginseng for two thirds what he gave me to any one
else Cash could not be had for it; considering the price he gave and
his commencing business influenced me to think he would be honest
and faithful, stimulated by a desire to acquire a good Character; but
on the contrary he acts like a Villian and to his great prejudice. thus
you see the Situation of myself, for I know the qualities of teas well
and will not if possible suffer impossitions; which cannot however be
effectually prevented but by having my funds in Cash which no man
can have without good and equivelent goods in return. Your Brother

S. DORR

The Amethyst will be off in 10 to 15 Days. By forwarding the
enclosed Letter you will much oblige me.

Original per the Indus Cap. Wheatland Duplicate per the Amethyst

SULLIVAN DORR TO WILLIAM STACKPOLE

Canton, November 13th 1802

DEAR SIR, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of
29th March last covering Invoice and Bill Lading of Madeira
Wine shipped and consigned me per the Amethyst J. Bowers com-

mander; Sales whereof is made at the very low price of one hundred dollars per pipe in consequence of the quality being otherwise than represented in the Invoice and at all times wine of such an inferior quality will not command a price here there being no consumers but the several company houses who are generally supplied from other quarters. had your wine have been particular Madeira no more than \$180 could have been obtained for it, having purchasd a pipe of that description now on board the Amethyst.

I am sorry to say the Sales are so low I think it could not have been kept to greater advantage. I should have been happy in complying with your request about the returns but not being able to obtain cash is the reason. Bohea tea only was to be had for it.

You will find inclosd Account Sales of your wine together with Invoice and Bill lading of Bohea Tea had in return therefor also my Account Current whereby you will perceive there remains a Balance due me of 2D 67C (say two Dollars 67/100) which you will please pay Mr. Andrew C. Dorr.

Most all kinds of imports have met with a loss in sales here this season the market haveing been inundated with almost everything adapted to it.

Inclosd you will find a Certificate for the landing of 5 pipes 5 half pipes and 4 Quarter Casks Wine with some Cheese for Mr. Samuel Parkman included in the same. one quarter Cask you will perceive is omitted it being inconsistent with propriety for me to certify to that which I know to be to the contrary.

I hope any future adventure may meet with better Sales than the present, also that this may find you well at the same time believe me to be your very humble Servant

S. DORR

N.B. The Quarter Cask sent me was so bad I could not offer it at my table.

Original per the Amethyst Duplicate Union

SULLIVAN DORR TO JAMES ANDREWS

Canton, November 13, 1802

DEAR SIR, I now acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 25th March 1802 together with your consignment of Ginseng per

the Amethyst J. Bowers commander Sales whereof is made at a very low price as you will perceive by the inclosed account. The large quantities imported here this Season has caused so great a reduction in the price of that article that I am sorry to think you will be greatly disappointed in your expectations; 160 pickels of Clarified Ginseng has been thrown into this market this Season when 5 or 6 only could be made to bring anything very handsom, which however will not be the case till our Countrymen cease sending it in such quantities; The season I came to this Country I sold Ginseng of a quality similar to yours from 25 to 60 Dollars per Catty, at which time the quantity imported did not exceed 3 pickels.

Prospects did not authorize me to hold your Ginseng for a better price besides which it is difficult to keep it good the humidity of the climate is such that it turns black soon unless it is packed in tin canisters and filld up with parched rice when I will venture to say it will keep a long time.

The low price of Ginseng renders it difficult now to determine any difference in the quality which may appear to us in the Ginseng sent here this season, except it was some consigned me by Mr. Munson which is the best I ever saw from America.

It has so happend that I cannot furnish you with a more particular account than is exhibited in the sales.

I am sorry to be under the necessity of handing you so low Sales, and I wish that I could have done better but it was impossible to sell for Nankins and Silks.

Inclosed you will find an Invoice and Bill of Lading of Bohea Tea had in return for the Ginseng; also my account Current by which you will perceive there remains due me 2D 35C two Dollars and 35/100ths which you will please pay Mr. Andrew C. Dorr.

In hopes the Amethyst will meet you in Safety and this finds you well I remain your very Humble Servant

S. DORR

Original per the Amethyst Duplicate Union

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOHN WATERS

Canton, November 13th 1802

DEAR FRIEND, On your departure from this you left in my charge some cheeses which were then in a bad state since when they

have almost all spoiled so that nothing will arise to the owner from them of any consequence more than what follows

		<i>D</i>
February and March	197 catties sold for	30
May	The remaining quantity damaged and rotten fit only for Manure	6
		<u>36</u> Dollars

Say Thirty six Dollars which sum has procured two pieces blue Silk coating and which I now send you by the Amethyst J. Bowers commander.

I hope you are happily situated among your friends and that this may meet you and them well. believe me to be Your Friend
S. DORR

The paper will never bring anything it is so very poor that it cannot be written on.

2 pieces Silk 1 small Bundle addressed to Mr. John Waters.

Original per the Amethyst J. Bowers

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL PARKMAN

Canton, November 13th 1802

DEAR SIR, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 27th March 1802, enclosing Invoice and bill of Lading of cheese consigned me per the Amethyst J. Bowers commander, which cheese is sold as will be seen by the enclosed account, and I have to observe that this market is not to be depended on for the consumption of that article for the very few Gentlemen of the several companies who remain or reside here are supplied from other quarters. besides there has been large quantities brought from Batavia and elsewhere so that the sales rendered is much better than I at first expected they would have been. I get no price for the American cheese worth accepting because it is feared they will not keep when it is known that Dutch cheese will. The boxes which contained yours had too many in each 4 to 6 being sufficient when they will keep much better.

You will perceive by my account that two hundred and thirty cheeses were rotten so as to be of no value and were thrown away.

It was out of my power to obtain silks and nankins for the cheese. it is sold for Bohea Tea I should have been happy could I have complied with your wishes.

Enclosed you will find an Invoice and Bill Lading of Bohea Tea had in return for the cheese also my account current by which you will perceive there remains due you 4D 67C say Four dollars 67/100ths which will be paid you by Mr. Andrew C. Dorr.

Your cheese is included in a certificate of the Landing of some Wine of Mr. William Stackpole and is forwarded him.

In hopes any future adventure may prove more successful I remain your very Humble Servant

S. DORR

Original per the Amethyst Duplicate per the Union

SULLIVAN DORR TO RICHARD CONNER

Canton, November 13th 1802

SIR, I now acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 25th March 1802 enclosing Invoice and Capt. Bowers receipt for Ginseng etc. consigned me per the Amethyst and I have to observe that your powdered Ginseng was not worth one cash of course it was thrown overboard the Chinese do not use it pulverised. I have made sale of Mr. Touseys consignment and am sorry it has not proved more productive. this market is overcharged with ginseng which is the reason why it brought no more and why nankins and silk could not be had for it.

Enclosed is an Invoice and Bill of lading of Bohea Tea had in Exchange for the Ginseng of Mr. Touseys also my account current with him by which you will perceive that there remains due me (3D 19C) Three dollars 19/100ths which sum he will pay Mr. Andrew C. Dorr.

The seventy four Dollars will be invested in Sewing silks as desired. In hopes your future adventures may prove more profitable than the present I remain your Obedient Servant

S. DORR

Original per the Amethyst Duplicate Union

SULLIVAN DORR TO ISRAEL MUNSON

Canton, November 13th 1802

DEAR SIR, I have your letters of 5th 19th and 27th March last now before me the latter enclosing an Invoice and Bill of Lading Ginseng consigned me per the Amethyst J. Bowers commander Sales of which are made as you will perceive by the enclosed account, and it gives me much uneasiness when I think how much you will be dissappointed in your expectations respecting the low price obtained for your ginseng more particularly when I consider that Mr. Amos Porter the Gentleman who came out in the Amethyst has (but till lately to my knowledge) expressed his disapprobation of my conduct in and about the sales of the said Ginseng. I am however well persuaded that all my actions will meet your approbation. In the first place it ought be considered that at the moment when I offered your Ginseng for sale there was no less than 160 pickels at market a quantity sufficient for ten years consumption it is by a judicious arrangement of the Government here that a few Pickels properly distributed about this vast empire is made to bring an immense revenue to the Emperor, and you will hardly believe me when I say that a Pickel of first Quality Tartar Ginseng is made to sell for at retail the enormous sum of 700,000 Dollars but while our Countrymen bring it in such quantities you may not expect it will rise in price, for the Chinese say it is as easy to be had as common and if we can judge by the Quantity this season brought of the cristilized kind we may expect more hereafter. 8 or 10 pickels well managed here might be sold perhaps in a season at a very handsome price but not till it can be brought under the regulation of one hand when in time it might sell for 100D per catty. notwithstanding the great influx of ginseng here this season the Tartar experiences no depression in point of value the Chinese say one root of theirs possesses more virtue than a catty of ours with what truth however I cant say.

When Mr. Porter arrived I went with him to Loomouqua the Merchant who purchased the Ginseng which came out in the Indus. Mr. Wait was also in our company when the Merchant would not purchase it at all saying he could not sell what he had, and voluntarily offered me what he bought out of the Indus at 2 years credit on my own note at five Dollars per catty in the presence of Messrs. Porter and Wait. deduct 2 years interest would render the price to

(3D 50C) Three Dollars and 50/100ths I reasoned thus upon the occasion; Mouqua must have very powerful motives for wishing to sell the Ginseng at so great a loss he is very rich and better able to keep the Ginseng than you or I. therefore is it not prudent to sell before any more arrives for the most it will bring? understanding Mr. Porter to be of my opinion he expressed his anxiety that it should be sold, observing however that since it must be sold the sooner the better accordingly it was. Mr. Porter has since said that he was dissatisfied that he did not have his order satisfied it was very well known and the reasonableness of it was seen at the time that the Merchants would not suffer it to be divided we must have all or none therefore unless you do so, I will not secure your Ship eight or ten days elapsed before she was secured; and it would not do for me to keep the Ship and her business waiting for prospects of better markets, particularly when Ships were daily expected with much more of that article, and since the sale of your Ginseng I have seen as good as you sent by me when I first came here sold for one and one half dollar per catty. Ginseng spoils soon in this Country unless in small quantities then it requires great attention and the best way and the only one of preserving our Ginseng is to pack it in cannisters with parched rice as that sent by me when I presume it will keep a long time even in this humid climate.

It would have afforded me much pleasure to have handed you more pleasing sales and I am sorry it has otherwise happened.

You will perceive by the enclosed Invoice and Bill of Lading the nature of the returns for the Ginseng and also by my account current that I have paid Mr. Amos Porter Eight hundred and Sixty one dollars in first quality Ginseng or the value thereof in money and goods which together with the amount of Invoice of Teas makes six thousand two hundred and sixty three dollars and 80/100ths leaving a ballance due me of (11D 48C) Eleven Dollars and 48/100ths which please to pay Mr. Andrew C. Dorr.

I hope you will not let Mr. Porters reports impress your mind wrongfully for when I have the Pleasure to see you (which may happen soon) I shall be able to give you such explanations as I think will prove very satisfactory. Mr. Porter has sold some of his own Ginseng to better advantage than what I did that you sent me, but in such small quantities as that no accurate judgment can be formed from it, for it often happens that the Chineese by making small pur-

chases at high prices lead the Ignorant on to something of more importance when it is very necessary to take great care.

I have no doubt that about 80 catties of the Ginseng you sent me might have brought 10 Dollars say ten Dollars per catty. the qualities were very different from what was represented. as you see by the sales some of the first is turned into seconds.

In hopes that the Amethyst will meet you in safety and find you well I have the pleasure to be Your very Obedient Servant and Friend

SULLIVAN DORR

N.B. I will prove to you hereafter that I offered Mr. Porter all the Ginseng if he would become responsible for the duties notwithstanding what has been said. Yours

S. DORR

Original per the Amethyst Duplicate Union

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR, JOHN DORR, AND ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, November 17th 1802

GENTLEMEN, I now do myself the pleasure to enclose you an account Sales of Nail rods for your account with an Invoice of Tea had in return for them, together the Amount Sales of ginseng for account Mr. Henry Mead and Mr. William Hall understanding it to be proper for me so to do, the said amount Net Sales being carried to your Credit in account with me.

I now return you those Gentlemens drafts on me (unaccepted and unpaid) amounting all together to the sum of (1,532D 78C) Fifteen hundred and thirty two Dollars and 78/100ths; by which business I hope you may be no loser. You will find an account Sales of Ginseng for account Mr. Andrew C. Dorr with an Invoice of Bohea Tea had in return, an Invoice of Bohea and Young Hyson Tea for my account also an Invoice of Merchandize shipped for our Mutual account on board the Amethyst J. Bowers commander, a Bill of Lading for the same, a general Bill of Lading including goods shipped for particular account, including little private orders and one pipe of genuine Madeira Wine which I wish may be kept in some one of our family's cellars for a very particular purpose; you can easily see the destination of the several little things included in the bill Lading and

I request Mr. Andrew C. Dorr to keep all the things for me till I return. The bill of Lading serves for a memo. and Invoice; a Memo. of a barter transaction for some musketts and pistols with other remnant trade belon[g]ing to the Owners of the Littillar and Dispatch the proceeds are shipped as will be seen by the general Bill of Lading with which you will please do what is proper. a Sketch of the ships freight out and home, with a Memo. of Cap. Bowers tonnage are enclosed, the difference between which and his priviledge of ten tons you will please to allow him at the rate of fifty five Dollars per Ton of 40 feet. a copy of J. Bowers disbursments with my account against the Amethyst are exhibited, an account Current with the Owners of the Amethyst and finally an account Current with you whereby it is seen there remains a balance due me of (486D 73C) Four hundred and Eighty Six Dollars and 73/100ths which sum is carried to your debit in New account.

It is very easy to be seen by the foregoing papers that very little advantage will result from our adventure in the Amethyst. if we are made whole it is as much as I expect. You will see that I have taken no Credit for your account thinking it much better to take freight even at the low price of 55 to 60 Dollars per Ton than obtain a Credit in tea; for Silks and Nankins are out of the question they being Cash goods Credit only for a very small amount could be had. I owe very little here; and shall avail myself of no Credit this season but setle all off and quitt this for home in February next in the Simeramus Cap. Smith who (poor fellow) had 30,000 Dollars on board the Spanish Ship which was lost coming from Manilla. the Ship which went to get what was to be saved from the wreck has return'd, getting only 73,000 of the 1,200,000 Dollars which were on board.

By some unaccountable means the marks and numbers from some of the last Chests of Bohea Tea sent on board were defaced or rubbed into one so as to become almost [un]intelligible. it however happens that they are most all of them S.A. or Ship Amethyst so that with the assistance of Mr. Davis you may be able to find out to whom they belong, a few only of the Shippers being defaced.

I mentiond to you in my last that Looqua the Security Merchant was and had play'd the Villian with me by giving very ordinary Bohea Tea, for which at present I can obtain no satisfaction of which circumstance you will inform the Shippers if you think proper. I

however have the pleasure to say that I owe him about 4,000 Dollars so that when the Amethyst is gone I mean to cut his account 2 Tale per pickel at least on the Bohea Tea.

I am unhappy when I think that the ginseng was consign'd me in the Amethyst for what I anticipated is come to pass. Mr. Porter has expressed his disapprobation of my conduct in and about the disposal of Munsons ginseng Porter has been led to draw conclusions from his selling a few Catties to low Characters in Hoglane or China Street, at a good price for cash goods that he might have done so with the whole; those who purchased of him were laying a foundation for more business with him that they might cheat him more than would compensate for 3 times the extra price for ginseng he would have sold. he has made a great deal of talk about my refusing to comply with his orders which I can prove was false. I simply intimated whether or no I should be justified in giving him any of the proceeds from which much idle conversation has ensued. I refer you to my Letter to Mr. Munson which he will shew you and I now declare to you that I never will receive the consignment of any more ginseng of the clarified kind unless it belongs to you for it is exceedingly troublesome and lays one open to insinuations unpleasing and wicked. therefore inform Mr. Munson of my resolution; tho' I am convinced no candid man can find fault with me.

You will find accompanying a letter from Henry Dorr and John Crocker shewing you their proceedings which cannot be flattering to your interest. the Calculations of procureing 1,800 skins I hope may prove true but I apprehend 1,000 skins will be the extent of their collection if on another season. I refer you to said letters for some remarks. Capt. Cunningham of the Globe says that it was reported at the Islands that the Jenny had returnd and was comeing here for Molasses etc. as was also Rowan in the Hazard and the Catherine Worth who was also reported to be at the Islands. One ship will over do the business. Rowan had 20,000 Dollars Value plunderd from him by the Spaniards he made no Sales. I dont know what Worth has done but I expect poorly. Kendrick delirious no skins of consequence. poor Haswell Is supposd to be lost. Ockington will be here soon with about 500 Otter skins and 33,000 Seal skins I think will command 125C in barter, quite uncertain. Crocker or Henry Dorr did not inform me the names of the men who were left at Massafuero. I will however find out if possible.

Cap. Rowan brought off the mate of the Miantimonau which Ship and Cargo has been condemn'd at Valparizo or somewhere near there.

The Resourse has not arrived here. I have sold the Globes Cargo say 3,600 skins about at 22 Dollars large and small Cash down which is very handsome considering the way of counting and equal to 28*D* or more the old way.

I cannot sell Mr. Childs Cheese at all (they are excellent) so that I believe I shall give them away and allow him something.

Mr. Stackpole never should send such Wine here again as that per the Amethyst. I was laughd at for offering it as London particular it is a compound of all wines.

You will perceive by my Invoice that I have sent you 4,777 Dollars in Teas adapted to the French Market. they are of a super excellent quality and I wish you to send them to Paris as soon as possible. they cost high and are good. if they please, you will know how to procure them again say of King Lun silk Merchant here. I have sent you Matts Blinds, Velvets etc. which I hope will net a handsome profit. also notice the chair Bottoms for experiment.

I have received a great many letters from my friends and relations to none of whom have I replied. my excuse is more business than will conviently premit. I think of them often and shall be happy when the time arrives that we shall meet again. I think of nothing more to communicate at present but my good wishes for your felicity, our families and friends you and they believing me to be very Cordially your and their Friend

S. DORR

I shall be with you in 2 to 3 months after this perhaps when I can give you much verbal intelligence so as to render it unnecessary for me to write much.

I pray you to make my best and affectionate thanks to my good father and mother for their kind care in sending me the pickels, butter, preserves etc. as presents for which they must believe me to be full of gratitude. I do myself the pleasure to send our mother an elegant lacquerd fan of which I beg her acceptance. I send Mrs. Esther Dorr one handsome Cannister Tea and sett china cypherd T E D of which I beg her acceptance. I sent a similar sett china to G. Ingersoll per the Perseverance Cap. Williamson to Philadelphia

and one to J. Z. Dolbear as per Bill of Lading. I did not send a tea catty and Waiter to either. Your Brother

S. DORR

John Dorr will find his order executed for family China and Ebenezer Dorr Esqr. his jarrs and Mrs. Jane Dorr her picture.

Original per the Amethyst Duplicate per the Union

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. JAMES & THOMAS H. PERKINS

Canton, 17 November 1802

GENTLEMEN, I do myself the pleasure of informing you that the Cargo of the Globe was yesterday sold at twenty two Dollars per Skin to the number of about 3,600, not precisely ascertaind yet, which together with some Beaver Skins will make the gross sales amount to 8,000 Dollars and upwards the skins are sold for cash 20% of the whole amount was this day paid me as earnest, and on account thereof; you will notice that they are sold 2 Dollars higher than the Carolines, from what cause it is difficult to determine unless that there was more small skins in the Carolines cargo, or that there was a competition between the purchaser of that cargo, and those who were desirous of purchasing the Globes.

Capt. Cunningham informs me that in your letters to Capt. Magee, that your Ideas respecting a return cargo for the Globe were that he should Govern himself by circumstances, such as to ascertain the quantities of the various articles exported from this last year, and such as would be going, when he would be here by which he would govern himself in the arrangement of a cargo for the Globe. Being in compleat possession of the necessary information so as to enable me to form a nearly accurate estimate of the quantity of this Country produce shipped last season, and knowing very well that if there was 2 years stock of Teas on hand in America in March 1802, that the quantity would be increased by the large following importations in 35 sail of ships which were to arrive with you in April May June and July, and considering the prices were so low for all kinds of Teas except Gunpowder previous to the arrival of the many expected ships with you what must they have been after their arrival? undoubtedly very low so that I expect that all adventurers last and this year will be considerable losers. being fully impressed

with the Idea that Tea must be low, and a drug, I conceive it to be much better to send the Globe home in ballast, than put Teas on board except Young Hyson and Gunpowder, which Teas are now high, scarce and of a very inferior quality, as well as all other Green Teas. I however think that I shall be able to procure one or two hundred chests Young Hyson Tea such as has been selling from 36*T* to 40 this season, for 34 *Tale*. Chinaware is out of the question every piece almost having been brought up this season suitable to our markets Sugar is now 4*T* 8*M* to 5*T* of which it will be hardly worth while to send any. Cassia is very inferior this year at 19 to 20 Dollars considering circumstances (and it seems to compare with your wishes) I think that the principal part of the Globes funds invested in Common Nankins, will be most productive of any thing I know of to be sent from this. accordingly as they are falling some time will elapse before a purchase is made when I hope they will be had at 52 to 56*D* if not lower.

The vast quantities of China produce in our Country must inevitably cause them to be low, so that I think this trade must be neglected for a few seasons, when it will revert to its old Channel.

I will just observe for your government that there is and has been shipped this season 7 to 8,000 Chests Bohea Tea and I have no doubt 2 to 4,000 more will find their way to our Shores.

The large quantities of cristilized Ginseng brought here this Season has caused a great decline in the price of that article. That every adventurer must be a loser is very evident having sold a considerable quantity this season enables me to speak with certainty. I sold ginseng for 2 Dollars per Catty of the same quality which brought in 1799 from 40 to 60 Dollars per Catty, and while it is brought here as plentifully as ordinary Ginseng, it will bring no better price 1 to 4 Dollars Cash; already 160 pickels of first, second and third qualities have been imported. The Chinese say it is as plenty as common and of course may expect as much more next Season. Notwithstanding the low price of American, Tarter Ginseng does not lose its value the prejudices of this people influence them to say that one root of Tarter Ginseng possesses more virtue than a Catty of ours, and it is a Chinese panacea applied to all diseases and is exceedingly deer so that you can hardly credit it, when I say, that the sale of it is farmed out and so judiciously distributed over this vast Empire, that it

brings a great revenue to the Emperior and is retailed out, at the enormous sum of 72,000 to 700,000 Dollars per pickel.

The Resource is at Manilla and expected here soon. Mr. Magee has a large quantity of Ginseng it is said and I am sorry to say I think it will prove an unfortunate speculation.

Some time since one of my Brothers made a request That I would send him ten Sea Otter skins for the purpose of sending them to Russia where he said they would sell for 50 to 70 dollars. I omitted sending them, for this reason, that I had no doubt that a few skins might be selected out of a Ships cargo, that would bring that sum in Russia, for it is certain that there is always a few in a Cargo which will command that sum here. I have two or three skins of my own which I can sell for 60 Dollars Cash was I disposed.

I saw some skins brought here last season from Russia Via England they were not of the first quality Sea Otter Skins but were good and cost in England 95 $\text{\textit{s}}$ Sterling they sold for 17 Dollars. I sold an Invoice of clarified Ginseng in May last for account Messrs. Brown & Ives of Providence at 9 Dollars per Catty which now would not bring more than 2 Dollars.

For your amusement I enclose you a memo. of Exports from hence last year, to the United States, which is not very accurate but will answer the purpose intended, and I presume that the value of Exports from this did not fall more than 300,000 Dollars short of my calculations.

I hope this will find you well and remain Your very Respectfully
S. DORR

Per Amethyst Duplicate Perseverance

SULLIVAN DORR TO HENRY DORR

Canton, November 20th 1802

DEAR BROTHER, I this day received your Letter date Macao 14th Inst. the contents of which are noted, and it gives me pain to learn the ill success attending your undertakeings in the Jenny particularly as it is your essay. You must not let the circumstance depress your spirits but keep a stout heart.

I have sold the Globes cargo of skins say 3,600 at 22 Dollars each

Cash down large and small. The Caroline brought 2,800 and 700 of the Alerts cargo sold for 20\$ by Lamb and Sturgis.

Your skins perhaps may bring 12,000 Dollars. the Ships Charges will amount to 5,400 Dollars. the Value of the skins at home will be trifling. You cannot shift your skins to another Ship for if you do and the Government know it I shall be made to pay your Measurement whether or no. Will Molasses and Bread, Rice etc. buy skins on the coast? if so come up with the Ship and make preparations to return there again. at all events it is best for the Ship to come to Whampao and it is possible I may load her with Bohea Tea for the Owners account so as to help if possible; Your trade will bring nothing here. I have no orders for you otherwise than that I am fully constituted Agent for all businesses relating to our Family concerns here. consequently I am directed to advise assist and do as circumstances dictate acting as tho' our father and brothers were here. therefore it is my advise and wish that you come immediately to Whampao when such measures will be entered into as shall appear most conducive to the owners interest, so that when I have the pleasure to see you something will be immediately concerted.

There are several Ships now dropping down the River whom you endeavour to speak having letters prepared with duplicates and triplicates of the same to Joseph and John Dorr advising of your ill success, and be particular to say whether or no *Sugar and Molasses, Bread and Rice* are good articles on the Coast for it is highly important that you inform them, that no new adventures may take place without a certain prospect of Success.

Cap. Bowers in the Amethyst ($\frac{1}{4}$ th belong[ing] to me) will pass you his Signals are a Burgee with 3 Balls, hoisted at the Foretop Gallant mast head. By my concern in the Amethyst I have a prospect of making only a very handsome interest. The Rogers who commands the Barclay is a stranger to us. Jonathan Dorr and Samuel will not lose anything or William Dorr. the latter has been exceedingly unfortunate. The Hancock is foundered, losing our family about 60,000 Dollars. John only was insured 15,000. The markets are exceedingly low in America There is no freight to be had for the Jenny nor will she sell. I expect to load her as before observed. It is possible I shall go home with you. I have been very fortunate in my business so that 30 or 40,000 Dollars will be my wealth should things mature well when I arrive home. I have some letters for you

which are inclosed. I have some for Crocker which I keep. my letters from home on date 9th May last informs me what news of North-west Ships and if you see any Sealers etc. etc. it is of consequence that I may advise the Owners.

I am very unhappy when I consider your undertakeing has matured no better. Accept my best Wishes for your health and believe me to be your Affectionate Brother and that I shall be happy to see you

SULLIVAN DORR

My compliments to Crocker. How happens it that Ebbets collection amounts to 2,000 all told which is a truth.

S. DORR

21st. If there is any ship in the roads with a few skins who wish to send them up, it can be done only by shifting them in the dead of night. then the ship that they are shifted from must instantly depart from this Country otherwise enquiries will be made and two Measurements required.

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR, JOHN DORR, AND ANDREW C. DORR

Canton 21st November 1802

BROTHERS, You will deduct from the freight bill of every shipper in the Amethyst the amount tonnage to which they would have been entitled to in Silks and Nankins. one Ton of the Former will cost on an average about 6,500 Dollars of the latter 1,800 pieces cost about 570 Dollars which you will adjust and make the necessary deduction.

The Amethyst could not take in her last chop by 90 chests or 9 tons of freight which go on board the Penman to the proper owners. also M eighty four Bundles matts B 13 Bundles blinds which are also on board the Penman Alexander Coffin bound to New York, at half for freight and which other half I have ordered into the hands of King & Talbot to be sold for account Owners ship Amethyst.

The Jenny has arrived at Macao as you will see by the enclosed copy of a letter from Henry Dorr You see what I have predicted has come to pass to my sorrow. the amount of goods left on board the Jenny of her trade is 25,927 Dollars 85/100 without any charges. They are waiting my advice at Macao which is to come up and pre-

pare to return to the Coast again if Bread etc. etc. will do. at all events they must come to Whampoa. I have directed them to have letters prepared to meet several ships now going down the river. If Bread Molasses etc. etc. wont do they will inform you, that you may not enter into any new adventure. I pray you will not at present the Indians have enough of every thing. I cannot sell the Jennys trade here or the ship, therefore it is highly probable that I may load the ship for the Owners account with Bohea Tea thereby making 30 or 40 Dollars freight. as no freight is to be had what is to be done? Her skins may bring 12,000 Dollars it is uncertain she labours under a disadvantage she has so few.

Looqua wanted me to adjust accounts this day with me which I have done but have not paid the ballance. I deduct therefrom 2 Tale per Pickel on every Pickel Bohea Tea had of him, which he will not allow and holds back the grand chop. Bowers however will go down and follow some ship if possible out. the dispute is not with the Government but with Looqua. when he finds Bowers is about being off I expect he will dispatch the Chop after him if not Bowers cannot have a Pilot. therefore these circumstances are mentioned in case of Insurance. Your affectionate Brother

S. DORR

P.S. I have Andrew C. Dorrs letter of 8 and 9 May per the Resource how they came here I do not know, unless Magee who forwarded them, did so by a Chinese Junk. his letter is dated Latitude 8.50 North Longitude 107.46 East. the Contents of Andrew C. Dorrs Letter are pleasing.

22nd. I obtained the Grand Chop for the Amethyst with one Tale deduction from the Bohea Tea.

Original per Amethyst Duplicate per Penman Triplicate Caroline Sturgis

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. KING & TALBOT

Canton, November 28, 1802

GENTLEMEN, I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your esteem'd favour of 28th March 1802, together with a packet of Newspapers and your prices Current for which please accept my sincere thanks, and the many judicious observations therein contain'd respecting our Markets.

The Ship Amethyst belon[g]ing to my Brothers and Self not being able to take on board all the Cargo sent down I was under the necessity of removeing some part thereof to the Ship Penman of your City, Alexander Coffin commander, Viz. M 84 Bundles Matts (say eighty four Bundles), some of which contain 2 Matts Viz. those which measure 50 inches broad. those that measure 58 inches broad contain one Matt only all 10 yds. in length. I cannot now say how many bundles with two Matts in each there are. you will be able to find out by taking the breadth as above. B 13 Thirteen Bundles window Blinds each 10 pieces is 130.

It is agreed between me and Cap. Coffin that he shall receive one half, for the freight of the other in full; you will please take care in the division that he does not get the bundles containing 2 Matts.

The 58 inches by 10 yds. Matts cost	\$225 each
50 Ditto 10 yds. Ditto	200
130 Window Blinds cost	23.40 for the whole

You will please receive the foregoing sell them and place the Net Proceeds to the Credit Owners Ship Amethyst.

Accept my best wishes for your prosperity and believe me to be
Your Very humble Servant

S. DORR

Original per Penman Coffin Duplicate Amethyst

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

November 24, 1802

[DEAR BROTHERS], By a Letter received from Bowers the Amethyst will pass Macao this day.

I yesterday received an order from the Hoppo within to order the Jenny to Whampao or instantly away. she will come up as before observed.

Molasses Rice Bread etc. will not do on the Coast. you must not make a new adventure that way You may either sell out my $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the Amethyst or sell the whole of her to me at a fair price I wish no other concern if you are willing to relinquish her to me, make a freight for her to Liverpool there let her be copperd with six years Copper of the first quality so that when she returns I may start back

to this Country. freight her to London or elsewhere. Bowers has taken all the Matts and blinds on board the Amethyst.

If however you have concernd me in a Sealer I wish not to hold any part of the Amethyst but sell her out at a fair price.

The Catherine Worth arrived Yesterday

	<i>Seal</i>	<i>Otter</i>
17,000 Seal and 900 Otter skins large and small	17,000	900
Sally, Storer, South Georgia	52,000	
Artic, Briggs, Massafuero	17,000	
Jenny		600 about
Schooner Hitty, Briggs Northwest Coast at Macao		450
Hazard, Rowan (Lima) Ditto outward cargo		

The People left on Massafuero by Crocker have most all deserted Daws or dischargd by him his provisions were all stolen and he had but few skins. there are so many fellows or rascals on the Island that what one gets cant be call'd his own they steal so. I think that if the Commander of the Sealer fitted out by you understands himself he will bring some passengers away with a handsome collection of skins, that is men who are acting for themselves. Seal Skins will command I suppose 125C in Barter no Sales yet. Nankins falling 50D to 54D of which article the Globes Cargo will be principally composed.

I now think sincerely of being with you in the Jenny as yet it is uncertain.

I think you had better sell all the Amethysts Cargo at Auction. I wish Andrew C. Dorr to bring my affairs to a settlement that I may know where and how I stand.

Nothing more now but remain Your Brother

S. DORR

Daws had 3 or 4 with him only, and about 8,000 Skins.

Original Woodrop Syms Duplicate Coratine

SULLIVAN DORR TO JAMES & THOMAS H. PERKINS

Canton, December 10th 1802

GENTLEMEN, Since my last of 17th Ulto. nothing material has transpired, only that several sealing Vessels have arrived

brin[g]ing all together about 110,000 Skins, which are sold for one Dollar per skin for Cash or at a Cash price; also about 1,900 Sea Otter Skins have been sold at 20 Dollars Cash and 21 to 22 Dollars in Barter. among the number the Jennys collection amounts to only 670 Skins sold at 20 Dollars payable in Nankins at 50 and 54 Dollars per hundred, by which it is seen that her voyage is a loseing one to the concern.

On the 26th Ulto. learning that the Ship Mount Vernon from Philadelphia and the Hearald Cap. Derby from Manilla had arrived at Macao, which Ships were supposed to be wealthy and to want many nankins, I was influenced to make a purchase for the Globe to the number of 54,000 First at 54½ Dollars and 26,000 Second at 50½ Dollars per hundred of an excellent quality. The perchase was made, fearing that any sudden demand would rise the price as I knew it to happen last year about this time so that in four days they started from 52 and 56 to 56 and 60 Dollars per hundred. it however happens that they have not risen, Capt. Derby having since purchased at the same price to the number of 70,000 pieces. They can now be purchased at 50 Cents less per hundred but of doubtful characters in whose honesty no confidence can be placed. I do not expect they will fall untill the new Year. it all however depends on what demand there may be for them between now and then.

On inspecting the Young Hyson teas now at market I found them so very ordinary that I did not think them worth shipping at 34^T 5^M so that they will be omitted.

The inclos'd memo. will show you nearly what the Cargo of the Globe will consist of, which Ship will sail in ten days or less, accidents excepted.

I now inclose you a Certificate of the landing of the Globes Cargo on the Coast and one for wine landing here.

My next will be per the Globe in the interim I remain Your very humble servant

S. DORR

Original per the George Barclay Duplicate Globe

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, December 10th 1802

[DEAR BROTHERS], Since my last the Jenny has put anchor at Whampao and her skins are sold to the number of 670 at 20 Dollars each payable in Nankins at 50 to 54 Dollars per hundred, with Cash enough to pay expences. it is probable I may sell her muskets (1,700 about) together with other trade to amount 5 to 8,000 Dollars for Rhubarb and Anki Souchong Tea, as yet uncertain.

Cap. Worth does not employ me. he has sold his skins to Ponqua for 22 Dollars and Seal at 1 Dollar in Barter one other Cargo of 62,000 skins has been sold for 100 Cents Cash down.

It is hardly probable that the Jenny will be loaded with Bohea Tea. it is so high on Credit and so poor together with the large quantities gone and going say 11,000 Chests, that I dare not touch it. no freight to be had and what will be done with the Jenny is quite uncertain that is to say in point of loading. I can take a Credit but there seems to be no prospects of any gain. she will be off in a Month with some kind of a cargo or an other for the Owners or my account as yet uncertain what.

I have reason to think and alter my opinion of Crocker, and am sorry that a series of ill luck has attended your adventures in the Jenny. skins cannot now be had on the coast for anything so do not make any new adventures.

The Mount Vernon has arrived from Philadelphia left there 1 June. teas looking up, Bohea 36C per Mabynas Letter a momentary rise I think; I hope King & Talbot availed themselves of it and made sales mine.

Nothing more at present but remain your Affectionate Brother
S. DORR

Original per the George Barclay Duplicate Globe

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. JAMES & THOMAS H. PERKINS

Canton, December 21, 1802

GENTLEMEN, I now do myself the pleasure to enclose you an Account Sales of the Ship Globes Cargo of Otter Skins, an Invoice of her cargo of Merchandize for home, a Bill of Lading for the same together with an account of Disbursements and my Account Cur-

rent with Capt. William Cunningham whereby you will see the nature of my transactions with him for your account, and it will afford me the highest pleasure to learn that they meet your approbation; I have the satisfaction to say that her skins are sold 10 per Cent better than any this season. The Alerts Cargo is sold for 17 Dollars Cash which considering the quality of the skins is equal to about 20 Dollars. The Atuahalpas skins are not yet sold, but will not bring more than 20 Dollars Cash. no Sales of seal skins have been made of late, 160,000 now at market unsold but I think they will bring 90C Cash or 100C in Barter; It would have been exceedingly advantageous to our Northwest Ships and sealing Ship owners to have had an Agency house establish'd here through whom all Sales of skins should have been made thereby rendering this market less fluctuateing by making annual contracts with one or two respecting Merchants who would have been able to manage so large a concern and prevent the bad consequences resulting from skins getting into necessitous mens hands who are not able to hold them, being under the necessity of making sacrifices to face or meet their obligations, causeing a market price for those who would willingly keep theirs. and many respectable characters are prevented from purchaseing for the above reasons when if they could monopolize skins the prices would be fix'd, always knowing themselves to be certain of all that might be brought. the business would become regular and I think vastly more productive; for when three or four Vessels come in at once it often happens that a secrecy and jealousy is observed towards each other of the sellers and in fact often a competition is raised among some Merchants who are glad to grasp at anything so that a few may be benefitted to the prejudice of the many. but such is the disposition of our Merchants who adventure here that the necessity or utility of employing residents is not or cannot be seen Altho I have resided here three and half years it is a fact that I have not been employed by direction of the Ship Owners in one instance (except those of my family) but by the commanders, and finding my encouragement so small that it hardly meets the expences of my establishment and thinking that I shall not meet with greater, I have come to the determination of quitting this in one Month. I have however been very fortunate in my adventures etc. so that I have no reason to complain.

I am happy to say I think you will find the Globes Cargo of an excellent quality, particularly the Nankins and in general I think the

cargo will please. The Anki Souchong Tea is good for immediate use only therefore I would recommend an immediate sale for if kept long the flavour evaporates.

Although the Globe is loaded and ready to depart I am not in Cash for the amount sales of her skins, 26,906.55 being due thereon I have however all the skins in my possession which will be delivered in a few days if the twenty six thousand nine hundred and six Dollars and 55/100 is paid which I expect will be the Case.

No material changes have taken place in this market, since my last except that Camblets have risen to 24 to 26 Dollars, Nankins same, Common Ginseng 50 Dollars. good Clarified I have seen sold lately for 120 Dollars per pickel. Mr. Magee has a large quantity which I think will not bring one fourth of the cost if it cost 6 to 10 Dollars per pound.

The Globe takes a very small cargo the whole amount of the measurement of which does not exceed 160 Tons.

In hopes the Globe will meet you in safety and arrive to a good market, finding you well I have the pleasure to be Your Obedient Servant

S. DORR

Original Globe Duplicate Sally

SULLIVAN DORR TO JOSEPH DORR AND JOHN DORR

Canton, December 22nd 1802

DEAR BROTHERS, Since my last I have contracted for a Cargo of Congo Tea for the Jenny with which I shall proceed to Emden or Antwerp for my account and risk. the Value of her cargo will be about 45,000 Dollars from Mouqua to whom I pay 1 1/3d Cash, the remainder 18 Months so you see my Credit is fair here. I shall have recommendatory Letters to the Dutch Company in Holland who I presume will be the purchasers of the Tea. it is a fact that nothing else could be done with the Jenny I can procure freight at 30 to 35 Dollars per Ton. I shall allow a handsome freight for the Jenny perfectly to your satisfaction and hope to win 15,000 Dollars by this adventure besides quitting a wretched Country. Henry will go home in Cap. Derby or some other Vessel, and if you relinquish the Amethyst to me he may command her to Europe; and if I come out here in her again he shall navigate her to this.

Magee has arrived and not a letter for me having put them all on board a Spanish ship who has not arrived. It is with great pleasure that I learn the safe arrival of the Hancock with so little Damage by your letter of 5th May viz. [*sic*] Batavia per the Ann and Hope. I hope you have fitted out the Sealer for there are 100 men on Massafuero who cannot get away unless it be in our Ship they will willingly give half for the freight and passage for themselves with the use of the remaining money, or half home, so that if you have fitted out as wished and I own half I would not sell out for 20,000 Dollars profit. it is probable 80,000 skins may be had on freight I shall leave instructions here for the commanders of any of our Vessels and as a guide to them in business. It is Andrews remittance only that enables me to load the Jenny for Europe if I had not have received it she must have gone home empty or with a load of Bohea Tea at 12 Tale.

Haswell has arrived safe on the Northwest Coast. Lamb in the Alert is going back, also Rowen; I think the ships direct from Boston will spoil their Sugar and Molasses speculation it is a lottery the first ship may pick up a 1,000 skins. Crocker and Henry would not return to the Coast with sweet things or any thing else thinking it only a greater Sacrifice and loss of time. 14,600 have been brought here this season and the Globes sold 10% better than any others which affords me much pleasure. Seal Skins 280,000 sold for 1 Dollar Cash some about 90 Cents. with good management, next year they may be made to bring 125C perhaps. Ginseng Common 50 Dollars. I have seen good Clarified sold for 120 Dollars per pickel lately.

Magee must suffer exceedingly by his Ginseng.

If you will revert to my letters you will find I recommended a Speculation in common ginseng if very cheap.

I shall be off with the Jenny in 20 to 25 days. lodge letters in London for me if you please.

Nothing more at present. Your Brother

S. DORR

Shall write soon again.

31 sail here and you may judge what influx of goods there will be in America.

Original Globe duplicate Sally

SULLIVAN DORR TO SAMUEL SNOW

Canton, January 17, 1803

DEAR SIR, I now do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemd favours of 10th January the 3d, 5th and 23rd February and 10th, 14th, 15th and 18th May 1802 the several contents of which are noted; by which I was impressed with an idea of seeing you here soon again but it not proving the case I now shall write what I would have done before.

You may rest assured that I have not been lacking in exertions to render your factories productive and I think you cannot complain. You will perceive that I have occupied your No. 1 Factory the past season upon the principle proposed to me on your departure whereby it has proved some hundreds of Dollars more profitable than last Season. it is illy adapted for two occupants at once and never will produce what you have contemplated.

It does not a little surprise me when you say that you intend visiting this Country again. I flatterd myself that your success was such as to render another visit unnecessary. such gloomy times at home hardly authorize such an adventure.

By yours of 10th May I am apprised of your having made sale of one third your Factories to William F. Magee and conformable to your directions, I have paid him balance of account due on receipt of your Letter as will be seen by the enclosed account Current together with what I have paid L. Mouqua is the Nett produce of rents which are handsome. I have sold Mr. Magee my factory for 1,500 Dollars I paying ground rent (and giving in some of my furniture) this Season.

I have come to the resolution of quitting this and am now in readiness to depart for the Texel and Emden with a Cargo of Congo and Souchong for my account, and as you have desired I have delivered Mr. Magee a Copy of your directions relative to the factories; but not a Copy of papers touching my Agency for I do not possess the power of substitution. of course from the date hereof, all responsibility attached to me as your Consolur Agent is at an end you considering this as my resignation.

Mr. Megee has come to the determination of remaining here so that the factories will be directed by him in future.

I am sorry that my engagements and hurry in getting from this

puts it out of my power to shew those attentions to Mr. Carrington that I could wish.

On the very eve of departure I received yours of 15th and 18th May, Mr. Megee when at Manilla having put them on board of a Spanish Ship who met with disasters and the letters reached me only this day; As you observe I have given you such reports only as I have received it being all that was desired in the secretary of States instructions conformable to which I have acted tho our countrymen do not choose to comply with what is desired; at this very late moment it is impossible for me to comply with your wishes about giving you a return from the Customs here which would have been the case if your letters had have been received in due course of time, therefore I can present you only a mere list of arrivals and departures, few having reported. it would have been gratifying to me to have had it in my power to make you such returns as desired the late receipt of your last letter however precluded the possibility of my doing it, also prevents my directing the factory rents towards redeeming your Munro Snow & Munros proportion of sundry notes [of] hand; I received instructions from Mr. Thompson at Batavia how to dispose of Messrs. Brown & Ives remittance which was done on the 1st Inst., but not knowing the destination of 2,232 5/100 Shipped by your House for account of John Innes Clark, till this day and it being impossible for me to attend to the same I have paid that sum to William F. Megee he promising to pay the same as directed in Messrs. Brown & Ives and Munro Snow & Munros letter of 18th May 1802, a Copy of which I have delivered him.

I am now bound to Europe in the Jenny with a fine Cargo of Teas from Mouqua, and I hope to make something handsome by this adventure.

I pray this may meet you in Safety finding you and all friends well to whom remember me, and believe me to be Your Obedient Servant with respect

SULLIVAN DORR

Original Sally Duplicate left at Canton

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. BROWN & IVES

Canton, January 17th 1803

GENTLEMEN, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of May 18th 1802 also a letter from yourselves in conjunction with Messrs. Munro Snow & Munro the latter covering Bill of Lading for Dollars 9,672.22 to be paid as therein expressed on notes of hand given by Samuel Snow Esqr. for your own and others accounts and I am sorry to say that your instructions or letter reach'd me only this Day Mr. Megee having put them on board a Spanish Ship at Manilla which Ship has met with various disasters so that your letters were received at a late moment which prevents me from paying \$2,232.5 which was received on the first. I therefore have paid the same to William F. Megee he promising to conduct with the same as directed in your and Munro Snow & Munro's letter of 18th May last a Copy of which I have delivered him.

Having received instructions from Mr. Thomas Thompson how to pay your remittance and to whom, you will perceive I have done accordingly and paid 7,440.17 on various notes of hand as you will see exhibited by the enclosed account Current of mine with you. 4,446.50 is the Net proceeds of Long Ells etc. etc. remitted me by Mr. Thompson for the purpose of being sold to redeem your 2/3ds Amount of sundry notes to various persons amounting to \$11,792.8C my account shews how far the proceeds has been applied to effect that purpose, and I am sorry to say that the proceeds of those goods are so far short of the Invoice cost handed me by Mr. Thompson as to be a considerable disappointment to you. I noticed to you that I was offerd 9D for Long Ells \$15 for the Cassinets, which however was in barter, and as Mr. Thompson desired me to make the best sale of them possible and redeem your proportion of the notes above alluded to I thought proper to sell them thinking it not worth while to keep them longer as there was no prospects of a better price.

I am now destind to Emden with a Cargo of Congo and Souchong Teas, quitting this wretched country where little happiness results to a resident.

I hope you will find my account free of errors and believe me to be Very Respectfully Gentlemen Your Obedient Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

Ginseng Common 50D per pickel.
 Clarified dull 75C to 2D of the usual quality.
 Nankins 50 to 54D.

Original Sally Duplicate Atauhalsa

SULLIVAN DORR TO AMASA DELANO

Canton, January 17th 1803

DEAR SIR, I had the pleasure to receive your favour dated at the Isle of France in due course.

Conformable to your request on leaving this I have made the necessary enquiry of the various sealing Ships from Massafuero respecting the Seamen who deserted there from your Service. I have only been able to discover that Mr. Henry Hill and James Bee have left that Island the former in the Ship Columbia Capt. Fitch of Nantucket the latter in the Belle Savage Capt. Ockington. on the arrival of those ships I exhibited your power of Attorney and informed the Commanders that it was necessary to keep the proceeds of their skins on freight under their own controul. for I as your agent claimd the same, and you in America would substantiate the same; respecting any future proceedings you are the best judge and will conduct accordingly.

I have call'd and sent to Conseequa twenty times nearly with his acceptance for 40 Chests Souchong Tea not being able to procure the same I have left the Acceptance with William F. Megee Esqr. who will if the Tea is obtaind ship the same to your address.

I am now destind to Europe in the Ship Jenny and when I shall have the pleasure to see you again is impossible to say. but in the interim believe me to be your Very Humble Servant

SULLIVAN DORR

Original Sally

SULLIVAN DORR TO ANDREW C. DORR

Canton, January 17, 1803

DEAR BROTHER, I now do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letters date 7, 8, 9, and 16 of May last the several contents of which are noted, and it is highly pleasing that your

exertions in remitting me Specie has proved so successful and rest assured I feel grateful therefor, and its satisfactory to learn that my goods per the Minerva are so productive hoping I shall win by my adventure per the Diana to New York.

Having resided in this Country 40 Months I feel the necessity of being reunited to Society again consequently the pleasure which now I enjoy in leaving this place is almost inexpressible, and was it this instant said it is necessary that you remain here longer one or two years it would almost distract me. besides it is impossible that I should receive an increase of patronage the narrow spirit of our Merchants does not admit of it. Witness John Gray. he knew I was here yet would not employ me, so that by saving 1,000*D* he lost mony besides I find the climate and my health demands that I quit this hole and if I am as wealthy as I suppose myself where is the necessity of my remaining here experiencing every privation the heart or mind seeks. I hope to find myself on my arrival in America worth 35 to 45,000 Dollars, and knowing the uncertainty of all human affairs I have deposited my will with Henry Dorr which will be acted on in case of my decease. Henry would have remained here if Megee has not, uniting himself with a Mr. Carrington of Providence but it is perhaps fortunate that he does not remain. I did advise but am as well pleased that Megee remains in his stead for I am well persuaded it is hard to make mony here at this moment and be honest. without a capital not much is to be done. It is highly probable I shall go home and take Henry into one of the old Gentlemens stores with me.

I now apprise you of having compleatly loaded the Jenny Cap. Crocker for my own account and risk with Congo and Souchong Teas destind to the Texel and Emden or any other ports in Europe that I may think proper for the sale of said Cargo the amount of cost whereof you will perceive as per the enclosed invoice and Bill Lading for the same. altho the Souchong cost but 36*T* and the Congo 29*T* yet I have invoiced them as the Dutch Company have paid for theirs this season of the same quality which is excellent. you may either insure the foot of the Invoice or the true amount of cost and so word the policy as to put it out of the power of underwriters to cavail; insure against every risk, at and from China to the Texel or any other ports or ports in Europe. your remittance only enabled me to under-

take this adventure with which and my Credit I have done as you see with one of the first Merchants here.

I know of no one thing at present that will cause me much anxiety of mind except that I owe much money here and I have to request you earnestly, to use your exertions to remit the following sums if it is in your power and you have funds of mine in your hands, Viz.

			<i>Date</i>	<i>Months</i>	
My Note to 12% Interest after they are due	Youqua	Silk Merchant	1801-21 November	pay 18 for \$1,406.11	
		Kingqua	Ditto	1802-20 November	pay 12 3,305.
	Kinglun Youqua	Ditto	1802-20 November	pay 12 1,200.	
		Ditto	1803-17 January	pay 15	3,799.99
		with interest at 12% from date			
				Dollars 9,711.10	

The foregoing are the notes which I wish to be redeemed as soon as may be; remit the amount with probable interest that there may be thereon. those who take charge of the remittance will take up my obligations endorsing thereon and sending the same to you. I owe Loo Mouqua for Teas \$26,223 payable 12 Months interest after at 12% per Annum this note I will take care to remit the amount of from Europe.

I enclose you my account with Ebenezer Dorr Senr. which I pray you settle as you and he may agree. the Balance which may be due him, and the above notes is all the amount debts I owe in this world to my knowledge, excepting the balances due as per the enclosed statement, to Bohea Tea Owners in the Amethyst the several sums due, therein express'd you will please pay adding 15% or 20% and adjust the same. if that is not satisfactory the gentlemen must wait till I go home. Josiah Bradlee of our town shipped in the Amethyst 27 Bundles or 6 pickels 28 catties of Whale bone which I sold at so late a moment as not to be able to remit him the proceeds. therefore you will have the goodness to pay for the same with 15% or 20% advance if agreeable say 6 pickels 28 catties to 20 catties deducting freight etc.

I have put into the Charge of our Brother Henry a bundle marked I. Munson containing 3 pickels Pocket handkerchiefs which were received in payment for 10 catties of Ginseng found after the Sales were closed of his Consignment to me and over and above the Invoice weight [shipping mark] No. 7 Barrel 1 Quality 23½ catties

said to contain so much but in reality only 10 Catties which were bartered for the Handkerchiefs Value 24D Deduct freight and Settle with Israel Munson.

I hope Joseph and John Dorr have fitted out the Sealer desired I am now confident she will do great things particularly if little Smith commands her and he manages well.

It is impossible to say when I shall see you it entirely depends on what success I meet with on my present expedition. I have a letter here for our Northwest Men or Sealers for their guidance.

I send my books a trunk of Cloathing case of Silver ware etc. by Henry which you will please see delivered my Sister Eliza.

Common Ginseng 50D per pickel Clarified no sale or no price as you please. Magee has a large quantity. Nankins 50D to 54D. Teas much as already quoted.

I have to desire you will make my kind remembrance to all our family and friends hoping this will find you all well I remain your Affectionate Brother

S. DORR

Henry is passenger in the Herald R. Derby.

Original Sally Duplicate Atauhalpa

SULLIVAN DORR TO MESSRS. BROWN & IVES

Boston, September 21, 1803

GENTLEMEN, I do myself the pleasure to announce to you my arrival here on the 16th Inst. after a successful voyage to Antwerp although my health is much improv'd, I am now convalescent. I have to desire you to be so kind as to inform me whether Mr. Megee made that disposition of the \$2,232.54 left with him as promised. Also if you have received the Amount of Cap. Pages note and remitted the same to Mahomed Abraham.

Excuse my being brief my indisposition preventing me from saying so much as I wanted. Please remember me to Capt. Jenckes and Believe me to be Very Respectfully Gentlemen Your Humble Servant

S. DORR

John Quincy Adams and George Washington

By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS¹

OVER forty years ago Mr. Worthington C. Ford delivered a paper before this Society entitled "Some Original Documents on the Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine."² From the private and public papers of John Quincy Adams he set forth the part which that Secretary of State played in the discussions leading up to the pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine: both in the diplomatic discussions with Russia and England and in the deliberations of the United States Cabinet preceding the formulation of President Monroe's celebrated message. The *American Historical Review* for July and October, 1902, contained a longer essay by Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine." In the latter article he expressed his conclusion that the documents analyzed showed that "the Monroe Doctrine was the work of John Quincy Adams."

Historical scholarship accepted this for a time, but recent careful studies have tended to qualify Ford's conclusion more and more and to give Adams less and less credit for the Monroe Doctrine as a statement of American foreign policy. Governor William A. MacCorkle did not want Massachusetts to pluck a jewel from the diadem of old Virginia, as he put it. In *The Personal Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine*, a little book published in 1923 as a reply to Ford's influential articles, he insisted that it was Monroe who first wanted (in the President's own words) "to make it known that we would view an interference on the part of the European powers and especially an attack on the colonies by them, as an attack on ourselves"; and the Governor stressed the fact that Monroe as President had the final responsibility for decision of policy. In his standard study of the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, Dexter Perkins³ accepted these qualifications of Ford's earlier judgment. T. R. Schellenberg,⁴ in

¹ This paper was read at the February, 1944, meeting.

² *Proceedings*, xv. 373-436; issued separately with the title "John Quincy Adams, His Connection with the Monroe Doctrine" (Cambridge, 1902).

³ *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826* (Cambridge, 1927).

⁴ "Jeffersonian Origins of the Monroe Doctrine," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xiv (February, 1934), 1-31.

1934, concluded that Jefferson's mind lay back of that principle of the Monroe Doctrine that separated Europe and America into two distinct spheres of policy independent of each other, and that it was a Frenchman, the Abbé de Pradt, who inspired Jefferson with that idea; Schellenberg thinks Jefferson more than any other man the author of the Doctrine. Miss Laura Bornholdt has removed the Abbé de Pradt from the picture.¹ In the most recent general examination of the subject Professor Arthur P. Whitaker² represents Jefferson and Monroe as the chief architects of the idea of the two spheres, the separate American system of policy, and the warning to Europe; Adams, he says, was rather the draftsman than the originator. Whitaker seems inclined to give Adams less credit than most of the previous scholars who had appraised the authorship of the Monroe Doctrine. None of these later writers, however, has given any attention to John Quincy Adams's associations with American foreign policy in the eighteenth century.

The Monroe Doctrine as contained in President Monroe's message to Congress of December 2, 1823, consisted, as everybody knows, of three principal dicta: (1) no more colonization of the New World by European powers; (2) abstention of the United States from European wars and entanglements—only when our rights were attacked or seriously menaced would we resent injuries or take measures for our defense in respect to Europe; (3) as a corollary to the second dictum, nonintervention by Europe in the American Hemisphere. Implicit in the whole Monroe Doctrine is the concept of separate spheres of policy, worlds apart, for Europe and for America, the New World versus the Old.

That John Quincy Adams was the sole author of the first dictum all scholars agree. That the second dictum, abstention from Europe's controversies, was expressed by the Fathers of American independence on various occasions from the Revolution until Washington's Farewell Address in 1796 and thereafter, notably by President Jefferson, is also agreed; in 1820 Secretary of State Adams repeated it officially in instructions to the United States Minister to Russia declining the invitation of Czar Alexander I to join the Holy Alliance. "The political system of the United States," he said then,

¹ "The Abbé de Pradt and the Monroe Doctrine," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXIV (May, 1944), 201-221.

² *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830* (Baltimore, 1941).

three years before the Monroe Doctrine, "is extra-European. To stand in firm and cautious independence of all entanglement in the European system, has been a cardinal point of their policy under every administration of their government from the peace of 1783 to this present day."¹ It will presently be seen that this was not in 1820 a new thought to John Quincy Adams.

It was the supposed danger of European intervention in Latin America in 1823 which produced the third dictum of the Monroe Doctrine: the warning to Europe against intervention in the New World. It is about this new principle that most of the controversy has been centered. In later studies I propose to give this problem of authorship further analysis. At this time I shall point out a certain very early association of John Quincy Adams with the second dictum, abstention from European political combinations—that is, the foreign policy of George Washington's Farewell Address, later repeated in the Monroe Doctrine—and with the general concept of the two separate spheres, or systems, of policy.²

It is necessary first to review Adams's relations with President Washington during the General's lifetime. Adams first met Washington when visiting his father, the Vice-President, and family in New York in 1789. A few months later the young law student drafted the address of welcome which the citizens of Newburyport presented to the President on the occasion of his visit to that town. He managed to be on hand at all the official functions which the General attended in the community. Washington remembered the young law student and kept his eye on him thereafter. Doubtless he knew that it was John Quincy Adams who in 1791 wrote the *Letters of Publicola*, reprinted extensively on both sides of the ocean, to refute Tom Paine's advice to the English people to overthrow their government and embody the rights of man in a written constitution like that of France. Later, in 1793, the President took pains to ascertain that it was young Adams who had written the letters of "Columbus" and "Marcellus," widely printed in the American newspapers, defending American neutrality against the purposes of French diplo-

¹ *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, Worthington C. Ford, Editor, VII. 49.

² This paper is based upon Adams's official diplomatic correspondence, now preserved for the most part in the Department of State Records in the National Archives in Washington; on Mr. Ford's edition of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams* (7 vols., New York, 1913-1917); and on the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Charles Francis Adams, Editor (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1873-1876).

macy after the great war of the First Coalition began in Europe.

It was in the papers of "Marcellus" that John Quincy Adams had included a passage that is interesting to the student of the Farewell Address and of the Monroe Doctrine: ". . . as the citizens of a nation at a vast distance from the continent of Europe; of a nation whose happiness consists in a real independence, *disconnected from all European interests and European politics*, it is our duty to remain the peaceful and silent, though sorrowful spectators of the sanguinary scene."¹ And "Columbus" had warned his fellow citizens against the insidious wiles of foreign intrigue: ". . . of all the dangers which encompass the liberties of a republican State, the intrusion of a foreign influence into the administration of their affairs, is the most alarming, and requires the opposition of the severest caution. . . . The interference of foreigners upon any pretence whatever, in the dissensions of fellow-citizens, must be as inevitably fatal to the liberties of the State, as the admission of strangers to arbitrate upon the domestic differences of man and wife is destructive to the happiness of a private family. . . . If we inquire what is the cause which has been within a quarter of a century, fatal to the Liberties of *Sweden*, of *Geneva*, of *Holland*, and of *Poland*, the answer will be one and the same. It was the association of internal faction, and external power; it was the interference of other nations in their domestic divisions. . . ."²

The next year, 1794, when a vacancy appeared in the diplomatic service, Washington nominated John Quincy Adams to be Minister Resident of the United States at The Hague. The Senate unanimously confirmed the nomination. Obviously the Vice-President's son was an excellent appointment. He knew Holland from his youth there when his father had been Minister. He also knew Europe and its courts. He had fluent command of French and Latin. He could read Dutch, and although he had got rusty in his speaking knowledge of the language, he could soon retrieve it. He was deeply versed in the literature of history and politics as well as in polite letters. He was now a trained lawyer. He knew international law expertly. He had shown a firm grasp of the essentials of American foreign policy as understood by the Administration; this he had made evident by his comprehension not only of the problem of neutrality but also of the war crisis with England which had developed

¹ *Writings*, I, 140. The italics are mine.

² *Ibid.*, 158-160.

subsequently and had resulted in John Jay's mission to London in 1794 as a last resort for peace. He had, in short, an ideal training for diplomacy.

For the United States it was of vital importance to have a representative in Europe capable of grasping the whole international situation thrown up by the French Revolution. Since Jefferson's departure from Paris only one other American diplomat abroad had displayed a perspicacity adequate to understanding and appraising the unprecedented European situation. That was Gouverneur Morris, Jefferson's successor as Minister to France. But Morris had involved himself in the plots of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette against the Revolution. Washington had to recall him, at the request of the French Revolutionary authorities, after he had asked them to withdraw Genêt from the United States for plotting against our Government. Morris remained in Europe, with headquarters in London, a favorite at court, his views altogether colored by British policy; in fact he later traveled about the Continent sending in reports to the British Foreign Office.¹ His English prejudices made him of very little further usefulness to his own Government. The President did not see fit to appoint him to another diplomatic office, say at The Hague in 1794 instead of Adams, or to the legation at London when that fell vacant in 1796 and went to Rufus King.

James Monroe, whom Washington sent to France to balance Jay's mission to England, was as prejudiced an apostle of the French Revolution as Morris had been an opponent. He openly fraternized with the Revolutionary leaders in a spectacular and embarrassing way. His dispatches showed no unbiased analysis of the European war: they were full of his own fraternal doings, of his gentle urgings to the Committee of Public Safety and the succeeding Directory to observe neutral rights under the American treaty of 1778; they presented sympathetically French animus against Jay's negotiations and treaty. As will be seen, Monroe proved personally disloyal to President Washington as well as disloyal to his positive instructions to defend Jay's Treaty with energy.

In London, John Jay, during his few months' sojourn there, dealt exclusively with his own negotiation. Thomas Pinckney, regular

¹ *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, Anne Cary Morris, Editor (2 vols., New York, 1888). See also Index entries for Morris in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore* (London, 1899), III.

Minister to Great Britain since 1792, showed little grasp of the European situation. He concerned himself with protests against British violations of neutral rights and with impressments, and made no particular observation of Continental affairs.¹ Then, at the beginning of 1795, he was off to Madrid on the mission extraordinary that resulted in the notable treaty of that year with Spain. Pinckney's departure left the London legation in care of his inexperienced private secretary, one William Allen Deas, chargé d'affaires ad interim. Deas could not be counted on for any adequate analysis of the great picture of European politics. On John Quincy Adams, then, unexpectedly fell the task of reporting to the United States Government the wars of the French Revolution.

The new Minister's letters from his first legation, where he considered himself paid a good salary—\$4,500 a year—for doing nothing at all, were to be of real service to his country in laying the bases of its foreign policy. Suddenly The Hague had become a place of extraordinary significance, particularly for an American diplomat. It was a listening post in the resounding amphitheater of European power politics. It was a perfect testing ground for any ally of the new French Republic with its revolutionary program and propaganda. John Quincy Adams's reports helped to correct the partisan impressions and advice of James Monroe and to strengthen the resolution of the first President, in a very critical period of American foreign relations, not to allow the United States to become, like the Netherlands, a tool of French diplomacy for the purposes of purely European polity.

In his "Columbus" letters in Boston in 1793, John Quincy Adams already had cited the Netherlands as one of the examples of modern history showing how association of internal faction with foreign power was fatal to the liberties of any people. For a century two political factions had contended for supremacy in that ancient republic, buffer state between British sea power and French land power: the Orange Party, which was the party of the hereditary executive, the Stadtholder, and owed its ruling position to alliance with Great Britain and Prussia; and the more liberal Patriot Party, which sought the aid of France to oust its rivals from authority.

When Adams arrived at The Hague in December, 1794, the

¹ I have described his activities, from his official dispatches, in "The London Mission of Thomas Pinckney," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1923), 228-247.

unfortunate Netherlands was the sinking prey of foreign powers. In those portions of the state still defended by unpopular British troops the Patriots were secretly shaping their ranks as fifth columnists (to use a modern phrase) in support of the French invasion. No real Dutch patriots rose to defend the sovereignty and independence of the United Provinces. Seeking their own selfish desires first, the rival political factions perfectly served the purposes of foreign intrigue, hegemony, and, ultimately, annexation and complete loss of independence.

From his legation in The Hague the American Minister accurately described, in dispatches to the Secretary of State and in more revealing confidential letters to his father, how the French forces occupied the whole country, expelling the British troops and the Stadtholder's government. He gave due credit to the correct conduct of the army of "liberation" toward the people of the country and their property, whatever their previous political allegiance. He told how democratic societies on Jacobin models sprang up like tulips all over the Low Countries as he had seen them blossom two years before everywhere in the United States. Scarcely a village in the seven provinces but had its political club, and they sent delegates to a central assembly.¹ Small groups of revolutionaries, working behind the scenes, used the Dutch democratic societies as instruments of revolution to supplant the old régime by the Batavian Republic, set up on French models. These groups were the "unseen spring," Adams reported to the Secretary of State, which gave all visible motion to the Revolution, without the "people" knowing how it came to pass.² As he wrote these lines, he had in mind the democratic societies that, under the impulse of the French Revolution, had flourished so recently in his own country, where Federalists and Republicans contended with each other, so a French revolutionary government might plausibly conclude, like Orangemen and Patriots, the one a faction apparently partial to British policy, the other seemingly a party of French interest.

French intervention and conquest overthrew the old government of the United Provinces and created the Batavian Republic. The

¹ John Quincy Adams to the Secretary of State, Nos. 47, 48, July 22, 1795. Department of State (National Archives), "Despatches, The Netherlands," I (1794-1796).

² John Quincy Adams to the Secretary of State, No. 25, The Hague, February 15, 1795. *Writings*, I. 285-291.

Batavian Republic speedily made a treaty of peace and alliance with the French Republic and changed sides in the war. From her new ally France extracted an indemnity of 100,000,000 florins, together with territorial rectifications, including the cession of Dutch Flanders, and a potential naval base at Flushing. Abruptly the Netherlands found itself the enemy of its former allies, Great Britain and Prussia, and the victim of the latest guarantor of its independence, France. The conquest of the Netherlands was a most portentous demonstration of French power for aggrandizement through the new technique of propaganda and "liberation" as well as by force of arms.

John Quincy Adams soon realized that the correct conduct of the armies of invasion was no assurance of benevolence. On the contrary, it masked an implacable exploitation of the hitherto prosperous provinces for the benefit of France. "The French are still here as conquerors," he wrote to the Secretary of State in the spring of 1795, "and the substance of independence is not so scrupulously preserved as its forms."¹ Nominal independence and republican fraternity did not mitigate the usual consequences of conquest: billeting of troops, requisition of clothing, fuel, and food, the continued support of an army of foreigners, the forced circulation of depreciated *assignats*. Toward the end of his service at The Hague, in 1797, he reported the net result (for unhappy Dutchmen) of France's revolutionizing of the country: "In the course of two years since the establishment of what is called their liberty, they have paid nearly twenty per cent upon the whole capital of every individual in forced loans, have had their commerce almost entirely suspended, have lost almost all their colonies, have seen the value of a large portion of the property left them depreciate nearly one-half, and have the prospect evidently before them of seeing themselves made the victim of both parties, whenever a peace shall be concluded."²

Such were the reports in John Quincy Adams's official dispatches to the Secretary of State. It was for his father that he reserved his most intimate political analyses and reflections. To John Adams he expressed his hopes and fears for American foreign policy and for

¹ John Quincy Adams to the Secretary of State, No. 30, The Hague, March 17, 1795. Department of State (National Archives), "Despatches, The Netherlands," I.

² John Quincy Adams to the Secretary of State, No. 94, February 17, 1797. Department of State (National Archives), "Despatches, The Netherlands," II.

the survival of American nationality in a war which he had correctly seen, from the moment of his return to Europe,¹ as a titanic duel between France and England. One by one France was knocking out the Continental members of the coalition: the Netherlands, Prussia, and Spain fell in 1795; Sardinia would soon have to make its separate peace (1796); Austria's defeat was only a matter of time (1797). Then England would stand alone. French diplomacy would next try to shut up the ports of the Continent against all trade with England and close the United States to England, too, if possible, while France mobilized the naval power of the European nations for invasion of England and a final blow against the mistress of the seas. The young Minister Resident was the first of his countrymen to foresee the Continental System. He realized that the attitude and policy of the United States as it attempted to steer its way between the two mighty combatants would be a matter of life or death for itself, as it had been for the Netherlands. Neutrality and Jay's Treaty with Great Britain were the touchstones of this policy. French diplomacy and the democratic societies would try to destroy both.²

. . . I have several reasons to suppose [he wrote to his father on May 22, 1795] that the policy of the French government at present is to make *use* of the United States, as they are now making use of these Provinces, that is, as an instrument for the benefit of France, as a passive weapon in her hands against her most formidable enemy. . . .

If these conjectures have as much foundation as I apprehend, the whole French influence in America will exert itself with more than usual activity to prevent the ratification of the treaty, and to produce at all events a war between the United States and Great Britain, not assuredly from regard to our interest which they respect as much as they do that of their friends and allies the Hollanders, but because they are sensible of how much importance our commerce is to Great Britain, and suppose that the loss of it would make that nation outrageous for peace, and compel the Minister to make it upon the terms they are disposed to dictate. . . .

If the [Jay] treaty should not be ratified, the French will exert themselves

¹ His very first dispatch contained this statement: "At this moment they [the French] might probably dictate their own terms of Peace to all their enemies except Great Britain, and it is not improbable that at the opening of the ensuing season, these two great rival nations will be the only remaining combatants upon the field." John Quincy Adams to the Secretary of State, No. 1, London, October 22, 1794. Department of State (National Archives), "Despatches, The Netherlands," 1.

² John Quincy Adams to Dr. Thomas Welsh, April 26, 1795, *Writings*, I. 339n.-340n.; John Quincy Adams to Abigail Adams, May 16, 1795, *ibid.*, 340n.; John Quincy Adams to John Adams, May 22, 1795, *ibid.*, 353-363, and September 12, 1795, *ibid.*, 408-417.

for the purpose of hurrying us into a war, which may hasten their means of making peace, and in which they may be under no obligation of making a common cause with us. Their partizans, perhaps, in declamations or in newspapers will promise wonders from their co-operation; their official characters possibly may employ a great number of what they call *phrases*, but will have no power to contract any substantial engagements; we shall be friends, brothers, allies, fellow-freemen, loaded with all the tenderness of family affections introduced by a political prosopopeia into national concerns, and the final result of the whole matter will be, that all this tender sympathy, this amiable fraternity, this lovely coalescence of liberty, will leave us the advantage of being sacrificed to their interests, or of purchasing their protection upon the most humiliating and burdensome conditions, and at the same time of being reduced to the condition of glorying in our disgrace, and hailing the instrument of our calamity as the weapon of our deliverance.

I wish that the situation of affairs in America may be such as shall afford a full demonstration, that these are ideas merely visionary, *and above all I wish that we may never have occasion for any political connections in Europe.*¹

. . . I believe [he again wrote to his father on September 12, 1795] the intention is to draw the United States into it [the European war], merely to make tools of them, in order to procure advantageous terms for others, who would leave us in the well, after using our weight to get themselves out of it. It would be a war in which we should have everything to lose and nothing to gain. . . .²

A little wisdom and a little moderation [he wrote to his mother from The Hague on May 16, 1795] is all we want to secure a continuance of the blessings, of which faction, intrigue, private ambition and desperate fortunes have concurred in exertions to deprive us. The government of the United States need not even appeal to the judgment of posterity, whose benedictions will infallibly follow those measures which were the most opposed. The voice of all Europe already pronounces their justification; the nations which have been grappling together with the purpose of mutual destruction, feeble, exhausted, and almost starving, detest on all sides the frantic war they have been waging; those who have had the wisdom to maintain a neutrality have reason more than ever to applaud their policy, and some of them may thank the United States for the example from which it was pursued.³

Events in America were clear enough demonstration of the accuracy of Adams's analysis of the external forces of the French Revolution. The popular opposition to Jay's Treaty, the equivocal relation of Secretary of State Randolph to the French legation, leading to his downfall and resignation, and French efforts to stir up a radical opposition either to block Jay's Treaty by withholding the necessary appropriations in the House of Representatives or to defeat

¹ *Writings*, I. 356-362. The italics are mine.

² *Ibid.*, 409.

³ *Ibid.*, 340n.

Washington for reelection in 1796, or even to overthrow his Government by revolution: all this foreign intermeddling showed that French diplomacy was bent on treating the United States as it did the satellite republics which it set up for its own purposes in Europe, under the spell of the principles of the great Revolution. Adams had diagnosed correctly from its European examples the danger of the French Revolution for America. Marching under the cloak of the rights of man, the Republic had launched France again upon a career of conquest and plunder far more formidable than that of Louis XIV. John Quincy Adams saw this with clear eyes¹ and he kept his Government's attention continually on it in a way that no other American diplomat could have done.

The French Foreign Office looked upon the United States as "the Holland of the New World." Washington must go, declared the new French Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Directory, Citizen Delacroix: "A friend of France must succeed him in that eminent office. . . . We must raise up the people and at the same time conceal the lever by which we do so. . . . I propose to the Executive Directory to authorize me to send orders and instructions to our minister plenipotentiary at Philadelphia to use all the means in his power . . . to bring about the right kind of revolution and Washington's replacement, which, assuring to the Americans their independence, will break off treaties made with England and maintain those which unite them to the French Republic."²

James Monroe, who as senator had voted against Jay's nomination, and whom Washington by way of ingratiating had sent to France to defend American neutrality while Jay negotiated in England, urged the Directory not to try revolution in America until they should see what happened in the Presidential election of 1796. He was none too loyal to his chief. "Left to ourselves," he slyly hinted to Delacroix, "everything will I think be satisfactorily arranged and *perhaps in the course of the present year*: and it is always more grateful

¹ "With all the attachment of my countrymen for France I believe [really he *hoped*] they have too much sense and virtue, as well as knowledge of their own interest, to be either persuaded or bullied by her into a war for her benefit, when it has certainly become on her side a war merely of conquest and plunder, provided no new cause of resentment be given them by the future conduct of Britain." John Quincy Adams to John Adams, The Hague, July 21, 1796, *Writings*, II. 13.

² See my article, "Washington's Farewell Address: A Foreign Policy of Independence," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (January, 1934), 257-258.

to make such arrangements ourselves than to be pressed to it."¹ The Directory took Monroe's advice, to await Washington's overthrow in the coming American election. Meanwhile it declared (decree of July 2, 1796) that France would treat American ships precisely as Great Britain did, thus setting aside the maritime principles of the Franco-American treaty of 1778. After communicating the text of this decree, the French Minister in Philadelphia announced, in a burning manifesto full of French propaganda, the suspension of diplomatic relations with the United States. These steps were calculated to scare the electorate not to vote for Washington again.

But George Washington did not choose to run again in 1796. He did not want any longer to be buffeted ungratefully in the public prints by "a set of infamous scribblers" who misrepresented and tortured every act of the Executive with a view to making it appear odious.² Doubtless he questioned whether he could be reelected. Certainly he could not again have been reelected unanimously. At any rate, he did not want a third term. He had not desired a second. He had wished to spend his declining years in "the shades of retirement" at beloved Mount Vernon. Already at the end of his first "federal cycle" he had yearned to go home to the banks of the Potomac, and it was then, in 1792, that originally he had prepared to issue a valedictory to his fellow citizens. Only when convinced that his Presidency was necessary to mold national unity while the Constitution took hold on the people and the nation, and that his retirement might blight negotiations under way with Great Britain and Spain for the redemption of the western territory, had he consented to serve a second term. Even so he hoped to be able to resign within a year or two and turn the government over to the Vice-President, presumably John Adams. Outbreak of the Anglo-French War in 1793 and the problem of neutrality blighted that hope. At last in 1796 it seemed possible for him to lay down the burden.

The Farewell Address to the people of the United States, September 19, 1796, upon announcing his retirement at the end of his second term of office, had a much different content than the docu-

¹ *American Historical Review*, xxxix (January, 1934), 258. The italics are mine. Before he left the Presidency, Washington recalled Monroe from Paris for not defending Jay's Treaty with the arguments that Secretary of State Pickering had instructed him to employ. He never knew how far Monroe had gone in disloyal insinuations against himself.

² George Washington to Alexander Hamilton, Mount Vernon, June 26, 1796. *The Writings of George Washington*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, xxx. 101-104.

ment which he would have used in 1792, when the occasion called merely for virtuous consecration of the new Union. In the four years since then a volcanic force had erupted upon the European world. Under Washington's leadership American neutrality and American nationality had barely resisted the tidal wave that swept across the Atlantic, had survived it only at the price of Jay's Treaty and the temporary concession to British sea power. Now in 1796 intervention of the French ally in American domestic politics again threatened neutrality. It was to that danger that Washington pointed his Farewell Address.

Outlined and strictly held to the outline by Washington, but embellished by the phraseology of Alexander Hamilton, whose mind moved in unison with the President's in these matters of statecraft, the Farewell Address invoked the spirit of national unity against the divisions of political and sectional "factions" and the opportunity that "factions" and sections opened to foreign intrigue and interference, presenting a danger to independence itself. From this it proceeded to lay down the great rule of conduct for foreign policy: abstention from the *ordinary* vicissitudes of European politics and the *ordinary* combinations and collisions of European friendships and enmities—in brief, as little *political* connection as possible with foreign nations.

We can say that John Quincy Adams's contributions to the American press and his subsequent letters from The Hague to his father had an appreciable influence upon the mind of the President as he thought over what he desired to say in the Address. The President had read and commended the earlier letters of "Marcellus" and "Columbus." It has already been noted how they led to the younger Adams's appointment in 1794 to the foreign service. John Adams communicated to Washington his son's private letters from The Hague. The President was reading these earlier letters from John Quincy Adams to his father at the very time, in the summer of 1796, he was drafting, with Hamilton's aid, the Farewell Address. In acknowledging four received from Quincy in August, 1795, the President wrote to John Adams on August 20: "They contain a great deal of interesting matter, and No. 9 [May 22, 1795] discloses much important information and political insight. Mr. J. Adams, your son, must not think of retiring from the walk of life he is in. His prospects, if he continues in it are fair, and I shall

be much mistaken if, in as short a period as can be well expected, he is not found at the head of the diplomatic corps, let the government be administered by whomsoever the people may choose."¹

Without pausing to comment on this highly authoritative appraisal of John Quincy Adams's abilities and future prospects, let us now compare some of the ideas, even some of the words, of the Farewell Address with the letters of "Marcellus" and of "Columbus" in 1793. In doing so, I shall refer to the text of Washington's original first draft of suggestions for the Address (May 15, 1796)² in order to show how John Quincy Adams paralleled Washington's thinking independently of Alexander Hamilton, who certainly agreed with both and thought along similar lines. It is quite possible, indeed likely, that the Vice-President showed his son's letters also to Hamilton.

Conspicuous among the admonitions of the Farewell Address are: (1) to exalt patriotically the national words, *America, American, Americans*; (2) to beware of foreign intrigue; (3) to have no political connections with the foreign nations of distant Europe with their different set of primary interests. In all three of these features of the immortal document can be discerned the thought of John Quincy Adams, occasionally suspicious traces of his phraseology.

Observe first the name *America*.

Emphasis on the word *American* is common to the three documents:

<i>John Quincy Adams</i>	<i>Washington's First Draft</i>	<i>The Farewell Address</i>
Is this a condition tolerable to the imagination of <i>American</i> ³ freemen? . . . Was it worthy of the generous and heroic self-devotion, which offered the slaughtered thousands of our friends and brethren, as a willing sacrifice at the holy altar of <i>American</i> ³ Independence, to	That every citizen would take pride in the name of an American, and act as if he felt the importance of the character by considering that we ourselves are now a distinct Nation the dignity of which will be absorbed, if not annihilated, if we enlist ourselves (further than	The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits

¹ *Writings*, I. 408n.-409n. "Fair" prospects meant in those days most excellent prospects.

² See Victor H. Paltsits, *Washington's Farewell Address, in Facsimile, with Transliterations of All the Drafts of Washington, Madison, and Hamilton, together with Their Correspondence and Other Supporting Documents, Edited with a History of Its Origin, Its Reception by the Nation, Rise of the Controversy respecting Its Authorship, and a Bibliography* (New York, New York Public Library, 1935). Horace Binney long since had settled definitively the question of authorship in *An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address* (Philadelphia, 1859).

³ The italics are mine.

be made the miserable bubbles of foreign speculation, to be blown like feathers to and fro as the varying breath of foreign influence should be directed: to be bandied about from one nation to another, subservient to the purposes of their mutual resentments, and played with as the passive instruments of their interests and passions? Perish the *American*!¹ whose soul is capable of submitting to such a degrading servitude! Perish the *American*,¹ whose prostituted heart could forsake the genuine purity of our national worship, and offer at a foreign shrine the tribute of his slavish adoration!²

our obligations may require) under the banners of any other Nation whatsoever.³

and political Principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.⁴

Similarly the advice to beware of foreign intrigue is common to the three documents:

John Quincy Adams

Among the nations of antiquity, the *Athenians* were equally distinguished for the freedom of their government, the mildness of their laws, the sagaciousness of their understanding, and the urbanity of their manners. Their Constitution was purely democratic, and their penal laws were few; but the bare appearance of a stranger in the assemblies of the people, they made punishable with death, from a deep and well-grounded

Washington's First Draft

And moreover, that we would guard against the Intrigues of *any* and *every* foreign Nation who shall endeavor to intermingle (however covertly and indirectly) in the internal concerns of our country—or who shall attempt to prescribe rules for our policy with any other power. . . .⁵

The Farewell Address

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. . . .⁶

¹ The italics are mine.

² Letter of "Columbus," December 4, 1793, *Writings*, I, 159. The letters of "Columbus" stress throughout the words *America*, *American*, and *Americans*, as an appeal to national pride and exaltation, and as a distinction from state or sectional appellations.

³ Paltsits, *Washington's Farewell Address*, 169.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 142–143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 154–155.

John Quincy Adams
(continued)

conviction, that of all the dangers which encompass the liberties of a republican State, the intrusion of a foreign influence into the administration of their affairs, is the most alarming, and requires the opposition of the severest caution. . . . The interference of foreigners upon any pretence whatever, in the dissensions of fellow-citizens, must be as inevitably fatal to the liberties of the State, as the admission of strangers to arbitrate upon the domestic differences of man and wife is destructive to the happiness of a private family. If the partizans of any particular faction cease to rely upon their own talents and services to support their influence among their country men, and link themselves in union with an external power, the principle of self-defence, the instinct of self-preservation itself, will suggest a similar connection to their opponents; whichever of the party nominally prevails, the whole country is really enslaved; alternately the sport of every caprice, that directs the conduct of two foreign sovereigns, alternately the victim of every base intrigue which foreign hatred and jealousy may disguise under the mask of friendship and benevolence.¹

The advice against political connections with foreign powers appears uniformly throughout the three documents:

¹ Letter of "Columbus," December 4, 1793, *Writings*, I. 157-159.

John Quincy Adams

... as the citizens of a nation at a vast distance from the continent of Europe; of a nation whose happiness consists in a real independence, disconnected from all European interests and European politics. . . .¹

Washington's First Draft

That we may avoid connecting ourselves with the Politics of any Nation, farther than shall be found necessary to regulate our own trade; . . .²

The Farewell Address

The Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled, with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.³

So clearly do the thoughts of the younger Adams, even little traces of his phraseology, appear in the Farewell Address that one may wonder whether Washington may not have had still before him the letters of "Columbus" when he drew up the first draft of that document. Of course this is not to say that John Quincy Adams was unduly responsible for the ideas of the Farewell Address. Until he heard of its pronouncement, he did not even know it was being formulated. Presumably the Address would have been given out, in somewhat the same form, if Adams had never lived, for these ideas already were common to American statesmen and diplomatists of the time.⁴ They were the fruit of American diplomatic experience since the Declaration of Independence. Indeed, unbeknownst to Adams, the United States had just declined two offers of European alliance—one from Sweden and Denmark in 1794 for a new Armed Neutrality, and another from Spain in 1795 for a triple alliance with France to guarantee the territories of all in the New World—and it was acutely nervous about its "perpetual alliance" with France. John Quincy Adams shared these principles of foreign policy and validated them from his observation, on the spot, of the wars of the French Revolution. Thus validated, they had reinforced Washington's own opinions and even shaped their expression a little.

Despite his own preference that Washington might serve another term in order to be sure to keep the country out of the European war,⁵ John Quincy Adams read with much satisfaction the text of

¹ Letter of "Marcellus," April 24, 1793, *Writings*, I, 140.

² Paltsits, *Washington's Farewell Address*, 169.

³ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴ Cf. my article, "The Background of Washington's Foreign Policy," *Yale Review*, XVI (January, 1927), 316-337.

⁵ John Quincy Adams to Christopher Gore, July 26, 1796, *Writings*, II, 13.

the Farewell Address when finally it reached The Hague. "The reception of the President's address to the people might serve as another indicative to France of the temper of our people," he wrote, for French consumption, to Joseph Pitcairn, United States Consul in Paris. "From that let them judge of the success that has attended all their endeavors to tear our benefactor from our hearts; let them see the issue of all their manœuvres and all their libels; of their Baches and Randolphins in America, as well as their Theremins and their Paines in Europe. . . . Can France possibly believe that Mr. Jefferson, or any other man, would dare to start away from that system of administration which Washington has thus sanctioned, not only by his example, but by his retirement?"¹

For the benefit of the student of the Monroe Doctrine we may quote the younger Adams once more, in these final weeks of President Washington's administration, on separation from the politics of Europe, although it is only a repetition of what he had already said before the Farewell Address was drafted. Writing to his father after he had read the text of the Address, he said: "The President, indeed, has told us, and I am profoundly convinced of the justice and importance of the advice, that we ought not to involve ourselves at all in the political systems of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it."²

Is it not evident that John Quincy Adams actively shared, indeed independently conceived in his own mind from his diplomatic experience in Europe during the early wars of the French Revolution, the instinctive concept of the Fathers against involvement in the political systems of Europe? Indeed was he not thinking, at this early period, of what later appeared more clearly as the concept of the two separate systems, or spheres, of policy, European and American, that run through the Monroe Doctrine? And ought not historians of the Monroe Doctrine to take this into consideration?

To the President himself Adams had a chance to express himself directly upon the occasion of executing a small personal errand:³ "I fervently pray that they [the people] may not only impress all its

¹ John Quincy Adams to Joseph Pitcairn, January 31, 1797, *Writings*, II. 95-96.

² John Quincy Adams to John Adams, The Hague, January 14, 1797, *Writings*, II. 88.

³ This concerned investigation into the source of the donation of a sword that had come into Washington's hands from someone in the town of Solingen. See George Washington to John Quincy Adams, September 12, 1796, *Writings of George Washington*, XXXV. 207-209.

[the Farewell Address's] admonitions upon their hearts, but that it *may serve as the foundation upon which the whole system of their future policy may rise*, the admiration and example of future time; that your warning voice may upon every great emergency recur to their remembrance with an influence equal to the occasion; that it may control the fury of domestic factions and check the encroachments of foreign influence; that it may cement with indissoluble force our national Union, and secure at once our dignity and our peace."¹

John Quincy Adams at least had helped to inspire the warning voice of 1796. His first diplomatic commission, from the Father of His Country, had enabled him to play a part in laying the foundation of a system of American foreign policy for a century to come.

Adams's European experience had convinced him that neutrality was essential for a continuance of the American constitutional union and even the independence of the United States in that epoch of its history. If the United States preserved its neutrality, its independence, and its union, he wrote to Sylvanus Bourne, United States Consul at Amsterdam, it would be thanks to Washington. "At the present moment if our neutrality be still preserved, it will be due to the President alone. Nothing but his weight of character and reputation, combined with his firmness and political intrepidity, could have stood against this torrent that is still tumbling with a fury that resounds even across the Atlantic. He is now pledged, and he is unmoved. If his system of administration now prevails, ten years more will place the United States among the most powerful and opulent nations on earth."²

Already Adams was envisioning an American system. "The American [system] will infallibly triumph over the European system eventually," he wrote privately from London to the Secretary of State,

¹ John Quincy Adams to George Washington, February 11, 1797, *Writings*, II. 119. The italics are mine. Washington wrote to Adams a graceful acknowledgment from Mount Vernon, June 25, 1797: "... the approbation of good and Virtuous Men is the most pleasing reward my mind is susceptible of, for any Service it has been in my power to render my Country." *Writings of George Washington*, XXXV. 476.

² John Quincy Adams to Sylvanus Bourne, December 24, 1795, *Writings*, I. 467. "This, my good friend," Adams continued, "is not the language of a courtier. You and I have known the time when *not to applaud* the man who united all hearts was almost held to be a crime. Should that time return again while he lives, *my* tribute of veneration and gratitude shall again remain silent in my heart. But now, when he does not unite all hearts, when on the contrary a powerful party at home, and a mighty influence from abroad, are joining all their forces to assail his reputation and his character, I think it my duty as an American to avow my sentiments as they concern that man." *Ibid.*, 467-468.

Timothy Pickering, "provided it be pursued with the same perseverance."¹

The rising young diplomat's veneration of Washington contrasted strongly with his father's final reservations on Washington's place in American history. One wonders what the elder statesman of Quincy may have mused when he learned that his son had christened his first child George Washington Adams,² born in Berlin, April 13, 1801, after the Father of His Country had ceased to live in mortal flesh.

"My child was yesterday baptized by the name of George Washington; and may the grace of Almighty God guard his life and enable him, when he is come to manhood, to prove himself worthy of it! I was not induced merely by the public character of that great and good man to show his memory this token of respect. President Washington was, next to my own father, the man upon earth to whom I was indebted for the greatest personal obligations. I knew not whether upon rigorous philosophical principles it be wise to give a great and venerable name to such a lottery-ticket as a newborn infant—but my logical scruples have in this case been overpowered by my instinctive sentiments."³

George Washington, whose foreign policy laid the basis for an American system, remained John Quincy Adams's hero of history without reproach or reservation. Adams was deeply affected when the General died. Washington's character, he wrote from Prussia, would to all ages be a model of human virtue untarnished by a single vice. "The loss of such a man is a misfortune to mankind. To our country it is a heavy calamity."⁴ His was "one of the greatest names that ever appeared upon earth for the pride and consolation of the human race. I feel it as an inestimable happiness to have been the contemporary and countryman of that man."⁵

¹ John Quincy Adams to Timothy Pickering, *Private*, London, December 22, 1795, *Writings*, I. 465. Adams opened himself to Pickering much more than he had done to Randolph.

² The tragic death of George Washington Adams in early manhood was the greatest personal affliction which John Quincy Adams had to bear. *Memoirs*, VIII. 159-160. For circumstances of the young man's death, April 30, 1829, less than a month after the father vacated the White House, see *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 4, 1829.

³ John Quincy Adams to Thomas Boylston Adams, quoted, without date, by Dorotheie Bobbé in her sprightly (but not always accurate) *Mr. and Mrs. John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1930), 113. She explains that she had read the correspondence and private papers of John Quincy and Louisa Catherine Adams, John and Abigail Adams, Thomas Boylston Adams, and Joshua Johnson, among others. *Ibid.*, 303.

⁴ John Quincy Adams to Joseph Pitcairn, February 4, 1800, *Writings*, II. 451, n. 1.

⁵ John Quincy Adams to William Vans Murray, February 11, 1800, *Writings*, II. 453.

Pretenders to the French Throne in Numismatics

By SHEPARD POND¹

THE present unhappy condition of France brings to mind the many changes of government that country has undergone during the last century and a half. I remember well, when traveling as a schoolboy in France, a remark made to me by an intelligent Frenchman to the effect that many of his countrymen, students of government, considered the United States of America to be a not fully proved experiment in political organization. Had I been better informed in history then, I should have replied: "But, since my country took on its present political form has not France changed her form of government seven times? Has she not had two dynasties of kings, two empires, and three republics? Have there not been numerous insurrections in the streets of Paris? And are there not at this moment two rival exiled pretenders to the 'Throne of France'?" Truly France has been through much since the United States entered the family of nations.

To understand properly the causes of these changes in France and to set the stage across which the characters in this paper will pass, it would be well to examine briefly the situation in which the French nation found itself as the eighteenth century was drawing to a close.

For two hundred years preceding the French Revolution the throne had been occupied by Bourbon kings: Henry IV (Henry of Navarre), his son Louis XIII, the latter's son Louis XIV, Louis XV, great-grandson of the *Grand Monarque*, and Louis XVI, grandson of Louis XV. Thus the Bourbon line in eight generations had produced but five kings, and the remarkable average length of their several reigns, with the Crown descending directly in the line, was a mighty factor in building up royal absolutism, a conviction of the divine right of kings, and a blind devotion to the Crown.²

¹ This paper was read at the November, 1942, meeting.

² These developments had been much aided by the Church. For several centuries the King of France had been called "Eldest Son of the Church" and "His Most Christian Majesty," and under the old régime the Crown and the Church were in close alliance. What benefited or threatened one almost equally affected the other, so that when the Revolution overthrew the monarchy, the Church suffered severely. It follows naturally that Rome, predisposed towards

Another striking fact about the Bourbons was that the family had almost no male collaterals. Indeed the only collateral line of any real importance was the Orleans family, which became particularly powerful during the reign of Louis XVI and was possibly even conspiring against the Crown at the beginning of the Revolution. Sprung from Philippe, Duke of Orleans, younger brother of Louis XIV, the Orleans line displayed throughout the eighteenth century a leaning toward rich marriages, the use of the given name Philippe as against the Bourbon Louis, and, above all, envy of their royal cousins. "First Prince of the Blood," very rich, was Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the jealous contemporary of the ill-fated Louis XVI.

Prominent factors in the reign of Louis XVI, a king both slothful and incompetent, with the distrusted and misunderstood foreigner Marie Antoinette as his queen, were a rich and self-centered higher clergy and a populace oppressed by overtaxation, government bankruptcy, and a severe crop failure. The latter months of 1792 saw the King's trial, his condemnation, and the proclamation of the Republic. On a cold gray day in January, 1793, the descendant of countless sovereigns and the embodiment of the divine right of kings mounted the scaffold, consoled by the farewell words of his spiritual counselor, the Abbé Edgeworth: "Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel!" And sitting in the Assembly and voting for the King's execution had been Philippe Égalité, ex-Duke of Orleans! Little wonder that the family feud increased in bitterness.

The death of Louis XVI brings us to the first of the pretenders, the Dauphin, little son of Louis XVI, imprisoned in Paris in the Temple with his mother Marie Antoinette, his sister, and his aunt. To them, their attendants, and all royalists he immediately became the King, Louis XVII. To the republicans in power he became a hostage of the highest value, for in the turmoil of rapidly changing events the possession of his person might prove to be of great importance. When subsequently separated from his mother, soon herself to die on the guillotine, and from his sister, the little Prince, never robust, began to sicken. The outside world knew almost nothing of the condition of the royal prisoners, and it was at this time that there appeared in Germany a touching medal with the heads of

monarchy in France, should, through the century following the Revolution, throw its influence against changes in government that it believed would weaken its own position in that country.

little Louis XVII and his sister, the reverse showing nothing but a curtain. The legend, "Quand sera-t-elle levée?" alludes obviously to the uncertain future of the two children. Another medal, struck in England, shows the Prince's youthful head with long flowing hair, while the reverse bears the reproachful legend, "Sitôt qu'il haït un roi doit on cesser de l'être?" The rigors of imprisonment were too much for the child, and on June 8, 1795, his death was announced. Soon in Germany there appeared a medal commemorating this sad event, and this time the reverse shows a lifted curtain disclosing the angel of death writing on a tomb. The legend "Redevenu libre—le 8 Juin 1795" explains itself.¹

With the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin dead, with Philippe Égalité, head of the house of Orleans, also dead, with the two younger brothers of Louis XVI and the young Orleans princes in exile, the tide of royalty was truly at a low ebb in France. There followed the long years of the First Republic, the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, his assumption of the Imperial dignity—an act which created the house of Bonaparte, and finally the establishment of the First Empire.

At the height of his power, childless and desiring an heir both for dynastic and, let us believe, patriotic reasons, Napoleon divorced the Empress Josephine and, amidst great pomp, took for a second wife Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria. This union was blessed by the birth, on March 20, 1811, of a son who at once became King of Rome, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honor, Grand Cross of the Iron Crown, and Knight of the Golden Fleece. His future seemed assured, for the fortunes of his father had not yet turned. But after Napoleon's departure a year later on the ill-fated Russian expedition father and child saw each other but twice: first upon Napoleon's return from his failure at Moscow and again on New Year's Day, 1814, at the Palace of the Tuileries after his return from the disastrous German campaign of 1813. Following the Emperor's abdication at Fontainebleau in the spring of 1814 the Empress, having already fled Paris with the King of Rome, applied for protection to her father, the Emperor of Austria, now again an enemy of Napoleon, and by the end of April, 1814, she with her child had crossed the Rhine, never again to see France.

Both in his first abdication, in 1814, and in his second, in 1815 after his return from Elba and his final collapse at Waterloo, Napo-

¹ See Plate I, No. 1.

leon had reserved the rights of his son, the King of Rome, though realizing full well that the conquering allies were far more likely to bring the Bourbons back to the throne than continue the Napoleonic dynasty. So at the tender age of three the little King of Rome was confided to his grandfather. In 1818 he was created Duke of Reichstadt and he was subsequently brought up as an Austrian prince, being above all kept most carefully from the slightest contact with anything French. Whether the practical imprisonment he endured at the castle of Schönbrunn broke his health or whether purely natural weaknesses were the cause, he lived only a little over twenty-one years, dying in 1832.

Several medals commemorate his death, the most interesting being one showing his father, Napoleon I, who had died eleven years earlier, seated above in clouds and stretching down his arms to welcome the young Prince in his ascent to heaven. What a change from the numerous medals and tokens struck in 1811 during the glory of the First Empire to commemorate his birth! Of these I have always thought the most appealing was that showing the infant's head dignified by an undoubtedly flattering artist into a resemblance to the Emperor.¹

There are coins as well as medals to be considered in connection with the son of Napoleon I. Many collectors are familiar with the pieces bearing on the obverse the boyish head of Napoleon II.² There are pieces of five francs, two francs, one franc, one-half franc, and one-quarter franc in silver, and ten centimes, five centimes, three centimes, and one centime in bronze. All of them that I have ever seen have smooth edges and show rather inferior workmanship. This series was known at least as far back as 1861, when the President of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium wrote:

The 5 franc trial piece³ is patently nothing but a speculative trial of the credulity of collectors. Had it been made by order of the French Government [the Second Empire] as a declaration of the unbreakable continuity of the Empire the die work would have been better, for there would have been no need to practise economy. And too, the date 1816 is a slip that would not have occurred under official issuance. Everyone knows that the proclamation of Napoleon II as successor to his father Napoleon I was in 1815 directly after Waterloo and

¹ See Plate I, No. 2.

² The complete series was shown at an exposition in Brussels in 1921, the centenary of the death of Napoleon I.

³ See Plate I, No. 3.



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3

PLATE I



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3

PLATE II

that his short and nominal reign lasted only a few days. Those who later issued the "coinage" of Napoleon should have dated it in 1815.

Another and later authority commenting on this series of Napoleon II speaks of them as "pretended essays . . . made at Brussels, engraved probably by Veyrat on the initiative of Brichaut and struck in the workshop of Wurden."¹

While Napoleon I was languishing first at Elba and later on the lonely rock of St. Helena, there to die in 1821, and his son, the King of Rome, was isolated in Austria, the European powers had been obliged to set up some kind of government in conquered France, and their choice fell upon a monarchy with the Bourbons restored to the throne. Now while there had been for years doubt as to the exact manner in which the unfortunate Dauphin (Louis XVII) had died in the Temple, the fact that he did die had been generally accepted. Only after the restoration of the Bourbons did the question of whether or not he might have escaped and still be living become of prime importance. For if he had not died, the succession could not legitimately pass, as it actually did, to his two uncles Louis XVIII and Charles X in succession. Hence while for reasons of high state policy the restored Bourbons took all possible measures to have the Dauphin declared dead and, one may say, to stay so, nevertheless the possibility of his unexpected and undesired reappearance must have given them unpleasant hours.

To the period of the Bourbon restoration, then, may be attributed several medals commemorating the death of the child Louis XVII. One, a handsome large piece of fine workmanship, shows on the obverse the typical youthful head with the old-fashioned Latin title, "Ludov. D. G. Fran. et Nav. Rex," while the reverse portrays the courtyard of the Temple, a tomb, broken chains, and an angel bearing away the crown of France. Another shows on the reverse a broken lily, the emblem of monarchical France, with the legend, "Cecidit ut flos."²

Beyond doubt the restored Bourbons wanted no reappearance of

¹ Henry Bauquier and Gaston Cavalier, *Histoire Numismatique du Comte de Chambord*, II (Paris, 1928), 173. Adrien Hippolite Veyrat, French engraver and die sinker, towards the end of his life worked in Brussels, chiefly for the medallist Henri Charles Wurden. Auguste Brichaut, a Belgian, comptroller of the mint at Brussels from 1866 to 1873, was then and later editor of medals, jettons, unofficial pattern pieces, and many *pièces de fantaisie*. Wurden, a Belgian, was proprietor of the die sinking works founded by his father at Brussels and creator of numerous *pièces de fantaisie*.

² See Plate II, No. 1.

their royal nephew, yet at the same time the possibilities in the situation inspired more than one person to impersonate the Dauphin and make some effort to claim an inheritance. Sooner or later these claimants, who appeared over some fifteen years, were all discredited, jailed, or exiled. To my knowledge the only one of them who deserves attention by reason of numismatic interest is one Henri-Ethelbert-Louis-Hector Hébert, the self-styled Baron de Riche-mont, who was born near Rouen. Employed in the prefecture of the department of Seine-Inférieure, he became the proprietor of a glass-works at Lesuire and in 1828 claimed his "rights" before the Chambers. Later, continuing to embarrass the government, then under a king of the Orleans family who succeeded the Bourbons after the Revolution of 1830, and thus doubly persona non grata, Hébert was sentenced to twelve years in prison only to escape to England a year later. Amnestied in 1840, he died in 1855 after still another revolution had convulsed France. A medal dated 1849 shows his head with side whiskers and bears the legend, "Louis Charles de France, ex-baron de Richemont, né à Versailles le 27 mars 1785."¹

Meanwhile the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and again in 1815 after Waterloo, had placed on the throne the elderly, cautious, grossly fat, and childless Louis XVIII. His younger brother, the Count of Artois, soon to succeed him as Charles X, had two children, the Duke of Angoulême, childless and expected to remain so, and the Duke of Berry, also childless, although hope remained that he might insure the succession with a male heir. Imagine, then, the general consternation when the latter, upon whom the future of the dynasty depended, was assassinated in the Opéra in Paris on a cold February night in 1820. The failing Louis XVIII, the unpopular Count of Artois, and the latter's equally unpopular son, Angoulême, were the last of that line of the Bourbons. To what must they look forward—extinction of their branch?

Then to their surprise and joy it was soon discovered that the widowed Duchess of Berry, daughter of Francis I of Naples, a woman of strong and forceful character, was pregnant! And seven months later she brought into the expectant and excited world a boy child—the heir of the Bourbons.

There was great national rejoicing, striking of medals, and addresses of loyalty to the throne; the child was named "Dieudonné";

¹ See Plate II, No. 2.

the loyal clergy sang itself hoarse with *Te Deums*; the infant was created Duke of Bordeaux; a huge public subscription bought for him the famous château of Chambord; and he was made Count of Chambord. All was well again with the world.

Yet only ten years later revolution had broken out, his grandfather, the bigoted Charles X, and his unpopular uncle, Angoulême, had both abdicated in his favor in a futile effort to save the throne for the Bourbons, and the entire royal family was in flight. Even the vigorous Duchess of Berry, who wanted to appear before the Chamber of Deputies with her child for a final appeal, was constrained to flee for safety's sake.

So for a year or two, from 1830 to 1832, there were two pretenders to the throne of France: Napoleon II, a prisoner in Austria, soon to die, and the Count of Chambord (or Duke of Bordeaux),¹ now in the eyes of his adherents Henry V, King of France. And who actually became King of France? None other than the latter's distant cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, son of the beheaded Philippe Égalité, who was summoned by the people of France to the throne with the title of Louis-Philippe I. Here, then, are the three rival families who during the next fifty years strove for or held the royal dignity: Bourbons, Orleanists, and Bonapartes, the latter now headed by a nephew of the great Napoleon, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a crafty, determined plotter, confident of his destiny, who later established the Second Empire.

But the fugitive Duchess of Berry, courageous and ambitious for her son, was not content to accept her fate. Adversity only stimulated her zeal. Propaganda was commenced, and to her activity some attribute a so-called coinage of Henry V in the years 1831-1833. This series includes pieces of five francs and one franc dated 1831, pieces of five francs,² two francs, one franc, one-half franc, one-quarter franc, ten centimes in two sizes, and five centimes dated 1832, and others of two francs, one-half franc in several varieties of head and bust, and one-quarter franc dated 1833. On the whole these coins are not extremely rare, and there exist various piedforts or extra-thick specimens in gold, copper, or tin corresponding to similar types in silver.

¹ The title of Duke of Bordeaux by which the Prince was customarily called in his youth was superseded by that of Count of Chambord about the time of the Revolution of 1848.

² See Plate II, No. 3.

It has been suggested that this series of 1831-1833 was struck at the expense of a royalist named Lambert, who caused pieces of a total value of some \$150,000 to be issued. Certain it is that at the beginning of the reign of the Orleanist Louis-Philippe I this issue had great interest for the Bourbon adherents. The keenest "legitimists" are said to have used the coins to pay for certain purchases and even to have tried to pay their taxes with them—which at times must have led to trouble, as these pieces bearing the head of Henry V were subject to confiscation at sight.

The unofficial nature of these pieces causes a good deal of uncertainty about how and where they were struck. While somewhat uncommon, many of the denominations are often found in dealers' cabinets and in auction sales either in silver or as trials in other metals. This fact, as well as the customarily beautiful condition in which they appear, leads to the belief that their striking has continued right up into our own times for commercial purposes by use of the original dies or modern reproductions. Messrs. Bauquier and Cavalier, in their *Histoire Numismatique du Comte de Chambord*, say it was alleged that the early striking around 1831 and 1833 were most likely done privately in England. An English origin is also suggested by W. Carew Hazlitt in *The Coinage of the European Continent*, with an added note to the effect that a one-half-franc issue is said to have come from a private press in the rue St. Honoré in Paris. The latter suggestion seems very improbable, and my attempts to verify it elsewhere have not been successful. The British Museum could give no information at all about where the coins were struck. Leonard Ferrer, the well-informed compiler of the *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, wrote that he thought Hazlitt had no foundation for the English attribution: that he himself had often inquired but had never found a satisfactory answer to the question, but that he believed all these Henry V coins originated in Brussels, most probably by Auguste Brichaut.

In any case there was in the years 1831 and 1833 a deluge of medals, tokens, and emblems setting forth the rights of the young Prince and proclaiming the old royalists' loyalty to him. While there was a strong religious touch to many of these pieces, we must remember that in 1830 one king had been superseded by another king so that the clerical faction did not have to choose between monarchy and republicanism.

The general tone of these medals is shown by a few quotations from their inscriptions: "Dieu et le Roi"; "Fata aspera vinces"; "Avenir"; "Amour espoir courage il a nos coeurs"; "Plus purs et plus brillants après l'orage." Beyond question there was a powerful and well-financed royalist propaganda at work.

Meanwhile the Duchess of Berry had taken the young pretender to join his exiled grandfather, Charles X, at Holyrood in Scotland, a place where the now aged ex-sovereign had already spent long years during his earlier exile in the days of Napoleon. Still ambitious on her son's behalf, the Duchess organized a small expedition and landed at Marseilles on April 9, 1832. Crossing France to the Atlantic coast, where she had hoped to rally the hidebound legitimists in Brittany, she was arrested in Nantes and confined in the château of Blaye. Such an active and courageous mother of a pretender soon to come into young manhood presented a real problem to the new and none too firmly established government of Louis-Philippe. Soon, however, this problem solved itself: to the delight of the Orleanists, the widowed Duchess, so ardent, so active on her son's behalf, was discovered to be pregnant! To save her personal reputation she was obliged to disclose her secret marriage to the Marquis of Lucchesi-Palli, a Neapolitan nobleman. There was noticeably less talk now about "more pure and more brilliant after the storm." The power of the Duchess as a trouble-maker was gone; she was released from prison and disappeared from the stage of grand politics. Beyond doubt her young son's cause had been immeasurably injured, as she had been the driving force behind his claims to the throne.

The years following, until the Revolution of 1848, show little activity on behalf of the pretender Henry V. He was young and not alone in the field, for, Napoleon II having died, the public attention was focused on the several abortive attempts of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to bring back the Imperial Eagles of Napoleon I. So in semi-obscurity young Henry V, an exile, living principally in Austria, grew up into a personable young man of average height with a very broad chest, high forehead, fair hair, aquiline nose, steely blue eyes, and a kindly expression. His education is said to have been confided largely to the Jesuits, and he certainly developed an absolutely uncompromising belief in the divine right of kings, from which came his conviction that he was divinely ordained to be King of France in the legitimate succession, that he was kept from

his throne by the "error" of his people and by his usurping Orleans cousins, and finally that if ever he were to regain his throne, it would be by the submission of "his people."

In return for all this sincere devotion it would seem as if Providence rewarded him badly. An unlucky fall from his horse in 1841 caused him to limp slightly for the rest of his life. In 1846 he married the Archduchess Maria Theresa Beatrice of Este, eldest daughter of the despotic and bigoted Duke Francis II of Modena. She was equally narrow-minded, was uncontrollably bitter against the Orleans family, and, as it later developed, unable to bear him children.

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out, the aging King Louis-Philippe and his family left Paris in a manner strangely reminiscent of the flight of Charles X eighteen years earlier. Again there was a shaken old man abdicating in favor of a young grandson ten years old; again a mother, this time the Duchess of Orleans, fighting for her child's inheritance. Indeed, this time the picture is more pathetic, for the mother actually took her children before the National Assembly to plead their cause, only to listen to a blazing attack on the monarchy. Tremendous applause followed that republican speech, applause in which the little Count of Paris, the heir to the throne, understanding nothing, politely joined. All to no avail. The lad, now the Orleanist pretender, was soon across the German frontier with his mother, later to go to England to rejoin his exiled grandfather and uncles.

The years from 1848 to 1851 were troublesome ones for France. Four factions were contending for control: the lately ejected Orleanists, with the child Count of Paris as their candidate, were in little favor; the legitimists, with reawakened hopes and powerful clerical backing, offered the Bourbon Henry V; the republicans, hostile to all monarchy, were vociferous but poorly organized; Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, supremely confident in his destiny, plotted to restore the Empire.

Immediately the output of medals multiplied, some pressing a cause, some satirizing it. Many pieces were issued, often very crudely made and almost always in base metal. And as may be imagined, the satirical pieces were usually in a republican vein, ridiculing the pretensions and accomplishments of royalty.

The Church now espoused the cause of Henry V, as it would unquestionably fare better under him if he were restored than it would

under a republic. Unhappy experiences in the first revolution had satisfied the hierarchy on this point, and from this date the medals of Henry V take on a decidedly politico-religious tone. Among the legends on the royalist medals of this period are: "Dieu le veut"; "Religion prospérité famille"; "Jus divinum salus populi"; "Fides ✠ spes"; "Dieu nous rendra notre roi légitime"; "L'orphelin est fort dans la main de Dieu." Crucifixes, hearts, and other religious emblems appear frequently, and there is a very apparent attempt to interpret political opposition to Henry V as being against the divine will.

Republican sentiment shows clearly in the legends on numerous satirical medals: "Les vents sont tous contraires"; "Plus de Rois, plus d'esclaves 1848"; "Oculos habent et non videbunt"; "Dieu, le Roi, la France, comme avant 93"; "La France ne veut plus, de votre droit divin. Amen."

When the royalists argued that it was not a question of Henry V, the man, but a matter of principle—and this sentiment appeared increasingly—the republicans retorted sarcastically on other medals: "Henri V c'est un principe il reçoit tout et n'accorde rien! c'est sa force comme sa faiblesse il faut s'en souvenir"; "La France ne veut plus de tes principes: elle tient à sa jeune République"; "Périssent le monde plutôt que notre principe!"

Henry V lost the day again. The royalist cause had, however, been revived. His position, though uncompromising, had been dignified, and he could still be a contender for the throne if later opportunity presented.

For a time, then, France was again under a republican government, the so-called Second Republic, and all pretenders were ridiculed. One satirical medal of the period, for instance, reads: "Louis XVII, Napoléon II, Henri V, Louis Philippe II, Les révolutions ne pardonnent jamais à l'héritier du sceptre fut-il orphelin"; while another outspoken piece says: "L. Napoléon, la Régence [i.e., the recently ejected Orleanists], Henri V, & c^a sont des cauchemars qui pèsent sur la France 1848." Yet in a few years Louis Napoleon emerged as Emperor; a coup d'état, the imprisonment or exile of various republicans, a strong hand, the creation of the Second Empire; and the Bonapartes were restored to the Imperial throne.

During the years from 1851 to 1870 the two pretenders, Henry V the Bourbon and the young Count of Paris the Orleanist, played

almost negligible rôles in French affairs. The latter growing up into manhood spent some time in the United States during our Civil War, serving in a nominal capacity on the staff of General McClellan and later producing a serious history of the war. His family headquarters, however, continued in England. He married his cousin Isabelle of Montpensier and in 1869 had a son, the Duke of Orleans, who later, in his turn, became the Orleanist pretender.

Meanwhile Henry V, the childless and sole remaining representative of the older Bourbon line, continued to spend the larger part of his time in Austria receding not one inch from his uncompromising position as the true heir to the French throne. His political followers were faithful, but he lost for a time, at least, the powerful support of the Church, for Louis Napoleon on his accession to power had conciliated the clergy, had married the ultramontane Eugénie, and indeed before long was maintaining a strong French garrison in Rome to insure that the once liberal but now reactionary Pope Pius IX should not again be chased from the throne of St. Peter.

It is to these years that we can probably ascribe two curious small silver coins of Henry V. It will be remembered that in his early years there was a ten-centime piece of 1832 with a youthful head; one of the new pieces just mentioned is likewise dated 1832, but the head is that of a man with a "collar beard" hardly appropriate for a youth of ten. The other curiosity is a half-franc piece dated 1858 on which all the legends tell of Henry V, King of France, but which bears a head remarkably like that of Napoleon III.¹ One can only presume that it was intended to introduce this issue surreptitiously into general circulation. Its origin is unknown.

While the two pretenders continued in exile and on the worst imaginable terms with each other, Napoleon III was rejoicing in the birth in 1856 of a son and heir, the Prince Imperial. There were great celebrations and *Te Deums*, and medals were struck. The Pope acted as godfather to the young Prince, and there were great expectations for the future of the Bonaparte dynasty. Brought up by his English nurse, Miss Shaw, and carefully tutored for a political and military career, he was never a robust child.

And then in 1870, with the Prince Imperial barely over fourteen years of age, the Empire apparently at its height, but the Emperor physically a broken man, there fell the frightful blows of the Franco-

¹ See Plate III, No. 1.

Prussian War. The young Prince, accompanying his imperial father to the front, was soon hurriedly packed off for the Belgian frontier escorted by a squadron of the household cavalry. Sedan followed; the Emperor was a captive in Germany; and the resulting explosion in Paris turned the Empress Eugénie into a worried fugitive, who, under the guidance of her American dentist, Dr. Evans, reached England after a storm-tossed passage in the little yacht of Sir John Bourgonne. How history was repeating itself! Meanwhile the young Prince Imperial, under the escort of Count Clary, to whom the Emperor had confided him, crossed Belgium, reached England, and joined his mother. The Second Empire had fallen.

All these events brought hope to Henry V, now fifty years of age, and his rival, the Orleanist Count of Paris, then about thirty-two. Both commanded a considerable following, but in general people with royalist inclinations favored the older Bourbon line. Medals and tokens of Henry V appeared again with the religious influence coming to the fore, since to the Church any monarchy, be the ruler Bourbon, Orleans, or Bonaparte, was preferable to a republic. The Republic prevailed. But this came about only after several years of uncertainty during which at times it seemed that Henry V would become king.

All negotiations finally broke down because of his absolutely uncompromising attitude as to his "rights." His religious conviction as to his divine right was unalterable: he, out of his inalienable right, would graciously grant what to him seemed best; never could he compromise or enter the field of practical politics by concessions. The prince who said on his medals, "*La parole est à France et l'heure est à Dieu*," who called the Orleanists "the legitimate kings of the Revolution" and termed the Bonapartists "Corsican usurpers" preferred to spend the rest of his life in exile, to forego a throne rather than take a single step to meet on any common ground a country at least half willing to accept him as a constitutional king. An outstanding example of this trait, call it fidelity to principle or crass obstinacy as you will, was his stand regarding the flag under which he would rule France. For him there was and could be but one flag, the white banner of the old régime. To him the tricolor was hateful, the emblem of the revolution that had cost his family its age-old throne, the emblem of the usurper Napoleon. On this and other points negotiations broke down. A medal struck in 1872 commemo-

rates the visit of certain French loyalists to him in Antwerp. Later in that year an understanding was patched up between him and the Orleanist Count of Paris, for the Orleanists figured that in order to reëstablish a monarchy it might be reasonable to let the childless Henry V ascend the throne since at his death they would then succeed—and what is a decade or two when playing for such stakes? The royalists and clericals were delighted, their hopes rose again.

On November 8, 1872, Henry V came secretly to Paris bringing with him a general's belt, the star of the Legion of Honor, and a list of the functionaries he intended to appoint. He tried to make an appointment with Marshal MacMahon, President of the Republic, a blunt old soldier, to enlist his sympathy. When MacMahon's answer came, that for the pretender he would gladly sacrifice his life but not his honor, the last hopes were crushed. The country had decided on the Republic.

It was shortly after this, in 1874, that there appeared the five-franc piece, dated 1871, of Henry V with a full-bearded head.¹ Of this the eminent French numismatist, Paul Bordeaux, wrote in 1874: "Last year we illustrated the apocryphal 5 franc pieces of M. Thiers and Citizen Gambetta, now we illustrate a rather more serious one—that of his Majesty Henry V, King of France and Navarre. It is said that up to the present time it is fairly rare." One of the authors of the *Histoire Numismatique du Comte de Chambord* mentions an old French official having told of the official bulletins ordering the confiscation at the sight of this piece. Its origin can be ascribed, I believe, to Auguste Brichaut of Brussels, to whom were attributed the later issues of the 1831–1833 pieces of Henry V. This 1871 piece carries as mint mark a fleur-de-lis which was the mark of the old mint at Bruges centuries earlier and is said not to have reappeared until 1874.

Another silver piece of this epoch is that dated 1873 and bearing as mint mark the shield of the city of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. This bears on the reverse a dedication to the International Monetary Commission then in session. Other medals appeared, all eulogizing the Prince, but all without effect. He died in Austria in 1883.

Meanwhile, a decade earlier, just at the time when Henry V's hopes were highest, the ex-Emperor Napoleon III had died at Chislehurst in England. His son, the Prince Imperial, then a student in

¹ See Plate III, No. 2.



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3

PLATE III



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



No. 4

PLATE IV

the English military academy at Woolwich, was acknowledged by the Bonapartists as Napoleon IV; and there were pilgrimages of his loyal supporters to Chislehurst where medals or tokens of the pretender were distributed to visitors. These pieces carried the date March 16, 1874, with space on the reverse for inscription of the pilgrim's name.

At this time also appeared the series of coins of Napoleon IV, again an issue of Auguste Brichaut, comprising a five-franc piece dated 1870; a series in silver all dated 1874: five francs,¹ two francs, one franc, fifty centimes, twenty centimes; and a bronze ten-centimes piece.

Consequent upon the disaster of Sedan the Bonapartists had been in disfavor in France, but the Napoleonic tradition had always been warlike. To this may be ascribed the wish of Eugénie that her son, still generally called the Prince Imperial, become a soldier and a leader of men. Over the opposition of the English ministry but with the aid of Queen Victoria, the Prince Imperial, then a young officer twenty-three years of age, went out in February, 1879, to Zululand, South Africa. An ambush by the natives, a stampede, a slaughter, and the Prince Imperial was no more.

The next Bonapartist pretender, Prince Napoleon, a cousin, is of no numismatic interest, barring a medal commemorating his marriage in 1859. While nominally the head of the Bonaparte family, he made no serious effort to gain the throne. All his life he had professed republican principles and had more often than not opposed his cousin Napoleon III. He was even on increasingly bad terms with his son, Prince Victor Napoleon. He was variously described as "the most brilliant failure of the nineteenth century" and as "César déclassé." The Parisians nicknamed him "Plon-plon," and even before his death in 1891 many imperialists had deserted him to rally round his son Prince Victor Napoleon.

Victor became in his turn a passive pretender, "an eaglet who spent his entire time in moulting." From the portrait on a small medal can be seen how more nearly Italian than French he appeared. A son was born to him some years ago, but little has been heard of either. A family residence was maintained in Switzerland, and politics seem to have been abandoned for the comfortable life of a wealthy aristocrat.

¹ See Plate III, No. 3.

With the death in 1883 of Henry V, Count of Chambord, it can be safely said that the French idea of monarchy ceased to have any sense of religious devotion or fervor and was reduced to a political conception. The Orleans family then succeeded as representatives of the old royalty with the Count of Paris as its head. Wealthy, intermarried with several royal and princely families of Europe, the Orleanists missed no opportunity to push their cause. Yet few medals and no "coins" mark their efforts. Aside from the commemoration of his birth in 1838,¹ the Count of Paris does not figure numismatically. Much of his later life was spent in England, where he died towards the end of the last century to be succeeded as pretender by his son, the Duke of Orleans.

Generally speaking, the Duke of Orleans, while very rich, was unpopular in France. An ill-advised attempt, in defiance of his exile, to join the French army by enlistment ended in his arrest, a general fiasco, and ridicule instead of popularity. Opposition to the Republic in the grotesque Boulanger episode in the eighties and the hideous Dreyfus scandal in the late nineties brought still more unpopularity.

In numismatics he is represented only by a few token-like medals and a society badge or two, and on these he figures as Philippe Duke of Orleans. His efforts to gain the throne took the form of appeals to his countrymen rather than aggression against the government of the Republic. For example, a medal struck in 1899 reads: "Je ne vengerai que les injures faites à la patrie. Je remplacerai mon pays au premier rang des nations avec le concours des tous les vrais français. Philippe."²

Orleans finally settled down in England to the life of a very rich man, dying years ago without male issue, to be succeeded in his claims by his cousin the Duke of Guise. A large, handsome bronze medal³ struck in 1934 served to remind the world of the new pretender; the obverse bears Guise's profile and the legend "Jean Duc de Guise," while the reverse carries the mute appeal of the coat of arms of old France, three fleurs-de-lis on a blue field surmounted by a crown, all between two J's.

The death several years ago of the Duke of Guise placed upon the shoulders of his son, the Count of Paris, the honor or, if you will, the burden of upholding the claim to the throne of France. Of the Count of Paris there is a medal of the same time and type as that of his

¹ See Plate IV, No. 1.

² See Plate IV, No. 2.

³ See Plate IV, No. 3.

father but featuring the Count as son and heir to the pretender.¹ Thus this piece has on the reverse the quartered arms of France and Dauphiné surmounted by a crown.

I do not know whether after his father's death the Count of Paris issued a medal to establish himself as the present head of the Orleans family and hence today's claimant to the throne of France. Indeed in these troubled times it is hopeless to attempt to guess at his prospects yet safe to believe that he is awake to any possibilities that France's unhappy condition may offer for the restoration of the old monarchy.

¹ See Plate IV, No. 4.

The United States Sanitary Commission and Secretary Stanton

By ALLAN NEVINS¹

WHEN the Sanitary Commission came into existence in June, 1861, under an order by Secretary of War Cameron which President Lincoln explicitly approved, its relations with the government seemed certain to be troubled. It was purely a volunteer agency. Fighting had no sooner begun between Northern and Southern troops than various groups of women, medical men, and public-spirited citizens in general expressed their deep concern with the problem of furnishing medical aid, nurses, stores, and comforts to the soldiers. Though societies were quickly organized in New England and the Middle West, the center of the movement was in New York City. Several men, notably Dr. Elisha Harris and the Reverend Henry W. Bellows, were keenly aware that the Medical Bureau of the Army was incapable of coping with so tremendous an emergency, and that the scattered, uncoordinated attempts under way to send surgeons, nurses, and medicines to the front would require leadership and central direction. They remembered that the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny had been followed by investigatory commissions which revealed the grossest unpreparedness, neglect, and confusion; this war, they declared, ought to be preceded and accompanied by proper investigative and remedial work. A delegation representing the physicians and surgeons of New York hospitals, the Lint and Bandage Association of the city, and the Women's Central went to Washington to offer the aid of a powerful volunteer body. By a month and more of stubborn, energetic labor they induced the government to accept their well-matured plan; but it did so with a reluctance which boded ill for the future.

This governmental reluctance to accept private aid was in part quite understandable. The War Department was engrossed in mobilizing, arming, and drilling troops. Most official observers fatuously thought that the war would be short and the number of sick and wounded manageably small. They believed that the women, the clergymen, and the medical men who pressed the Sanitary Commis-

¹ This paper was read at the April, 1942, meeting.

sion scheme were exaggerating the emergency; that they were too emotional, too sentimental. They doubted whether these groups could furnish really practical assistance. The Sanitary Commission, they feared, would prove weak, inefficient, and meddlesome, and would simply get in the way of Army officers who knew their business. President Lincoln expressed his apprehension that the plan would be "the fifth wheel of the coach." Secretary Cameron, perhaps aware of the fact that Florence Nightingale had made the British War Office very uncomfortable in Crimean War days, showed deep reluctance to let outsiders concern themselves with Army medical affairs. His objections were but slowly overcome. Then, when on the recommendation of Acting Surgeon General Wood he finally gave his consent, the sudden accession of Dr. Clement A. Finley to the surgeon generalship placed the issue in peril again; for this narrow-minded Army surgeon, a lover of routine and red tape, at once announced that he completely disapproved of the projected Sanitary Commission. The New York delegation had a stormy interview with Finley. They finally bore him down. But he compelled them to modify their scheme in such wise that the Sanitary Commission should confine its work to the volunteer troops, leaving the regular army to the Surgeon General and his Medical Bureau.

Few men blamed Secretary Stanton and Surgeon General Finley for their initial suspicion of the Sanitary Commission; certainly Bellows, Harris, and their most active cofounder, Dr. William H. Van Buren of New York, did not. They understood that the objections were honest and even proper, and that their duty was to remove them by hard and effective labor. The Commission had to earn its title to respect—and it did so. For the first six months after its organization it was treated with jealous coldness by all branches of the government. This frigidity was gradually melted away in bureau after bureau by its demonstration of unflagging energy, high professional skill, and complete unselfishness. It collected its funds from private sources. Its heads served without governmental remuneration, being provided with nothing more than a modest office in Washington. Its duties were multifarious. It was expected to do much to improve the physical examination of recruits; the sanitary conditions of the base camps; the health of troops in barracks and in the field; the hospital facilities of the Army; and the provision of medicines and other supplies. It was also expected to encourage war

service on the part of capable physicians and surgeons and help supply nurses. It was not to substitute itself in these matters for the government but to supplement the government's labors. Its heads therefore showed the strictest subordination to government agencies. They asked as few favors as they could. They claimed the least possible credit for doing the utmost possible work. The magnificent energy of the Commission soon gave it immense popular strength and swept away the hostility of Washington—everywhere but in the War Department.

Credit for the fine achievements of the Commission must go in the main to the devoted group of eight men who were its true founders, and to the able administrator whom they hired as general manager. Bellows, president of the Commission, was famous for his eloquence, his zeal in good causes, and his ability to organize public sentiment; he was also a man of keen practical sagacity, who gave the Commission its admirable plan of operations. The vice-president, Alexander D. Bache, had gained as head of the Coast Survey an international reputation as scientist and enjoyed the confidence of a wide range of government officers. Van Buren had once been connected with the medical staff of the Army. Harris had as chief physician of the Quarantine Hospital in New York become an expert in sanitation. Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew had been Medical Director for the troops raised in New York and was a man of untiring industry and marked executive capacity. Dr. John S. Newberry, who had studied medicine and geology in Paris, was known for his scientific labors with several Western exploring expeditions. Wolcott Gibbs was already famous in both chemistry and medicine, though his great days at Harvard lay ahead of him. George Templeton Strong, one of the ablest attorneys of New York, a trustee of Columbia College, a vestryman of Trinity Church, and a man interested in many public activities, was made treasurer. For general manager the Commission chose Frederick Law Olmsted, chief architect of Central Park, author of three noted books of Southern travel, and a person of rare administrative ability.

From beginning to end the Sanitary Commission tried to avoid unnecessary controversy with the War Department or the Medical Bureau of the Army. President Bellows well knew that only time and efficient service could soften the prejudices of the military authorities; he was aware that constant collisions would destroy the useful-

ness of his organization. His object was to build up among Army officers and the general public a conviction of the indispensability of the Commission. Olmsted conducted himself with great circumspection. He insisted that every one of the agents whom the Commission employed as field investigators and administrators should be answerable to him alone. The principle on which he worked was that the agents, surgeons, doctors, supply distributors, and nurses should never do anything to usurp or diminish the responsibility of regular government officers. They should point out deficiencies in the care of camps, hospitals, and troops. They should offer their aid. When necessary, they should urge that the government machinery be improved or enlarged. But they should act always through government channels, as aids to existing government agencies, and with deference to government personnel. This course soon gave Olmsted and his subordinates the full confidence of captains, colonels, and generals, and the friendship of Army surgeons and engineers. Seldom if ever did any employee of the Commission meet with rudeness or official arrogance in the field.

But if all went well in camp and hospital, the story in Washington was unhappily different. A time soon came when the Commission had to demand the wholesale reorganization of the Medical Bureau and the ousting of Surgeon General Finley. Despite its studied tact and courtesy, it aroused the cantankerous anger of the hot-tempered, arrogant Secretary Stanton, who pursued it with unsleeping hostility. The story of its troubles with the Secretary has been told with official restraint and wooden formality by its selected historian, Charles J. Stillé. Fortunately we have a more candid record in the remarkable diary, as yet unpublished, of its treasurer, George Templeton Strong; a diary which, running to perhaps five million words, affords a marvelous picture of American life from 1835 to 1875.

When the Commission was organized, Strong had already visited the camps about Washington and had seen their frightful neglect of elementary rules of sanitation. "If the merchants and capitalists of New York are prudent enough to sustain the Commission," he wrote on June 26, 1861, "it will work, and will save the nation thousands of men and millions of money within the next three months. If they do not sustain it, the loss is theirs, and will be felt in the depression of New York property for ten years to come. An epidemic of camp fever or dysentery or cholera among our volunteer regi-

ments is inevitable within sixty days, unless their sanitary system be reorganized, or rather unless a sanitary system be created for them. The highest medical and military authorities at Washington prophesy a loss of fifty per cent by October 1st. When this army is destroyed by disease, we shall have to raise another and at a fearful cost." It was soon plain that New York—and the rest of the country as well—would sustain the Commission by the handsomest gifts. The total receipts of Treasurer Strong during the war fell just short of five millions—\$4,924,048.99.

The first step of the Commission was to make a full inquiry into existing conditions. President Bellows and an associate visited all the Army camps of the West, from Cleveland and Cincinnati to St. Louis and Cairo; a group of Eastern members, including Strong, visited the camps along the Potomac and about Fortress Monroe. It was at once clear that far-reaching reforms were necessary and that great quantities of supplies had to be hurried to the front. A body of physicians was sent into the field to make inquiries, suggest remedial measures, and assist in carrying them out. But it also became plain that the Sanitary Commission would be obstructed, not aided, by the Army Medical Bureau. Beginning September 4, 1861, Strong spent a number of days in Washington with Bellows, Gibbs, Van Buren, and Agnew, making inspections and holding conferences. He was soon in a state of complete disgust. We find him exploding in his diary:

We had the question constantly before us, in one form or another, whether we should go on in alliance with the War Department Medical Bureau, or denounce their inefficiency. Our government members—Professor Bache, Major Shiras, and Colonel Cullum—stood up vigorously for the officials, of course. . . .

I don't know about Cameron and the War Department, but the inefficiency of the Medical Bureau is criminal and scandalous. Its superannuated officials are paralyzed by the routine habits acquired in long dealing with an army of ten or fifteen thousand, and utterly unequal to their present work. Ten days ago there were not in or about Washington medicines, beds, or hospital provision of any kind for three hundred additional patients, though the head of the Bureau admitted that any hour might bring on a great battle and 5,000 or 20,000 cases to be provided for. "They could send to New York for medicine," and so on. The fogies of that department manage it in the spirit of a village apothecary. But the day after the skirmish at Lewinsville (last week) some half dozen wounded men were brought in, and the Medical Purveyor (Dr. Lamb) wrote us that the Medical Department was "out of bandages" and begged for a supply from our storehouses.

Old Finlay, the head of that office, is utterly ossified and useless. The next available man on the list is our excellent warm-hearted colleague, Dr. Wood. His main defect is blind, fanatical loyalty to his chief, Finlay. If the Commission oust Finlay, I doubt whether Wood could be prevailed on to take his place. Dr. Tripler, McClellan's Medical Director, is an energetic, spasmodic, crotchety, genial old gentleman. . . . He might be made to do as head of the Bureau. He would certainly do better than the present wooden head. But McClellan, in conference with Bellows and Bishop Clarke, hinted a doubt of his capacity. He was with McClellan after the little Centerville skirmish, and sat on his horse ten minutes in full view of a wounded man who lay on the ground with a shattered tibia or femur, or some such thing, and never offered to dismount. This little omission seems to have settled Tripler in McClellan's estimation.

The difficulties of getting changes made were tremendous. "Our reformation of the Medical Bureau does not make headway," Strong lamented on September 23, "but rather drifts to leeward. McClellan is so busy and Mr. Secretary Cameron so slippery that it is hard to get decided action from either. So the Medical Bureau continues to be an invertebrate organism, with Finlay for its head." The Commission had formulated plans for a chain of pavilion hospitals, fully equipped and staffed. It asked, in vain, that General McClellan's Medical Director be made responsible to him, and not to Surgeon General Finley. It requested that an ambulance regiment be created under General McClellan's direct command—again in vain. It protested against the unreasonable and jealous hostility manifested toward it by the Medical Bureau, and asked that when it made requests in writing, the Medical Bureau in denying them should give written reasons! As the year 1861 closed, the Commission sent to Secretary Cameron an elaborate report on the work it had accomplished. Given wide publicity in the press, this document received general praise and greatly enhanced public confidence in both the Commission's plans and its personnel. But the Medical Bureau continued to present a front of adamant rancor, and Cameron did nothing. Several entries in Strong's journal during the fall expressed alternations of hope and disappointment:

October 12, 1861.—Last evening a Sanitary dinner here; Gibbs, Olmsted, Van Buren, Agnew. . . . We were discussing the work we have got to do at Washington next week. We must reinvigorate the movement to turn out Surgeon-General Finlay, and we must devise means and employ special agents to make the allotment system more fruitful of results. . . .

Dr. Hammond, U.S.A., of Baltimore, is in town. Only an Assistant Surgeon,

but has had intimations from the War Department that the last may be first, and that he *may* take Dr. Finlay's place. . . . Dr. Bellows thinks well of him.

October 23, 1861.—The Surgeon-General question is still undecided. Scott, the Assistant-Secretary of War, is earnest for Finlay's removal and Hammond's appointment. After the Committee [of the Sanitary Commission] adjourned Saturday evening, Dr. Bellows and I stayed behind for an interview with Cameron Tuesday night. Cameron talked about the newspapers, demurred and hesitated about removing Finlay, though admitting his utter imbecility to be most deleterious just now, and pronounced against Hammond most emphatically the moment he was named. "Whatever he did, he should not appoint *that* man." Some official pique or personal grievance was evidently in his mind. . . . I don't know whether Cameron is corrupt or not, but he is certainly a most cowardly caitiff.

November 27, 1861.—Battle with the Surgeon-General is upon us at last. The *World* of a week ago published an attack upon his inefficiency. The *Times*, instigated of course by Dr. Satterlee, U.S.A., defends him by assuming that the attack came from the Commission (which it didn't; it was Dr. Agnew's own private dab at red tape and mismanagement), and charges the Commission with presumption and ambition in assailing government officials and trying to supersede them. The *World* responded this morning and in a damaging way. Other shots will follow, and from heavy ordnance.

As 1862 opened, with the movement against Fort Donelson and the Peninsular Campaign soon to begin, it was evident that the future usefulness of the Sanitary Commission would be gravely impaired if the Medical Bureau were not completely reorganized. Bellows, Olmsted, and their associates were effecting all they could independently. They sent expert agents, medical inspectors, and relief officers to accompany the expeditions of Burnside against Roanoke Island, Sherman against Port Royal, and Ben Butler against New Orleans. These men did wonders in promoting the health and comfort of the troops. The Commission had collected vast quantities of medicines and other stores, which it judiciously distributed. It had sent a number of the ablest medical men of the country to work upon brief treatises which furnished the latest and most expert advice upon the treatment of various diseases. But while the Medical Bureau of the Army continued under an incompetent, hidebound head, with meager experience and limited outlook, and while it was staffed by an inadequate, ill-trained, and elderly body of surgeons who had for the most part stagnated in garrisons for decades, it was totally unable to coöperate with the Commission; instead, it blocked every progressive step. The Commission simply

had to work through it and with it; and it was too stiffly impracticable for decent work. It needed an expert, broad-minded chief; it needed new personnel—officers chosen without regard to the paralyzing rule of seniority, which had long given the leadership to senile men. Once the Medical Bureau was reorganized, it was important that it be given wider powers. The Quartermaster's Department of the Army controlled the construction and equipment of the hospitals, while the Subsistence Department controlled the supply of food. Yet the Medical Bureau had no authority, direct or indirect, over the policy or action of either of these departments.

Bellows, Olmsted, and Strong had to carry on a hurried campaign of education to enlighten Congress upon the defects of the existing system. They had to lay siege to the Military Committees of the House and Senate; they had to enlist the aid of the President and seek that of the new Secretary of War, Stanton. Strong's diary reveals the details of this campaign:

January 17, 1862.—Last night with Van Buren, Agnew, and Gibbs at Dr. Bellows'. Winston, Stewart Brown, Mr. Ruggles, and Dr. Alonzo Clark were with us. They (and Robert B. Minturn) are appointed, under the resolution adopted at our Century Club meeting, a committee to visit Washington and press the passage of the Medical Reform Bill. They seem ready to go. But we shall fail however strongly backed. Neither Congress nor the President nor the people appreciate the importance of that measure. Nothing but a disastrous epidemic of camp fever, paralyzing the army and carrying death and dismay through the whole community (which the diseased army will infect) can purge their vision. Washington is already full of smallpox and typhoid disease. That fact may tend to wake them up.

January 20, 1862.—Tomorrow morning early, or rather, late tonight, I'm off for Washington. We expect to organize a strong lobby there in favor of reforming the Medical Bureau. Delegations from New York and Philadelphia are to meet us there.

January 29, 1862.—Bellows, Van Buren, Agnew, and I went on to grease the wheels of the New York and Philadelphia delegations, and help them to urge reform in the Medical Bureau. The muster was beyond my expectation. From this city we had William H. Aspinwall, Robert B. Minturn, Stewart Brown, F. L. Winston, J. M. Beekman, and others. We spent two days mostly in council over the details of sundry bills now before the Senate or the House, or got up by some of the Medical Bureau, and settled at last the form of a highly concentrated bill, embodying the minimum of revolution. Thursday the new Secretary of War, Stanton, and General McClellan, spent a couple of hours with us. The General seems entirely convalescent but looks careworn. Stanton impresses me and everybody else most favorably. Not handsome, but on the con-

trary, rather pig-faced. At lowest estimate, worth a wagon-load of Camerons. Intelligent, prompt, clear-headed, fluent without wordiness, and above all, earnest, warm-hearted, and large-hearted. He is the reverse in all things of his cunning, coldblooded, selfish old predecessor. Cameron looked like a hybrid between Reineke Fuchs and some large chilly batrachian reptile, but this is a live man, and of a genial Luther-oid type. He is most fully committed to reform, but doubts whether he can accomplish anything till Congress acts.

As late as February 18, 1862, according to Strong's record, the officers of the Sanitary Commission were in a mood to disband unless the Surgeon General and his gang of fossil officers were cleared from their path. "We propose now to prepare, at least, to put our house in order, wind up our affairs, and resign." Stanton had pledged himself, "with apparent warmth," to decisive steps—but nothing had been done. Strong thought that they could not decently continue asking for public gifts. "We have been shielding the Medical Bureau all this time from the hurricane of public wrath its imbecility would have raised, by our volunteer work. Active operations are beginning now. The Bureau is still imbecile, notwithstanding all our remonstrances." But better days were at hand. First the Senate passed the needed reorganization bill. Then early in March the House Military Committee, with Francis P. Blair, Jr., as leader, heard Bellows and Strong and gave an emphatic approval to their measure.

Finally, on April 18, 1862, the bill for which the Commission had so strenuously labored was finally passed: "An Act to Reorganize and Increase the Efficiency of the Medical Department of the Army." Though it was not all that Bellows, Strong, and their friends had desired, it marked a tremendous advance. Thereafter the Surgeon General and other heads of the Bureau were to be chosen from the most competent officers of the whole corps, and no longer to be selected by the silly rule of seniority. The Act provided for eight medical inspectors, to have large powers in remedying evils. Reforms were prescribed in hospital administration and the transportation of the sick and wounded. Finally, the law enabled the Surgeon General to institute many detailed changes for the better and to give life and vigor to the reorganized system. Naturally Strong uttered a cry of heartfelt jubilation:

April 19, 1862.—Dr. Van Buren and Dr. Bellows left Washington this morning with tidings of weight. The Commission seems to have achieved at last

the work it has been prosecuting for at least seven weary months of hope deferred, official promises sliding away under its feet like the slopes of a steep sand-hill, of repulses, snubbings, and misrepresentation, and of late (in my own case, at least) of disgust and despair: the work, to wit, of reforming the Medical Department of the Army. A bill to increase the efficiency of that rheumatic, lethargic, paralytic, ossified old institution passed a few days ago, under pressure brought to bear on Congress by the United States and by the public opinion we have been educating. It is our bill, except that it impairs the integrity of the corps by making volunteer brigade-surgeons eligible to the newly-created offices of sanitary inspector, and so on, and in a few minor particulars. We resisted these revolutionary measures before the Military Committees of both Houses. Had the Bureau united with us we could have saved it from what it considers to be disorganization and destruction. But the Bureau was inspired by that blind, arrogant old Finlay, who ruled it as the last Bourbon ruled France. It fought for its own Divine Right of imbecile misgovernment, and nothing else. It learned nothing from the fact that it had become guardian of half a million of men, instead of 15,000, and refused to concur in any enlargement of its resources or change in its venerable routine. So the bill passed.

But who should be the new Surgeon General? This was a question which gave Bellows, Strong, and others the utmost anxiety. One of the officers of the Medical Bureau had shown such exceptional ability that he seemed specially ordained for the place. Dr. William A. Hammond, a comparatively young assistant surgeon, had been busy since the outbreak of war in organizing general army hospitals at Baltimore, Wheeling, Hagerstown, and Chambersburg. Inspectors for the Sanitary Commission, visiting these hospitals, found their arrangement, administration, and special features admirable and credited Hammond with the rapid improvement of the patients. Born in Annapolis in 1828, Hammond had been educated in medicine at the University of the City of New York; after a short period of general practice, had entered the Army as assistant surgeon in 1849; had served at various frontier stations from New Mexico to Florida; and while doing so had found time to conduct scientific investigations and had published an essay to which the American Medical Association awarded a prize. He had resigned from the Army in 1859 to teach anatomy and physiology at the University of Maryland; but when Fort Sumter was attacked, he promptly re-entered the service. Thoroughly aware of the defects of the Medical Bureau, he cordially agreed with the Sanitary Commission as to the reforms needed. The medical profession of the country was strongly enlisted in his behalf and sent numerous petitions to Washington for

his appointment as Surgeon General. The diarist relates the sequel, still under date of April 19:

This is all by way of prologue to Dr. Van Buren's narrative. The Secretary of War telegraphed for him to come to Washington. (He did not send for Hammond.) Bellows went with him. Van Buren reported at the War Department, and the Secretary asked frankly what he should do with the Medical Bureau? "I have called you into a bad case." "What are the symptoms, Mr. Secretary?" "General imbecility." They had more than one free discussion, and Van Buren submitted a list of names for the new offices with Dr. Hammond at their head. . . . Then it appeared that Lincoln had been subjected to political pressure, and was, moreover, influenced by personal regard for our excellent old colleague, Dr. Wood, who hates Hammond. The medical staff judges of its members by their "military record" rather than by scientific or professional rank.

Bellows tackled Lincoln while he was being shaven Thursday morning, and seems to have talked to him most energetically and successfully. He was with the President again last night, and was informed that Hammond was appointed. "Shouldn't wonder if he was Surgeon-General already," said the President, and they shook hands upon it. I believed this, coming from Lincoln, but wouldn't have believed it if it had come from any other Washington official. "I hain't been caught lying yet, and I don't mean to be," said Abe Lincoln, during their discussion, and such is probably the fact.

Hammond, duly commissioned as Surgeon General with the grade of brigadier general on April 25, 1862, was the best choice that could have been made. The Medical Bureau entered upon a new and brighter era as soon as he took office. But he had not been Stanton's choice; and his imperious temper and masterful ways were soon to bring him into sharp conflict with the still more aggressive and autocratic Secretary of War. Only a few months passed before Strong was recording evidences of Stanton's dislike for the Commission and the new Surgeon General:

August 29, 1862.—Olmsted reports Stanton hostile to the Commission, and refusing to let the government printers work for us any more. We need their services just now to reprint large editions of certain of our documents for the benefit of the new levies. If the Secretary makes up his mind to take this position, we can go before the people with very fair prospect of success. He will hardly venture on a collision with us. Dr. Hammond working vigorously, but in danger of a collision with Meigs, which would be a pity.

September 24, 1862 [just after Antietam, which field Strong had visited].—Our affairs are prospering. Agnew's report of personal experience in Maryland confirms mine, or rather vice versa, his being many times larger. Medical Department utterly destitute and shiftless as usual, and now confessedly leaning on the Commission for supplies, and looking to it for help to get forward its own

stores, waiving all its official dignity under the pressure of work for which it had made no adequate provision and in an attitude of general supplication and imbecile self-abasement. Times is changed, and scornful dogs have to eat dirty puddings. The fossil old Bureau is not yet galvanized into life, with all Dr. Hammond's energy. Want of independent transportation seems its main difficulty.

March 17, 1863.—Tonight Executive Committee of Sanitary Commission met and supped at Dr. Van Buren's. Talked mostly of the feud between Stanton and the Surgeon-General, and of measures to restore harmony between them, or to bring the case before the President or before the people. We came to no decision. Stanton seems trying to undermine Dr. Hammond, refusing to let him send an Inspector to the West, or to go thither in person, and using the general complaint for the appointment of our excellent old friend, Dr. Wood, a foggy of the foggiest type, to his high place in the Medical Department. By virtue of that request, Wood is presiding at St. Louis, and the good old gentleman is about as fit for that work as I am to take charge of A. T. Stewart's wholesale and retail department.

But Stanton had one great merit as an enemy—he was completely frank. The Commission by the spring of 1863 was quite strong enough to get along without him. It now had a mighty tide of public favor supporting it and bearing it forward; the Army depended heavily upon it, and literally thousands of Army officers were its staunch friends; money was pouring into its coffers in a golden flood; Lincoln fully appreciated its merits. By the spring of 1863, moreover, Hammond had accomplished a great part of his remarkable work of reorganization in the Medical Bureau. His relations with Stanton were going from bad to worse and before long were to be brought to a crisis by certain ill-founded charges which Stanton found means to prefer against him. But he had given the Medical Bureau a new spirit of energy and efficiency, had brought able new officers to the leading positions, and had broadened its work to meet the exigencies of the times. Bellows, Van Buren, and Strong were therefore able to accept with general equanimity the fulminations of Secretary Stanton; they knew that he could not really imperil their work, and that the reorganized Medical Bureau would continue to be an efficient implement for its use. But few scenes of the whole war in Secretary Stanton's office can have been more remarkable than that which Strong recorded just before Chancellorsville—and few can have thrown more light upon Stanton's character:

April 25, 1863.—Bellows just returned from Washington and General Hooker's headquarters, and told me part of his experiences this afternoon. The

War Department has issued an order (No. 87, I think) about the transportation of medical and sanitary stores that seriously curtails the privileges the government gives us. I think it was issued inadvertently and in no unfriendly spirit, but Dr. Bellows declares he will resign and make open war on Stanton unless it is resolved or corrected by an explanatory order. He discussed the matter with the solicitor of the War Department, Whiting, an old college friend of his; and in confidential relations with Stanton. Whiting brought the matter before his chief. Stanton said he had not intended to attack the Sanitary Commission and had not foreseen the injury his order would do the Commission, but that he did not want to revoke or retract anything at its request or to promote its objects. He was no friend of the Commission—disliked it, and in fact, detested it. "But why, Mr. Stanton, when it is notoriously doing such good service, and when the Medical Department and the whole Army confide in it and depend on it as you and I know they do?" "Well," said the Secretary, "the fact is that the Commission wanted Hammond to be Surgeon-General, and I did not. I did my best with the President and the Military Committee of the Senate, but the Commission beat me and got Hammond appointed. I am not used to being beaten, and I don't like it, and therefore I am hostile to the Commission."

As Strong remarked, this candid confession does not increase one's respect for Stanton. He believed that the Commission, with its immense popular strength, might even unseat the Secretary of War if it opened a determined drive all over the nation against him. "But whatever he may do or say," Strong wisely commented, "it is our plain duty to make no assault on him, and to do nothing that can tend to weaken any man's faith in our national government."

The conflict between Stanton and the Surgeon General reached its climax late in 1863 in an order relieving Dr. Hammond from duty, followed by the presentation of charges alleging that he had acted irregularly in giving certain contracts for hospital supplies. Actually such irregularities as he had countenanced were for the good of the Army and the country, and the true reason for the War Department's order was simply that Stanton hated him. Naturally the Sanitary Commission hastened to align itself behind Hammond. The Reverend Frederick N. Knapp of Washington, who had charge of the Commission's Special Relief Department, was hurriedly sent to President Lincoln with a letter from the Commission vigorously protesting against Stanton's course. Nicolay, the President's secretary, raised certain objections to the epistle on the ground of official propriety and etiquette. These objections did not convince the heads of the Commission, who instantly telegraphed Knapp to see that Lincoln got the letter. "But we shall fail," Strong dolefully wrote.

"Stanton is a strong man. He has made up his mind to commit this injustice, and we can hardly prevent him."

For a time, according to Strong's diary, Stanton hesitated to push his attack to extremities. The Commission had followed up the letter to Lincoln with a circular to all the members of Congress. This, records Strong, "showed him that there was a hornets' nest in that bush, and that if he stirred it up, he might get stung. So, being politic as well as arbitrary, he told a Senator to tell a surgeon to tell Hammond that he would abandon the prosecution if Hammond would consent to let bygones be bygones. To which Hammond responded that he would be glad to do so, if the Secretary would apologize, but that if the Secretary wouldn't, he must have a court-martial. From what Will Winthrop tells me (Theodore's brother), who is attached to the Judge-Advocate-General's office, there will doubtless be a court, and probably an unfriendly one."

On the circular sent to members of Congress, Strong dropped a few interesting words of comment. "It was signed by Agassiz and Peirce of Harvard, among others, when they were at Washington last week attending a session of the National Academy of Sciences. Stanton was asked to meet them at dinner, and replied Stantonically: 'Meet them at dinner! I'd rather send them both to Fort Lafayette!!!' But when the Wise Men heard this, their hearts failed them and their knees became as water, because they had given offence to a great mandarin and a Cabinet member; so they declared it was all a forgery and a fabrication. They never signed the circular, or did anything else that could be displeasing unto so sweet a prince—God forbid that they should presume to take on themselves to do this thing! Did the Honorable Secretary suppose they didn't know their place? Of course, they knowed their place. Were they not even as dead dogs before our Honorable Secretary? Of course they were; and that's my opinion, too."

Throughout the winter of 1863-1864 money poured in upon the Sanitary Commission in a golden flood; the successive fairs in Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston, and New York produced huge sums; and Senator Foster of Connecticut praised the Commission's work in lavish terms, saying that it had become a great power in the land. So it had—but it could not prevent Stanton from wreaking his will upon Hammond. The court-martial, sitting in January in Washington, refused an adjournment to allow the Surgeon General to bring

his most important witness, General Persifor K. Smith, from Little Rock. "I do not expect an acquittal," wrote Strong, "though I am confident his case is honest and good. Some impulsive blunder of his will probably spoil it, and Stanton is an ugly adversary." The evidence presented brought out nothing that was damaging to the Commission itself, for it had taken the greatest pains to keep its record clear. But Surgeon General Hammond, anxious to cut through the inefficiencies of red tape to relieve the sufferings of the sick and wounded, had in a few instances acted with more haste than discretion. Four of the eight members of the court-martial were understood to be decidedly prejudiced against him from the outset; and in the end he was dismissed from the Army. It may be added here that in 1878, when Hammond had become perhaps the most eminent of American neurologists, Congress authorized the President to review the proceedings and reinstate him on the Army rolls if justice so demanded. As a result, he was restored to service, his honor triumphantly vindicated, with the rank of brigadier general retired.

Stanton had triumphed, at least temporarily, over Dr. Hammond. But he never triumphed over the Sanitary Commission, and indeed was forced to make a grudging and surly admission of its immense usefulness to the Army and the nation. On May 5, 1864, Strong and Agnew accompanied Senator Edwin D. Morgan of New York to the War Department. Their object, wrote Strong, was to tell Stanton, in effect: "Mr. Secretary, the Committee will have x and y dollars to spend for the aid of your army and the promotion of its efficiency during the campaign just opened. Your cordial sympathy will add fifty per cent to the value and effect of every dollar we spend. You habitually denounce us and our work, and commonly talk of the Commission as 'a swindling concern.' Will you please tell us why you hate us, and what we can do to appease your earnest disapprobation and secure for our unpaid, unofficial, unrecognized private exertions for the benefit of your army at least the neutrality of the War Department?" After a wait in the anteroom they were finally admitted. Their reception was much that which a medieval saint would have vouchsafed to the devil making a morning's call. The temperature of the room dropped to a frigid level:

On hearing the Secretary remark, "Well, sir???" Agnew proceeded thereupon to state from memoranda he had prepared an outline of our work and our

expenditure, to which Stanton interrupted with inexpressible venom and viciousness of manner. "I don't perceive any mention here of what you must have paid for your scurrilous attacks on me and on the Administration through the public press." We could not guess what he meant, and I humbly asked for light. We found that he referred to an article in an early number of the [Sanitary Commission] *Bulletin*, signed "A Republican," urging that the Surgeon-General ought not to be displaced without a court-martial or an investigation in some form. We submitted that this article discussed fairly and temperately a question bearing directly on the efficiency of the medical service, and reminded him that it simply recommended him to do what he did a month afterwards.

Repelled at this point, Stanton turned to attack the Commission's work in helping expedite the transmission of pensions and back pay, declaring that this was not in its proper sphere. But he soon abandoned this criticism, admitting that even if subject to technical objections, the work was useful and important. He then tried a new line of attack:

Next came a savage assault on our hospital supply system, kept up at Washington during the past year, but now wound up, I'm happy to say. "We had gone into the marketing business and made ourselves a trading association. Hammond's order that surgeons get their extra supplies through this channel was a gross violation of law, because all purchases were required to be by contract." There we *had* him. It was clear that the Secretary of War didn't know what a "Hospital Fund" is, or the regulations applicable to its disbursement. We enlightened him on this subject. He gasped and staggered, but soon came up again, and insinuated rather than asserted that the Commission had made money by the operation. "On the contrary, Mr. Secretary, our books and vouchers show a balance against us of from \$5,000 to \$10,000." Whereupon the Secretary hit out viciously, but rather wild. "Then that amount of money has been lost—so much of the people's bounty wasted in this job." Our answer was obvious. This balance represents so much contributed to the hospitals, just as directly and effectually as if it had been used to buy them its equivalent in chickens, fresh eggs, and butter. The Commission has turned over the stores it bought and charged the hospital fund their cost price and no more, thus saving that fund not merely the profit of the middle man but also the expense of transportation. Of course the Secretary saw this, but he did not choose to say so, and changed the subject.

Agnew, who showed great tact, temper, and presence of mind throughout, said: "Well, Mr. Secretary, these criticisms are, after all, just what we have long wished to have the Department give us. What we want is the establishment of such relations with you as will secure our receiving your views and suggestions from time to time, and we shall, of course, etc., etc., always listen to your advice with etc., etc." But this was among the things Stanton did not happen to want and he withdrew himself at once, like a startled land-tortoise, or an irritated actinia. "You must execute your great trust in your own way, and on your own

responsibility. I cannot advise you about it." So our interview ended at last, the Secretary taking leave of us with more civility than he had previously shown.

He went out of his way more than once to declare his unbounded admiration and undying passionate affection for the Commission. He found fault only with the conduct of certain of its members or officers. He had done and always should do all he could to support and strengthen the Commission itself. Strange—for he must have been aware that we knew this to be as big a bouncer as any that has passed over the telegraph wires during the last three years. It so demoralized me that I instantly replied "with effusion" that we couldn't possibly doubt it.

I was amazed by the discovery of our importance, and that the Secretary of War keeps himself thoroughly posted as to our movements and our doings. Whenever he referred to any publication, he rang in his messenger, and said, "Ben! get me so and so of the Sanitary Commission," which the faithful but seedy creature did with admirable accuracy and promptitude. He failed only once, when he brought in a copy of the *Medical Times* instead. Whereupon the Secretary d—d him, and sent him back, soliloquizing, as it were, *sotto voce*, "It contains another attack on me. I suppose the Commission got *that* up, *too*." He was wrathful, also, over certain publications (I do not know what) in England, which he evidently credited to us, and about the authorship whereof he designs to "have an investigation." This innocent design he announced in the tone with which a magistrate would notify a man charged with murder that his alleged alibi would be sternly scrutinized.

On the whole, this interview was a good thing, though without direct tangible results. We drew Stanton's fire and can estimate his weight of metal. It is not very heavy. He hates us cordially and would destroy us if he dared, but he fears our constituency. Public favor is the breath of his nostrils. He is not a first-rate man morally or intellectually. His eye is bad and cold and leaden and snaky, even when he is most excited. His only signs of ability at this conference were remarkable memory and capacity for details.

This meeting substantially ended the friction between Stanton and the heads of the Sanitary Commission. Thereafter the Secretary of War, doubtless impressed by the immense and steadily growing popularity of the Commission, and perfectly aware that its activities had been invaluable, adopted a more coöperative if not a more courteous attitude. Once when Treasurer Strong again called upon him in Washington, in fact, he went so far as to pay a brief tribute to the work which the Commission had done in saving the lives of many thousands of soldiers and in easing the sufferings of many thousands more. Hammond's successor as Surgeon General, though not so cordial as he might have been, likewise accepted the Commission as indispensable, and in various ways furthered its undertakings. But Strong never forgave Stanton for the mean-spirited part which he believed the Secretary had played. Out of pure arrogance and ill-

temper, with no real provocation, he had frowned upon the unexampled bounty of the American people as poured out through the Commission for the rescue of fallen soldiers, and had hampered and crippled the most beneficent of all the voluntary agencies of the Civil War. When Stanton's subsequent career in office held him up to reflecting Americans in a worse than dubious light, Strong felt that his belief in the innate malevolence and untrustworthiness of the man had been vindicated.

Bureaus and Bureau Methods in the Civil War Era

By ROSCOE POUND¹

IN the Revolutionary War, Washington was continually hampered by the capricious interference of the Continental Congress.² Perhaps his greatest service was in tactfully keeping the military machine in effective operation in spite of this constant interference. Congress had a Board of War but no effective bureau organization. The Quartermaster and Commissary and Inspector General's and Surgeon General's departments were departments of Washington's staff. In 1775 the appointments were left to him. The first Quartermaster Generals were inefficient. Indeed, until Nathanael Greene was made Quartermaster General in 1778, Washington had to act as Quartermaster himself.³

After the adoption of the Constitution, Congress had less executive power, and was less inclined to claim control over details of military administration than the Congress of the Confederation had been. In the War of 1812 and in the Mexican War the problems of supply and transportation had to be settled mostly on the spot and at a long distance from Washington, and so came under the control of the general in the field and were handled without friction. But by the time of the Civil War the War Department had become thoroughly organized with strong well-organized bureaus and with habits of exercising the powers of the President as Commander in Chief without necessity of reference to the President and without consulting or considering the General in Chief of the Army.

From what I can gather from the reminiscences and memoirs of our soldiers from the Mexican War to the Spanish-American War, the organization and methods of the bureaus in the War Department developed under the masterful administration of Jefferson Davis as Secretary of War under Franklin Pierce, 1853-1857.⁴ Davis, who

¹ This paper was read at the April, 1944, meeting.

² Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States* (Washington, 1912), 3.

³ Francis V. Greene, *General Greene* (New York, 1893), 96-99.

⁴ "When Mr. Pierce approved the Attorney-General's opinion, in the controversy between General Scott and Mr. Davis, and stated that it would be 'regarded as the settled doctrine as to the relation of the President to the respective heads of department,' the command of the Army

had had a military training at West Point, had made a deserved reputation as colonel of a volunteer regiment in the Mexican War and had a high opinion of his own military abilities.¹ Moreover, he was exceptionally zealous in performance of his duty and went about the conduct of the Department with characteristic force and determination. He established the doctrine which prevailed from his time to the first World War: that the Secretary of War, not the General in Chief, was the immediate representative of the President, the constitutional Commander in Chief, and that the bureau chiefs were the immediate representatives of the Secretary of War and so had the delegated power of the President, and that line officers in the field without regard to rank must take their orders from the Washington bureaus.²

Before the Civil War "the differences between General Scott [commanding general of the Army] and the Secretary [of War] became so serious that the general removed his headquarters from Washington to New York and remained away from the capital several years until the time when civil war was imminent."³

General Schofield says:

. . . it had been boldly announced . . . that each departmental chief of staff [in the War Department], in his own sphere, was clothed with all the authority of the Secretary of War. All that a major-general as well as an officer of lower grade had to do was to execute such orders as he might receive from the brigadiers at the head of the several bureaus at Washington. It was not even necessary for those mighty chiefs to say that their mandates had the sanction of any higher authority. Their own fiat was all-sufficient for a mere soldier of the line or for his commanding general, of whatever grade of rank or command. . . . Of course the adjutant-general became by far the chiefest of those many chiefs; for it is his function to issue to the army all the orders of both the Secretary of War and the commanding general He had only to use the name of the Secretary or of the general, as he pleased; either would answer with the army. . . .

All this was based upon the theory that the General of the Army was not an officer of the War Department.⁴

passed to the Secretary of War." Upton, *Military Policy of the United States*, 366-367. Originally the Ordnance Bureau was strictly subordinated to the commander in the field. *Ibid.*, 93-94.

¹ Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II (New York, 1886), 87-88.

² Upton, *Military Policy of the United States*, 367-368. General Upton tells us that at a dangerous crisis of the Civil War an important order was issued by the Assistant Adjutant General without the knowledge of the President or of the General in Chief. *Ibid.*

³ John M. Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army* (New York, 1897), 406.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 469-470.

What this bureau autocracy meant in practice we shall see presently. For the moment it is enough to say that the bureau organization in the War Department became even stronger under a second masterful Secretary of War (Stanton).¹ Because of the paramountcy of the bureau chiefs, under the fostering zeal of a head zealous to maintain the Department in all its prerogatives, Grant and Sherman and Sheridan in turn, with all their force and firmness and prestige, could not prevail against that organization.² General Upton says in his book, *The Military Policy of the United States*: "General Halleck [when he was made General in Chief] had been brought up to recognize the complete sway of the Secretary of War. It was therefore but natural, when placed in command of our armies, that he should have acknowledged the system which practically united all powers in the hands of a civil officer whose department had been created by Congress for the sole purpose of organizing and supplying our troops."³

We have here, then, an excellent example of strong bureaus in operation, so removed from the present in point of time and of the problems presented as to admit of objective consideration.

After going over all the material in the official records of the Civil War and the memoirs and reminiscences of the generals, I feel justified in laying down six characteristics of the War Department bureaus in action in the era of the Civil War.

(1) Excess of zeal for its particular function on the part of each bureau and a resulting seeing of itself out of proportion. In consequence, the exigencies of operations in the field were ignored, and the bureau pursued its course in its own way without regard to its place in the whole scheme of military organization.

(2) Delegation of the powers of the bureau to subordinates, often of low rank, and a tendency of these subordinates, to use an English phrase, to throw their weight about.

(3) Habitual use by subordinates of the names of their superiors and even of the name of the Secretary of War without reference to him and without his knowledge.

(4) A strong *esprit de corps* and consequent tendency to stand by the errors of those below in the bureau hierarchy.

(5) A tendency to act on one-sided, imperfect, or mistaken in-

¹ See Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 105.

² Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 407-413, 421-422, 471-474.

³ Upton, *Military Policy of the United States*, 320.

formation or on gossip or general suspicion without inquiry and without waiting to hear both sides.

(6) A tendency, when important decisions in the legitimate sphere of the bureau had to be made, to engage in a protracted series of memoranda, references, endorsements, and paper discussions, leaving the most important practical decisions in indefinite suspense.

Let us look at these tendencies in more detail, giving a few outstanding cases under each head.

(1) *Excess of zeal for the particular function of the bureau and consequent seeing of itself out of proportion.* The official records of the Civil War are full of cases illustrating this head. I content myself with two cases in which this misdirected zeal, manifested at critical times, came near having serious results.

At the battle of Cedar Creek, General Keifer commanded the Third Division of the Sixth Corps. There had been hard fighting all the morning and ammunition was running low, and, because of considerable losses on both sides, a great many rifles were lying on the field where the killed and severely wounded had dropped them. Colonel J. W. Snyder of a heavy artillery regiment serving as infantry, on being ordered to hold his command ready for an early advance, notified General Keifer that his men were out of ammunition and that, as his regiment was armed with 69-caliber muskets using buck and ball cartridges, whereas all the other regiments in the Corps had the standard 58-caliber rifles, no cartridges of suitable size were on hand in the ammunition wagons. General Keifer then ordered the Colonel to instruct his men to throw away their muskets as fast as they could find abandoned rifles on the field to take their places. This was done and the Colonel soon reported his regiment ready for action with rifles and forty rounds of ammunition. Thus the regiment, a very large three-battalion regiment, was kept in line for the decisive attack that won the battle late in the afternoon. But the story got out and got to the Ordnance Bureau at Washington, and General Keifer was presently notified that his name had been sent to the President from the Secretary of War for dismissal for ordering the regiment to throw away their muskets. As the Bureau saw it, the rifles should have been gathered up and sent to the ordnance depot at Harper's Ferry, and then a requisition should have been made to exchange the 69-caliber muskets for them. If that had been done, twelve hundred well-armed men would have been out of the fight in

the division which broke the Confederate line. General Sheridan and General Wright approved General Keifer's action at the time, but that did not prevent the Ordnance Bureau from acting in the name of the Secretary of War and making General Keifer much trouble. He tells us he came very near being dismissed from the Army before he knew of it.¹

During the operations resulting in the taking of Wilmington, General Schofield made his temporary headquarters on a hospital boat for a few days. His tents and headquarters equipment had not arrived. The boat was not then in use as a hospital, and no other boat being available and the Army being about to move on each side of the river, it was the only means of keeping in touch with the troops on each side. The chief medical officer on General Schofield's staff approved of this necessary use of the boat; but a subordinate surgeon on the boat, jealous of use of it by a line officer, notified the Bureau at Washington, with the result that General Schofield was reprimanded in the name of the Secretary of War and ordered summarily to vacate the boat. Fortunately, General Grant was able to stop the matter from going further. But the War Department had threatened to hold up General Schofield's promotion for his work at Franklin. If the boat had not been used, the operations against Wilmington might have failed.²

(2) *Delegation of the powers of the bureaus to subordinates and tendency of the subordinates to assert themselves against the commanders in the field.* In 1939 I wrote a fully documented paper on the military telegraph in the Civil War,³ in which many instances of this were recounted. One of the extreme cases was that of a Captain Van Duzer, subordinate of the Bureau of Military Telegraphs, with whom Grant, one of the most patient of men, could not get along because the Captain paid no attention to the exigencies of military movements. When General Grant ordered him out of the Department of the Tennessee, Van Duzer wrote to the Bureau demanding an opportunity to show that he, the Captain, was right and Grant, the Major General and Department Commander, was wrong.⁴ He ought to have been

¹ Joseph W. Keifer, *Slavery and Four Years of War* (New York, 1900), II. 140-141.

² Jacob D. Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1900), II. 453-455.

³ *Proceedings*, LXVI. 185-203.

⁴ *The War of the Rebellion. A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (cited hereafter as *W.R.*), Series I, XVII, Part II, 346, 347, 368, 377, 378-379, 382, 385, 386, 394.

dismissed, but the Bureau simply inflicted him on General Rosecrans.¹

Each army had a medical director on its staff, and each corps, division, brigade, and regiment had its staff of surgeons. But the Surgeon General's Bureau at Washington operated independently and was very jealous of its powers. It sent out medical inspectors, who, being bureau officers and independent, like the military telegraphers, of the department commander and his medical director, liked to assert themselves. General Upton says: "Whenever they visited a hospital it was not . . . necessary for them to consult the military commander. Contrary to his views, contrary to the opinion of the surgeon in charge, they could enter a ward, glance around it, and order the discharge of as many men as they saw fit. If the military commander and the surgeon ventured to oppose them . . . they might lose their commissions for their pains."²

Unfortunately, as in the case of the military telegraphers, some of these bureau autocrats were corrupt, and their actions gave point to Lord Acton's saying that all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.³ In one notorious case the general in command had the courage to deal with the bureau inspector as Grant did with Van Duzer.⁴ Grant ordered Van Duzer out of the Department of the Tennessee, notified all stations to obey no telegraphic orders to release him (many came in the name of the Secretary of War), and told Van Duzer that if he came back into the Department he would have him shot.⁵

Perhaps the most flagrant case was that of the Modoc Indians. They were induced to go upon the Klamath reservation but found it impossible to live there and moved back to their old home. General Canby, who commanded the Military Division of the Pacific, opposed sending them again to the Klamath reservation. Without the knowledge of the President or of the Secretary of War or of the General of the Army, the Indian Bureau at Washington, by a subordinate, procured from a subordinate in the War Department an order to General Canby, in the name of the Secretary of War, to send troops to put the Modocs on the Klamath reservation. A bloody war with the Modocs resulted in which General Canby was killed. We

¹ *W.R.*, Ser. I, XXIII, Part II, 448.

² Upton, *Military Policy of the United States*, 413.

³ *Ibid.*, 412-413.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 413, note a.

⁵ See the correspondence referred to above, page 424, note 4.

are told that General Canby never imagined that after his recommendation based on his knowledge gained on the spot "such an order could come from Washington unless with the sanction of the highest authority and the knowledge of the War Department."¹

We have seen the same sort of thing in the case of General Schofield's use of the hospital boat.²

It should be added that General Johnston, in command of a Confederate army, had the same sort of trouble with furloughs granted by the War Department at Richmond without consulting him or getting information from the commanders of regiments and companies. These were granted almost wholesale, and it is impossible that the Secretary of War could have considered the cases personally or have had access to proper information on which to act. In the main, subordinates were responsible. But President Davis, having been Secretary of War, considered that the matter was properly in the hands of the Department rather than of the commanders in the field. Douglas S. Freeman shows that the result was very demoralizing while the army was at Manassas after first Bull Run.³

(3) *Habitual use by subordinates of the names of their superiors.* I gave many examples of this in the paper on the military telegraph in the Civil War. A typical one was the telegrams, in the name of the Secretary of War, to all posts in the Department of the Tennessee, to release Van Duser.⁴ The Modoc Indian case and the case of General Keifer at Cedar Creek are also examples. Another notable instance is the case of the award of the Congressional Medal, which was originally given on recommendation of commanders in the field, after careful review by the General in Chief, but was taken over by the Assistant Secretary of War, to be awarded on his own independent ideas; this went on without the commanders finding out that the order of the Secretary of War taking the matter over was quite unknown to the Secretary.⁵ John Sherman also, in his recollections, tells of an order in the name of the President greatly interfering with the personnel of the army then under command of his brother, Gen-

¹ There is a full account in Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 435-437.

² See above, page 424, note 2.

³ Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I (New York, 1942), 130-134; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations* (New York, 1874), 99-101.

⁴ *W.R.*, Ser. I, XVII, Part II, 370, and the correspondence referred to above, page 424, note 4.

⁵ Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 474-478.

eral Sherman, issued as a matter of fact in the War Department by General Belknap.¹

(4) *Esprit de corps: the tendency to stand by the errors of subordinates in the bureau hierarchy.* A good example may be seen in the experience of General Burnside, when in command of the Army of the Ohio in the spring of 1863, with Lieutenant Smyser of the Ordnance Bureau, in charge of the ordnance depot at Louisville. The Confederate cavalry were raiding Kentucky, and General Burnside was endeavoring to concentrate to head them off. To do this he needed all the cavalry he could get. Requisitions were made for equipment of an Indiana battery and a regiment of Indiana cavalry, but the Lieutenant was very independent and there was much delay. Brigadier General Boyle at Louisville telegraphed General Burnside: "In consequence of his conduct I will not be able to coöperate effectually according to your orders." Colonel E. M. McCook, one of the "fighting McCooks," afterward Brigadier General commanding a division of cavalry under Sherman, preferred charges against the Lieutenant. Thereupon General Burnside ordered the Lieutenant arrested and sent a captain to take his place. Lieutenant Smyser at once communicated with the Ordnance Bureau, and an order came promptly from the Assistant Secretary of War, "by order of the Secretary of War," to General Burnside to release the Lieutenant from arrest and reinstate him in charge of the depot.² General Burnside's response is enlightening:

Among other specifications against Lieutenant Smyser, he is charged with saying to an officer, who had a proper requisition, "Tell Colonel McCook that he had better send some more communications to Captain Semple [Assistant Adjutant General to General Boyle, commanding the Department of Kentucky] about the sabers. I don't care a damn for him or any other McCook. They can all go to hell. I don't care a damn for Captain Semple, or any of the brigadier-generals or major-generals, and they can all go to hell. . . ." The failure of Lieutenant Smyser to give to Colonel McCook sabers for his regiment, when he had plenty on hand, delayed the movement of the regiment, and caused him to fail to co-operate with General Gillmore in the attack upon Pegasus.

I have cheerfully released him from arrest, and dismissed the charges against him, but most respectfully submit that I cannot maintain discipline and efficiency in the departments here if they are independent of my authority.³

¹ John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (Chicago, 1895), I. 444, 445.

² *W.R.*, Ser. I, XXIII, Part II, 186, 209, 210.

³ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

In answer, the Assistant Secretary of War read General Burnside a lecture, told him that he had "proof" (presumably from Lieutenant Smyser) that Colonel McCook, General Boyle's Inspector General, and General Burnside's Chief of Staff had "bullied" the Lieutenant.¹ No doubt in the emergency of the Confederate raid they were insistent. But the autonomy of the Ordnance Bureau seems to have been thought of more importance than stopping the raid.

In the same way, when General Grant was compelled to send Captain Van Duzer out of the Department of the Tennessee because of his insistence on being a law unto himself and refusing to extend the military telegraph as Grant moved on Vicksburg, no notice whatever was taken of Grant's very full and clear report of the facts;² but as it was evident too much of a row would result from ordering him reinstated, although Van Duzer urged it, he was instead made Superintendent of Military Telegraph of the Army of the Cumberland.

Again, in December, 1864, after General Schofield, in the retreat from Columbia to Nashville, had been cruelly embarrassed in a critical operation by the cowardice of one telegrapher and the drunkenness of another, so that it took twenty-four hours to send urgent messages from General Thomas forty miles off, the General in consequence arrested the cowardly operator for disobedience of orders in leaving the front and setting up his office out of reach in the rear, and the drunken operator for delaying three hours in sending off urgent orders, and a third for striking and refusing to work till the other two were released. Yet after they had been convicted by a court-martial and sentenced to work on the fortifications,³ the War Department at once remitted the sentences, restored the cowardly operator to his position, and made it clear that a military commander in the field, even if in command of a Department and Army, had no power over bureau appointees.⁴ That the latter had come very near losing an army for the Government seemed a negligible matter. The same Captain Van Duzer who had made General Grant so much trouble was the immediate bureau superior of the three operators, and he had shown his hostility to Sherman throughout the Atlanta campaign and to Schofield in the Franklin-Nashville campaign.⁵ But

¹ *W.R.*, Ser. I, XXIII, Part II, 216.

² *Ibid.*, XVII, Part II, 377.

³ *Ibid.*, XLV, Part I, 289, 958, 1036, 1056, 1085-1086, 1172.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Part II, 289, 290.

⁵ For an example of the tone of his dispatches to Washington, see *W.R.*, Ser. I, XXXVIII, Part V, 232.

that Van Duzer should have been allowed to control the military telegraph in the west during two crucial campaigns shows how little the needs of military operations weighed in comparison with bureau prestige.

(5) *The tendency to act on one-sided, imperfect, or mistaken information, or gossip or general suspicion, without inquiry and without waiting to hear both sides.* This is a characteristic tendency of bureaus in all times and places. The memoirs of Napoleon's marshals tell some stories of this sort. There were examples in the Crimean War. Such things were much in evidence in the bureaus charged with enforcement of the National Prohibition Act. Prohibition administrators and the courts were in frequent conflict because the former constantly acted without any basis in evidence. A habit of hearing only one side and acting on secret reports or interviews with one side only and without evidence of any logical probative force is the chief item in the complaints which are growing stronger continually against the administrative bureaus, federal and state, which have acquired such wide powers in the past three decades. In this respect the War Department bureaus in the Civil War simply ran true to form.

In the case of General Keifer and the muskets of the Ninth New York Heavy Artillery, the Ordnance Bureau acted on Army gossip without inquiry of General Sheridan or General Wright as to the circumstances. In the case of General Schofield's use of the hospital boat, the bureau at Washington acted on the complaint of a subordinate of low rank without inquiry of the general in command of the army or the medical director on his staff. Jealousy of line officers and suspicion of them as seeking to infringe bureau prerogatives stand out in these cases. In the controversy with General Burnside over the delay in furnishing equipment for Colonel McCook's regiment, we see the Bureau acting on the Lieutenant's version and ignoring General Burnside, Colonel McCook, General Boyle, and Captain Semple, mere line officers, as not worthy of credence. In the course of the correspondence with General Burnside the Bureau officials affected to believe that General Boyle wanted to purchase arms instead of getting them from the depot on requisition.¹ In the controversy with General Grant over Van Duzer's conduct the Bureau affected to believe that General Grant wished to control the financial part of the military telegraph and informed him that purchases for telegraph

¹ *Ibid.*, XXIII, Part II, 186.

purposes could not be made by the General from funds of the Quartermaster's Department. Of course neither Grant nor Burnside ever dreamed of such a thing. In the one case, the information came from Captain Van Duzer, and in the other, from Lieutenant Smyser, in order to justify their refusal to coöperate with the commander of the Army, and was acted on without inquiry. Grant's indignant and emphatic reply drew no retraction.¹

Of the hospital boat incident, General Cox, who was on the spot, says: "By an odd coincidence, the order to Schofield with the Secretary's reprimand was written on the same day Grant was making his recommendation for [Schofield's] promotion [to Brigadier General in the Regular Army], and it well illustrates [Secretary] Stanton's characteristic impulsiveness and hasty temper which made him act on first reports, when a quiet investigation of the facts would have changed his view and saved the feelings of his subordinates."²

It should be added that though quick to act on one-sided reports from the bureaus, the War Department was not at all inclined to act on reports from commanders in the field. Grant's full report about Van Duzer, Meade's report of the cowardice of Operator Caldwell at Gettysburg,³ Schofield's report of the cowardice and drunkenness of the operators on the retreat from Columbia, Tennessee, to Nashville,⁴ the findings of the court-martial which convicted the operators,⁵ Burnside's full report of the conduct of the lieutenant of the Ordnance Bureau⁶—all this evoked no response. But any subordinate of a bureau could embarrass the Major General in command of a department and army by a secret report and get action upon it at once—often very hasty and ill-advised action.

I might add that Sheridan in the full tide of his great success in the Shenandoah Valley drew a sharp reprimand from the War Department for doubting and refusing to act on a sensational mistaken report to the Intelligence Bureau at Washington on the strength of which he was expected to make a large detachment to meet an attack said to be impending in West Virginia.⁷ Sheridan had an excellent

¹ *W.R.*, Ser. I, xvii, Part II, 386.

² Cox, *Military Reminiscences of the Civil War*, II. 453.

³ *W.R.*, Ser. I, xxvii, Part I, 74, 78.

⁴ See above, page 428, note 3.

⁵ See above, page 428, note 3.

⁶ See above, page 427, note 3.

⁷ *W.R.*, Ser. I, xliii, Part I, 951, 952, 953, 969, Part II, 27, 36, 42; Philip H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs* (New York, 1888), II. 6-8.

body of scouts and was on the spot.¹ But it was enough in the War Department that one of its agencies had been challenged.

It is significant, too, that it was usually the efficient and enterprising commanders who got into trouble with the bureaus. They were striving to get things done and demanded coöperation. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Schofield, Keifer, and Colonel McCook were in their several stations conspicuous for energetic action. It was inevitable that they come into conflict with the bureaus.

(6) *The tendency to hold up important decisions by protracted memoranda, endorsements, references, and paper discussions.* However quick the bureaus may have been to act when they conceived their province had been invaded or their prerogatives infringed, they were not in the least prone to speedy action when important decisions in their own field and committed to them had to be made. Perhaps the most striking example may be found in the Confederate records. It is fair to use it because the Confederate War Department was modeled on that which had been presided over by Jefferson Davis as Secretary of War, to whom it owed its thorough bureau organization. Indeed, Davis felt himself in some sort the head of his War Department, took an active part in its affairs, and was as jealous of its prerogatives and prestige as Secretary Stanton was of those of the War Department at Washington. Let us see, then, how things were managed at Richmond.

On December 24 and 25, 1864, General Butler and the Navy had appeared before Fort Fisher, and the fort had been subjected to a terrible bombardment. But General Butler did not think it prudent to assault and, notwithstanding General Grant's orders to stay and intrench before the fort and cut it off from connection with the Confederate forces in North Carolina, returned to before Richmond. On January 1, 1865, General Whiting, Confederate commander at Wilmington, wrote a long letter to the Secretary of War suggesting that the first attack had been a reconnaissance and that a strong attack must soon be expected, and setting forth the condition of the fort, its vulnerable points, and its needs if a successful defense was to be made.² The Confederate War Department took its time over this letter, but on January 8 it was endorsed: "Respectfully submitted

¹ Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, II. 1-3. It is probable that one of the spies employed by the War Department was J. Wilkes Booth. *Ibid.*, 108-112.

² *W.R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Part II, 1000.

for the consideration of the President, J. A. Seddon, Secretary."¹ The President, too, took plenty of time, and on January 14 endorsed it as follows: "The proposition within might be advantageously referred to General Bragg. J.D."¹ General Bragg, who had been Chief of Staff at Richmond, was put in command of North Carolina. On January 15 the Secretary of War endorsed it: "Refer to General Bragg, calling his attention to the endorsement of the President. J.A.S. Secretary."² General Bragg was in no hurry, so the next endorsement was dated January 20 and reads: "No further disposition required, Fort Fisher having fallen, H.L.C. [i.e., H. L. Clay, Secretary to the Chief of Staff]."² Only a well-organized department bureau could take three weeks to fail to determine what to do in such an emergency.

An example from the Federal War Department may be seen in the action of the Ordnance Bureau as to breech-loading carbines. From the beginning, the officers who had had experience in fighting the Indians advocated breech-loading carbines with copper cartridges instead of the old-style muzzle loaders with paper cartridges. Before the close of 1861 they urged the Spencer rifle, which had a magazine containing seven cartridges and in the end proved the best weapon with which the Army was provided.³ But the advisability of adopting these arms was debated in the Ordnance Bureau by reports and endorsements and memoranda till 1864, when a new chief of the Bureau settled the matter speedily and contracted for a large number to be delivered in monthly installments until August, 1865.⁴ In the winter of 1864-1865 the cavalry in the west were well supplied with Spencer carbines, and such things as the successful assault on the fortifications at Selma, Alabama, showed what they could do.⁵ By April, 1865, the month when the war ended, 100,000 of these magazine guns had been issued to the troops.⁶ The result at Selma suggests that if the decision had been made a year earlier, Meade's assaults at Petersburg in June, 1864, would have succeeded and probably ended the war nine months earlier. But that would be expecting too much of a well-organized bureau.

¹ *W.R.*, Ser. I, XLVI, Part II, 1001.

² *Ibid.*, 1002.

³ At that time General Ripley, head of the Bureau, made an adverse report. *Ibid.*, Ser. III, I, 733-734.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 493.

⁵ James H. Wilson, *Under the Old Flag* (New York, 1912), II, 225.

⁶ Fred A. Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1864-1865* (Cleveland, 1928), 141.

As one reads these things one wonders how the war was ever won. One answer is that things were just as bad on the other side. General Fuller of the British Army attributes the fall of the Confederacy largely to bad administration of the Quartermaster and Commissary departments at Richmond. He points out that there was no need of Confederate armies being ill-fed when Federal armies could march through the South and live off the country. The straggling of Confederate armies was largely due to bad commissary arrangements, so that Lee could seldom follow up a victory for want of supplies and transportation.¹ But President Davis was jealous of any criticisms of the Quartermaster's or Commissary's bureaus. He regarded them as criticisms of his conduct of the War Department and was as obstinate in defending what Confederate generals have since called their notorious inefficiency as Stanton was in defending his bureaus.² The Confederate generals tell stories to match those I have drawn from the Union records. The red-tape and circumlocution office operated on both sides of the line.

In Sherman's Atlanta campaign the problem of supply was a very difficult one. He was allowed full control of the railroads. The Master of Transportation in the Military Division of the Mississippi and the Chief Engineer of Military Railroads were subject to his orders, and the Master of Transportation was substantially independent of any bureau at Washington.³ Sherman did not get this control easily. But his persistence was successful, very likely because Grant's firm grasp of all military operations after he became General in Chief, and the promise of the President to give him a free hand, enabled those who had Grant's confidence to resist the domination of the bureaus at Washington.⁴ In consequence, although one line of railroad, from Louisville to Nashville, from Nashville to Chattanooga, and from Chattanooga to Atlanta, had to be depended on, the armies were well supplied, and Sherman's movements were never seriously

¹ John C. F. Fuller, *Grant and Lee* (London, 1933), 123-126.

² Armistead L. Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee* (New York, 1886), 247. As to Davis's backing of the War Department against Johnston and Jackson, see Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, I. 124-130; Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*, 87-94. As to want of coöperation of the Commissary Department with generals in the field, see *ibid.*, 97-99. As to the inefficiency of the Commissary Department, see Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III. 619; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III (New York, 1934), 536.

³ *W.R.*, Ser. III, IV. 240, 301, 498, 548, 945ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ser. I, XXXII, Part III, 279. See also Sherman's insistence on control of the quartermasters. *Ibid.*, 154, 311, 330.

hampered by difficulties of supply. This would seem to show that there is no reason why the supply departments should be kept independent of those in command of military operations.

But there is another side. Lord Haldane, speaking of his visit to Germany while head of the British War Office, says:

In the course of the journey home Ellison and I talked much of what we had observed. We agreed that the great lesson lay in the way in which under the German system the Army in the field was free from the embarrassment of having to look after its transport and supplies. This last duty was a separately organized one, attended to by the administrative side to the exclusion of the General Staff. The latter dealt with command and with strategy and tactics, while all administrative work was handled only by the "Intendantur," which was the province of the War Office. This was so in the field as well as in peace time. Command was separated from administration at home as well as in the theatre of war. It was deemed as important to prevent the General Staff from meddling in administration as to prevent the administrative organization from interfering in affairs which belonged to the General Staff. The two sides of the Army were not, as with us, housed in the same building. To put them close together would have been, in the German view, dangerous. The General Staff building was consequently a mile away from the War Office, in the Thiergarten, while the latter was in the city, in the Leipziger Strasse. But the Great Moltke had not been content even with this, and had said that the distance between the two ought to have been two miles at least.¹

However, I take it from General Altham's work, *The Principles of War*, that the British organization in the first World War put the supply agencies in the field entirely under the control of the army commander.² The German system worked admirably in 1870 and, I infer, was in effect in the first World War. At least, it is set forth in General von Bernhardi's book, *On War of Today*.³ That it worked so well in 1870 was due, I suppose, (1) to the circumstance that the King of Prussia was in the field in nominal command, and von Moltke could use his name with both the fighting and the administrative branches of the service; and (2) to the admirable spirit of full

¹ Richard Burdon Haldane (*Viscount Haldane*); *An Autobiography* (London and New York, 1929), 220.

² Sir Edward Altham, *The Principles of War* (London, 1914), 50-55. In the Abyssinia campaign (1868) under Sir Robert (afterward Lord) Napier, the Land Transport Corps was given a military organization independent of the Commissary General's Department. The Commissary General objected, but Sir Robert in the end got his own way. Too much time was lost and the corps was not organized as it might have been. The results were serious. Frederick Sleight Roberts, Earl Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India* (London, 1897), II. 34-35.

³ Friedrich A. J. von Bernhardi, *On War of Today*, Karl von Donat, Translator, I (New York, 1914), 232-245.

and hearty coöperation which every part of the German Army showed in the Franco-German War. I have not been able to discover how well it worked in 1914-1918.

With our settled American habit of general noncoöperation and our polity of a Commander in Chief not in the field and represented by a civilian Secretary of War at Washington, I should doubt whether the German system would work well.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Poet Laureate of Harvard

By THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER¹

IT may be presumptuous to discuss the life of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the "Autocrat," a former member of this Society, when only recently a present member, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, has so charmingly and accurately portrayed the poet, essayist, physician, teacher, humorist, and wit who played so conspicuous a rôle in the Boston scene during the greater portion of the last century.² In explanation of my presumption I would call attention to a characteristic difference between the bibliographer and the biographer. I might liken them to a stonemason of olden time and the architect. The stonemason with skill and meticulous care quarried and prepared his blocks of granite or marble with which the architect reared his beautiful and imposing structures. From the materials available the architect selected what was needful to him for his purposes. So the bibliographer quarries from many and scattered sources facts that a biographer may group in appropriate fashion, interpret, and comment upon to produce a well-rounded historical or biographical account.

A further difference between the two types of research, the biographical and the bibliographical, rests in the fact that adequate bibliographical research should cover its field as exhaustively as is humanly possible. The whole body of facts, even those of seemingly minor importance, should be noted, verified, and grouped by the bibliographer; but the biographer must perforce be selective, taking from the facts thus amassed such as will serve to produce the picture he wishes to paint. Now there may remain a residuum of material, after the biographer has done his work, that will serve to depict intimately some phase or action for the moment worthy of special attention.

Here it is my purpose, summarizing to some extent what has been said by others before me and adding new information, to call attention to the manner in which Oliver Wendell Holmes came forward

¹ This paper was read at the May, 1943, meeting.

² *Holmes of the Breakfast Table* (New York and London, 1939).

with clocklike regularity to give poetic utterance to the spirit, grave or gay, of Harvard anniversaries, commemorations, and festivals. For this reason he well deserved the title of Harvard's poet laureate, from the year 1829, when he received his bachelor's degree, until the end of his life in 1894.

The Cambridge edition of Holmes's poetical works contains some 346 poems. My own list, which includes hitherto uncollected poems, some never in print, adds 134 titles, making a total of 480, as I count, for there are cases where it is a matter of personal judgment just how the count shall be made. Of this total I count 108 as distinctly Harvard in scope.

Young Holmes was addressing verses to a Harvard audience at the very beginning of his literary career; for the "Exhibition" program of April 28, 1829, includes as its seventh number "A Poem. The Forgotten Ages. Oliver Wendell Holmes."¹ In the opening lines the youthful poet pays flattering attention to the ladies, who presumably composed a large part of his audience:

What various beauties crowd upon my sight,
Flash from the left and sparkle from the right;
The matron's sweetness and the maiden's bloom,
The flaunting ribband and the waving plume—

By thus addressing those whom it was then proper to describe as the weaker sex, to be seen, not heard, Holmes met with sufficient approval to cause him soon to discourse again on that subject, in his Class Day and Commencement poems of 1829.

The Class Day of July 14, 1829, was described by James Russell Lowell, who quotes from the diary of the Reverend George Whitney of Roxbury that Holmes in his poem that day "invoked for his goddesses the ladies present, and in so doing . . . sang very amusingly of his 'hapless amour with too tall a maid.'"² We know nothing more of this poem. It may turn up some day in a litter of old papers. Six weeks later, on Commencement Day, August 26, 1829, Holmes again made his appearance as official poet, so designated by authority, for the ninth number of the program reads: "A Poem. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Cambridge." The *New England Palladium* of August 28 says that "Holmes, of Cambridge . . . came forward

¹ The original manuscript of this unpublished poem is in the Harvard University Archives.

² *The Harvard Book*, Frederick O. Vaille and Henry A. Clark, Editors (Cambridge, 1875), II. 165.

with modesty and childlike innocence to beguile the audience . . . and made the ladies the subject of his song."

The proximity of the Abiel Holmes house to the College Yard and the resulting fact that young Holmes, a recent graduate in 1830, continued to live in Cambridge, occupied ostensibly with the study of law, are sufficient reasons to explain his contacts with Harvard undergraduate life even after his graduation. It is no more than natural that he should have been drawn into the project of a literary magazine, *The Collegian*, devoted to verse and prose written by Harvard students. The list of writers included, besides Holmes, the brothers Epes and John Osborne Sargent and, for one contribution, John Lothrop Motley. The true names of the authors were nowhere revealed in the magazine, but in the table of contents for the six numbers which were the span of the *Collegian's* life, asterisks were placed against twenty-three of the titles, with a note to the effect that the poems so indicated were all from the pen of one writer. The presence of the familiar titles "The Toad Stool," "The Dorchester Giant," and "The Spectre Pig" among these starred titles reveals that the author so designated was none other than Holmes. Harvard and its doings form the subject of four of his *Collegian* poems. In "The Meeting of the Dryads" he jokingly deploras the attempts that had been made at what we now call tree surgery on the elms of the College Yard:

Go on, fair Science; soon to thee
Shall Nature yield her idle boast;
Her vulgar fingers formed a tree,
But thou hast trained it to a post.

In another of these poems a "Mysterious Visitor," a specter student of old days, appears at chapel and later sits down with the students at "commons":

How fled the sugar from the bowl!
How sunk the azure cream!
They vanished like the shapes that float
Upon a summer's dream.

These two poems are both in the Appendix to the Cambridge edition of Holmes's poems. The third *Collegian* poem was, justly enough, omitted from his collected works; it is "The Graduate's Song" ("For once I was a Sophomore and now I am a man"), of little interest ex-

cept as it may depict the sporting student of that day. The fourth poem, "Scene from an Unpublished Play," has a college setting.

After graduation from college, after the study of law had been taken up for a few months and then dropped, and with some three years' medical studies to his credit, young Holmes securely locked the poetic Muse where she might no longer disturb more serious things, hied him to Paris, and there devoted himself with indefatigable energy to his chosen profession. He attended lectures, made dissections, haunted the hospitals, and was elected to a serious society for medical improvement. After an absence abroad of two and a half years he returned to Boston, an alert, scientifically trained, and skillful physician. He soon discovered that his college had not forgotten Holmes the poet, the Holmes who, in September, 1830, had electrified the whole country with his "Old Ironsides." Poetic fame of a wholly different nature had come to him from his humorous "Ballad of the Oysterman," for had it not been sung with great applause by the popular actor George Washington Dixon at the Chatham Theatre in New York, and had it not been distributed on small fliers or handbills which had been printed close by Faneuil Hall in Boston, also printed in Providence, Middlebury, Vermont, and probably elsewhere? So Holmes, this time Doctor Holmes, was invited to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa poem at Harvard at the exercises on September 1, 1836. Holmes committed the poem to memory, and its delivery occupied more than an hour. The occasion has been several times described, but I question if Professor Charles Eliot Norton's comments are known, made in 1887, fifty years after the delivery of the poem. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* of April 1, 1887, contains a report of an authors' reading to promote the Longfellow monument fund, at which Norton introduced Holmes in this fashion:

Fifty years ago last summer there was an astonishing scene in the meeting house at Cambridge. A stripling who but a few months before had watched Clemence as she tripped away from him down the Rue de Seine, stepped forward on the platform before a crowded audience to deliver a Phi Beta poem which he had the audacity to cram full of genuine poetry, not the sham article usually provided for such occasions. He had actually inserted in it that ringing lyric, which everybody knows by heart:

Ay, tear her tattered ensign down, etc.

The muse had said to this boy: "Thou shalt redress the lack of two lean centuries, and all the pent-up wit and humor and fancy of 200 years shall find vent

through thee." As the youth went on with his poem, the stiffest lip relaxed, the dullest hands found themselves clapping.

Et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu

"And mighty praise all round about was heard."

The applause bursting through the windows and doors of the meeting house was taken up outside, and for 50 years, whenever the same voice has been heard, has run, gathering on, crossing the continent and crossing the sea, echoing and re-echoing, till today we catch it up with plaudits fresh as ever, for triumphs fresh as ever, as I speak the name of Oliver Wendell Holmes. I introduce to you this "profligate and amusing writer."

This Phi Beta Kappa poem of 1836 is contained in the editions of the poet's collected works with the title, "Poetry, a Metrical Essay," its first printing being soon after its delivery, at the head of the 1836 edition of his poems. The irrepressible Holmes, even for so solemn an occasion as a Phi Beta Kappa poem, was unable to refrain from entertaining his audience with light banter. When reprinting the poem later, in the attractive "Blue and Gold" edition of 1862, he confessed, in a note at the end of the volume, that a few lines "perhaps deficient in dignity" had been omitted from the poem in its first printing and were then "appended in this clandestine manner for the gratification of some of my audience." But if Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was present on the occasion, is to be believed, not all the originally suppressed lines were restored. Higginson asserts¹ that Holmes named various young ladies present including:

A hundred Marys, and that only one
Whose smile awaits me when my song is done.

And then, so says Higginson, all the young ladies looked at one particular young lady,² who blushed hard—and was so little captivated that a few months afterwards her engagement came out to a friend of his, John Lothrop Motley, whom she afterwards married.

Undaunted by the hour-long Phi Beta Kappa poem or by any remarks that might have been made on the more undignified passages, Holmes was ready the next week with a longish poem for the dinner following the Harvard bicentennial anniversary exercises of September 8, 1836. This is the oft-quoted poem beginning "When the Puritans came over," which was written at the suggestion of Dr. Jacob

¹ *Old Cambridge* (New York, 1899), 82-83 (essay on Holmes); manuscript notes of a portion of Higginson's lecture "People I Have Met" in the possession of Mr. Seth T. Gano of Belmont.

² Mary Benjamin, daughter of Park Benjamin.

Bigelow to enliven the occasion. It was sung by Holmes *in propria persona* to the tune of the old "Poachers' Song." Its closing lines are:

God bless the ancient Puritans!
 Their lot was hard enough;
 But honest hearts make iron arms,
 And tender maids are tough;
 So love and faith have formed and fed
 Our true-born Yankee stuff,
 And keep the kernel in the shell
 The British found so rough!

Thus the series of poems and songs was initiated which audiences and newspaper men began to expect from Holmes at Harvard gatherings. According to Higginson, there would be cries for "Holmes! Holmes!" and willing hands would help the little man clamber on the table that he might better be seen and heard. Such was the "Questions and Answers" poem, which the Cambridge edition assigns to the class dinner of 1852, but which there is every evidence for believing was sung by Holmes ten years earlier at the Phi Beta Kappa dinner of 1841. The Phi Beta Kappa record book gives a brief account of this dinner on August 26, 1841, and states that Holmes "wrote and sung a song for the occasion." This information is supplemented by the testimony of the old manuscript "Naushon Island Book," which contains contemporary records of the doings at the summer home of the Forbes family.¹ Songs popular at the summer gatherings there were often copied into these records, and there we find the "Questions and Answers" song with the statement that it was "Sung at the Phi Beta, 1841."²

The long "Terpsichore" poem ("An After-Dinner Poem"), written for the Phi Beta Kappa dinner of 1843, could scarcely have enlivened the occasion, and it was, perhaps, as an antidote that the next year Holmes recited the *soi disant* impromptu "Verses for After Dinner" ("How hard it will be if that cannibal president calls upon me"). The inauguration of President Everett in 1846 was the occasion of an after-dinner poem, "A Modest Request," and three years later the inauguration dinner of President Sparks was enlivened by lines bearing the punning title "A Scintilla." This was distributed,

¹ The privilege of studying these records was extended to me by our fellow member W. Cameron Forbes.

² As this entry, unquestionably a contemporary one, appears in the oldest portion of the "Naushon Island Book," the proof is irrefutable.

printed on a small slip, without the author's name. It was reprinted, still anonymously, in the pamphlet account of the inauguration ceremonies. Fortunately Holmes gave to Charles Folsom, then librarian of the Boston Athenæum, an autograph copy which indicates the author's name, and this autograph now reposes in the Harvard Library to prove the poem the work of Holmes.

The Harvard Alumni Association celebrated on July 16, 1857, with what was then designated as a triennial festival. The next morning the *Boston Daily Advertiser* printed, without naming the author, a "Parting Song" which had been sung on this occasion. Some four years later Holmes established his claim to authorship by printing the lines in a collection of his recent poems, "Songs in Many Keys." A few months ago, leafing over material in the Harvard University Archives, I stumbled on the "Parting Song," printed on a slip, with the heading, "Harvard College. Festival of the Association of the Alumni, July 16, 1857. The Parting Song." This had been printed for distribution at the dinner on that day and, because it did not bear the author's name, has been overlooked by collectors of Holmesiana.

The poem by Holmes "No Time Like the Old Time," printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1865, and included in the collected poems without indication of its origin, may without doubt be attributed to the Phi Beta Kappa dinner of 1865. Holmes, writing to Mrs. Caroline L. Kellogg of Pittsfield on July 22, 1865,¹ sends her a copy of his poem read at the Commemoration dinner of the preceding day. He further writes: "You will like some little verses I read at Phi Beta Kappa Society if you see them in some future number of the *Atlantic*—not just yet." Two months later, in the October *Atlantic*, we find his "No Time Like the Old Time," just the poem he would have written as an after-dinner contribution to a college function. Cumulative evidence is afforded by a letter from Holmes to James T. Fields² containing these words:

I am glad you like any lines I write, but both the copies of verses were like the bouquets of the evening, for use on that occasion only. I do not mean to print either of them and only sent them to amuse an idle moment. I think the ΦBK verses on the other hand are well worth saving and am delighted to let them off through the *Atlantic*.

This letter is dated simply "21 Charles Street, July 25." It fits, how-

¹ The original letter is in the Harvard College Library.

² The original letter is in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

ever, so neatly with the poem in question, and the coincidence of date is such that I have no hesitation in assigning the letter to 1865, thus making it refer to this song.

An interesting and important group of Harvard poems by Holmes comprises those written in honor or in memory of men whose connection with the university was particularly close. In the list of those so remembered will be found the names of Joseph Warren, the patriot, Louis Agassiz, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Benjamin Peirce, Benjamin Apthorp Gould, and Francis Parkman. In 1855 Lowell went on a European tour preparatory to assuming the professorship of belles lettres from which Longfellow had just retired. Charles Eliot Norton, in a letter to Arthur H. Clough,¹ tells how Lowell, a short time before leaving, entertained a few friends at supper, when the exchange of pleasant talk extended into the small hours of the morning. To Longfellow and Holmes, walking towards Craigie House after leaving Elmwood, came the plan for a more formal farewell dinner, to be given on the very eve of Lowell's departure. The consummation of this plan came on the evening of May 29 at the Revere House in Boston. Norton wrote concerning this dinner: "Holmes read a little poem of Farewell that he had written, and then after an interval filled up with conversation he produced two letters addressed to Lowell, one from the Rev. Homer Wilbur and the other from Hosea Biglow. They were very cleverly done, full of humour and fun. . . ." These epistles can be no other than two humorous poems now preserved among the Lowell papers in the Harvard College Library, never yet, so far as I can learn, having been printed. The first purports to come from the Reverend Homer Wilbur, D.D., the distinguished editor of the *Biglow Papers*:

The Reverend Homer Wilbur sends
 His best respects to brother Lowell,
 Would come to meet him with his friends
 If Homer Junior was not so ill.
 Is loath to trouble Brother L.
 Desires to send his special blessing,
 A note of several things as well
 H.W.'s anxious for possessing.

¹ *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Editors (Boston and New York, 1913), I. 129.

A pocket copy—if it's found
 Of all the earlier Christian fathers,
 "Daimōn, or Satan's Arm Unbound,"
 A missing tract of Cotton Mather's,
 Item a lock of Wickliff's hair,
 And Calvin's book on Revelation.
 Please ask if Reverend Jubb can spare
 His Pedlingtonian dissertation.

Likewise a portrait of the lad
 The ninth or tenth of Smithfield's martyr.
 I send my own (which cant be had)
 To trade with in the way of barter.
 The Lord be with my youthful friend
 And save his lot from all disaster—
 Please dont forget it when you send
 To pay the postage for your pastor.

In the second poem Hosea Biglow sends his regrets as follows:

Hosea Biglow's folks is gone
 Down east to see his Uncle Franklin.
 He's lame, to home—he's spilt the bone
 That keeps the sinnews of the ankle on.
 He'd like to come and see ye all
 And says he's greatly disappointed,
 But taint so serious arter all
 As Hosey's sorter double jinted.

Hosea he dont drink no toast
 But tadpoles and Cochituate water,
 He says you're jail-birds eenamost
 For swallerin what you hadnt ought ter,
 Besides he says he kinder thinks
 The police comes and tastes the leavins,
 And calc'lates when theyve done their drinks
 They'll go and peach on Pason Stevens.

Strangely enough the manuscript of the Homer Wilbur lines was endorsed by Lowell as "Autograph of O.W.H.'s poem on my 40th birthday, 1859." Lowell's memory was certainly at fault respecting the date. The two poems turn up together in the Lowell papers and must be the lines to which Norton referred in the letter just quoted, which describes the dinner of 1855. If Holmes had been in the habit of writing to Lowell in the guise of Hosea Biglow or Homer Wilbur, surely some inkling of this would have come down to us. A close ex-

amination of the document brings under suspicion the date 1859 assigned by Lowell in his endorsement, for it consists of a half-sheet of note paper that would seem to have been torn from a note to Mrs. Holmes. The verso of the page containing the lines in question bears the address, "Mrs. O. W. Holmes, 8 Montgomery Place. With Mr. Brewer's respects." The Holmeses left Montgomery Place in the early summer of 1858, and it would be surprising, if we accept Lowell's date of 1859, that Dr. Holmes could then be utilizing a blank sheet torn from a letter received in a different house, more than a year earlier.

Another poem written to honor a Harvard celebrity was "The Gray Chief," read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, May 25, 1859. In connection with this poem it is necessary to correct a bit of misinformation in the editions of the collected poems of Holmes, where it is stated that this poem was in honor of Dr. Jacob Bigelow. A careful reading of the report of this meeting, printed in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for June 2, 1859, will show clearly and unmistakably that Holmes was honoring on this particular occasion, not Dr. Bigelow, but Dr. James Jackson, who was at the time Hersey Professor, *Emeritus*, of the Theory and Practice of Physic and was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of receiving from Harvard the degree of M.D. It is scarcely necessary to recall that Dr. Jackson had been Holmes's chief instructor in medicine back in 1831.

In the years preceding the War between the States Holmes did not enter publicly into the discussion of the political and social matters involved. He was, in fact, so lukewarm on the abolition question that in his address before the New England Society in the City of New York, December 21, 1855, his references to disunion and the race problem elicited hisses from the portion of the audience which followed the lead of Garrison and Whittier. After Lincoln's call for volunteers the departure to the front of young men of his acquaintance and of his own son elicited from Holmes an outburst of patriotic fervor, particularly during the early years of the war. In the year 1861 Holmes wrote in all some fourteen poems; all but two are war poems. In 1862 there are six war poems and two others. His lines for the Phi Beta Kappa dinner of 1862, "Never or Now" (originally read with the title "Now or Never"), are an appeal for enlistment and will be found in the collected poems. It is not generally known that

rising to deliver these lines he prefixed an introduction, also in verse, printed in the newspapers of the day, but since then almost forgotten, although Mr. John M. Forbes copied them at the time into the manuscript "Naushon Island Book," and printed them in the privately issued *Old Scrap-Book* of 1884. In reading these lines it is well to recall that those present were grouped by classes.

In vain the common theme my lips would shun;
 All tongues, all thoughts, all hearts, can find but one.
 Our alcoves, where the noisy world was dumb,
 Throb with dull drum-beats, and the echoes come
 Laden with sounds of battle and wild cries,
 That mingle their discordant symphonies.
 Old books from yonder shelves are whispering, "Peace!
 This is the realm of letters, not of strife."
 Old graves in yonder field are saying, "Cease!
Hic jacet ends the noisiest mortal's life."
 —Shut your old books! What says the telegraph?
 We want an Extra, not an epitaph.

Old Classmates (Time's unconscious almanacs,
 Counting the years we leave behind our backs,
 And wearing them in wrinkles on the brow
 Of friendship with his kind "How are you *now*?")
 Take us by the hand, and speak of times that were.—
 Then comes a moment's pause: "Pray, tell me where
 Your boy is now! Wounded, as I am told."
 "Twenty?" "What—bless me! twenty-one years old!"
 "Yes,—time moves fast." That's so. Old classmate, say,
 Do you remember *our* Commencement Day?
 Were we such boys as these at twenty? Nay,
 God called them to a nobler task than ours,
 And gave them holier thoughts and manlier powers,—
 This is the day of fruits and not of flowers!
 These "boys" we talk about like ancient sages
 Are the same *men* we read of in old pages,—
 The bronze recast of dead heroic ages!

We grudge them not,—our dearest, bravest, best,—
 Let but the quarrel's issue stand confest:
 'Tis Earth's old slave-God battling for his crown
 And Freedom fighting with her visor down!

Each of us owes the rest his best endeavor,
 Take these few lines! We'll call them

NOW OR NEVER.

The touching lines that Holmes read at the dinner following the Commemoration Services in Cambridge, July 21, 1865 (the same occasion on which Lowell delivered his Commemoration Ode) and the two Memorial Hall hymns by Holmes, one in 1870 and the other in 1874, are too well known to require comment here. These three poems in themselves are the greenest leaves in the chaplet with which we today are crowning the Autocrat.

At the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College (November 8, 1886) Holmes delivered a long poem which had the misfortune of being misinterpreted by Dr. James McCosh, President of Princeton, who was present, representing his college. Holmes alluded to the liberalizing change that had come to pass in theological belief, even at Andover Theological Seminary, the stronghold of Calvinism. To make clear the situation, the offending passage is here quoted. Note that after speaking of Princeton, Holmes uttered two lines beginning with the words "Nay on the hill where old beliefs were bound," intending thus to refer to Andover Seminary. Dr. McCosh, listening as the lines were read, not unnaturally thought that in these lines Holmes was still continuing to refer to Princeton. To show his displeasure he gathered his robes about him and departed for home. Here is the passage:

Dear unborn children, to our Mother's trust
We leave you, fearless, when we lie in dust:

While o'er those portals *Veritas* you read
No church shall bind you with its human creed.

As once of old from Ida's lofty height
The flaming signal flashed across the night,
So Harvard's beacon sheds its unspent rays
Till every watch-tower shows its kindling blaze.
Caught from a spark and fanned by every gale,
A brighter radiance gilds the roofs of Yale;
Amherst and Williams bid their flambeaus shine,
And Bowdoin answers through her groves of pine;
O'er Princeton's sands the far reflections steal,
Where mighty Edwards stamped his iron heel;
Nay, on the hill where old beliefs were bound
Fast as if Styx had girt them nine times round,
Bursts such a light that trembling souls inquire
If the whole church of Calvin is on fire!

President Eliot's letter to President McCosh, explaining Holmes's meaning and assuring Dr. McCosh that no slur upon Princeton was intended, has lately been printed.¹ It must be quoted here:

*Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
10 Nov. 1886*

MY DEAR DR. MCCOSH:

THE Secretary has handed me your note of yesterday. I need not say that its contents give me great concern. Dr. Holmes said something regrettable about a dry creed, but I thought he referred to the Andover creed, against which he has often pointed his lance. I did not catch a word directed against Princeton. As Dr. Holmes has not allowed the newspapers to publish his poem, I have no means of verifying my impression. But however this may be, I am sure that you will not hold me, or the University, accountable for anything which either Mr. Lowell or Dr. Holmes said. They spoke as they pleased, and nobody here knew what they were going to say. I never saw or heard a line of either oration or poem before I listened to them with you in the Theatre.

We were much embarrassed about honorary degrees in philosophy. You already hold our LL.D. . . .

I am very sorry that you left Cambridge under a sense of annoyance and injury, and wish very much that I could have had opportunity of talking with you before you went away. I looked for you in vain at the dinner and at the evening reception. I wanted particularly to thank you for taking part in the Sunday morning service. The exercises of Sunday were as interesting to many people as those of Monday.

Please remember me kindly to Mrs. McCosh and believe me, Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT

The *New York Times* of November 17, 1886, contained the following letter to the press from Dr. McCosh:

*College of New-Jersey
Princeton, N. J., Nov. 15, 1886*

I HASTEN to express my acceptance of the explanation given by Dr. Holmes, that only two lines of his poem relate to Princeton. As I heard him read, without the punctuation now in his printed poem, I understood that the following four lines referred to Princeton:

"O'er Princeton's sands the far reflections steal,
Where mighty Edwards stamped his iron heel.
Nay, on the hill where old beliefs were bound,
Fast as if Styx had girt them nine times round."

But he now explains that the two last of these lines relate to the creed of Andover. I must, therefore, leave them with that institution.

¹ *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, XL (February 16, 1940), 437; reprinted in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XLII (March 8, 1940), 705.

I have also to acknowledge the favors shown by Harvard College to me personally in the matter of a degree, and could expect nothing further. But the fact remains that on the occasion of an important anniversary the good-will shown to other institutions all about us was withheld from Princeton, which I was invited to represent. I acknowledge that Harvard had a right to bestow its honors where it chose, but, surrounded as I am by a body of Professors carrying on original research and printing their results for the public in books and periodicals, I thought it strange that no notice was taken of our college. I still feel that I had the same right to give expression to my feelings of indignation as Harvard had to withhold the recognition she gave to others.

I wish the public to understand that this is the first communication I have sent to the press on this subject.

JAMES MCCOSH

Correspondence between Presidents McCosh and Eliot, on file in the Harvard Archives, indicates that the breach soon healed, for the next month Dr. McCosh expressed his pleasure that they were in agreement on certain matters relating to intercollegiate athletic contests. Dr. Rufus Cole of New York has recently loaned me the briefest of brief notes by Holmes, which, though undated, surely refers to this incident. Holmes writes: "Poor dear Dr. McCosh was in too much of a hurry. *Perfervidum ingenium Scotorum.*"

And now for a word about the poems written for the dinners of the Class of 1829, forty-two poems in thirty-nine years, from 1851 to 1889.

*Will I come? That is pleasant! I beg to inquire
If the gun that I carry has ever missed fire?
And which was the muster-roll—mention but one—
That missed your old comrade who carries the gun?*

These class-dinner poems are too well known to be described here at length or in detail. One does not open the volume containing them without being induced to read here and skim there with fascination. They depict the intimate and ever strengthening friendships of a group, all with the identical background of college life, a group large enough to embrace those in close touch with the world of affairs, so small that each member knows the others with intimacy:

Where Friendship unfolds there is Paradise still.

This series of poems began when the group was nearly twenty-two years out of college. It is interesting to observe that Holmes from the start shows that natural tendency of always considering oneself old as one looks back on life. For the twenty-fifth anniver-

sary of graduation, Holmes himself but forty-five years old, the title of his poem is "The Old Man Dreams." The next year's poem has the lines:

The morn has fled, the noon has passed
The sun will soon be set.

But it was thirty-four years before the setting took place.

As these years pass there is a growing pathos as the circle contracts, and the poems more frequently pay tribute to those just gone. From time to time comes apologetic self-depreciation of the writer for so regularly firing his gun:

It's awful to think of,—how year after year
With his piece in his pocket he waits for you here;
No matter who's missing, there always is one
To lug out his manuscript, sure as a gun.

Or again, in laughing acknowledgment of the pardonable infirmities of old age:

Can it be one of Nature's benevolent tricks
That you grow hard of hearing as I grow prolix?
And that look of delight which would angels beguile
Is the deaf man's prolonged unintelligent smile?

The class-dinner poems are intimate in character, except for five patriotic outbursts during the years 1861-1865 and the poem "How Not to Settle It," written when war talk was again rife over the disputed Hayes-Tilden election. This last poem was crowded into the *Atlantic Monthly* at the last moment, the issue of February, 1877, containing it having actually been recalled from the binder's hands in order to insert it.

After having to this point tried my best to confine myself to well-documented facts, I cannot resist indulging in one bit of surmise. I have discovered among the Holmes manuscripts in the Harvard College Library one written in his own hand which has apparently not hitherto come to the attention of students of Holmes's work. It has seemed to me that it might well have been intended for a class-dinner poem, and for one of the last. My suspicions are based simply on the reference in the early lines to the close of day and then to such lines as these:

We, flung together as the seeds are thrown,
The sower's hand has strown,

.

We whom the years have tried
And clustered closer, striving to divide,
Beside our altar kneel. . . .

Since the poem has not, to my knowledge, been printed, and since, furthermore, I have never even seen any reference to it, I quote it here in full.

While sunset stains the windows of the west,
In parting glory drest,
Ere yet the evening star leads in the hours
That hush all voices in their leafy bowers,
Save the lone bird's that shuns the light;
Ere in the burning chamber of the night,
With sacramental rite
Of dewdrops on the cerements of the flowers,
Its burden dropped, its sins confessed,
The day is laid to rest,
We, flung together as the seeds are thrown,
The sower's hand has strown,
But clinging as the iron sands that feel
The soul-like effluence of the enchanted steel,—
We whom the years have tried
And clustered closer, striving to divide,
Beside our altar kneel,
And thank the gracious Power that made our own
The love that life has known.

For what has life but love when all is told?
Fame? pleasure? empire? gold?
Fame breeds the worm that gnaws its greenest leaves;
Pleasure is hope that smiles and still deceives:
Power! target of envenomed cares!
Gold! See the rippled brow, the ash-hued hairs,
Its hoarding vassal wears!
A sable woof the loom of fate inweaves
With every web by time unrolled;
Love, only love it lends a stainless fold.

The Man Who Murdered Garfield

By STEWART MITCHELL¹

“A DISAPPOINTED office-seeker.” For over sixty years this hackneyed phrase has served, and most inadequately, to describe the strange creature who murdered James Abram Garfield. The constant recourse to it, time and again, seems to have been mere laziness, though there is almost nothing in print on the subject of the assassin—or nothing easily accessible and reliable. Booth and Czolgosz are both in Jameson’s *Dictionary of United States History* and Adams’s *Dictionary of American History*; but neither of these publications, nor Appleton’s *Cyclopædia*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, nor any similar work contains so much as a line on Charles Julius Guiteau. Even in Professor Smith’s definitive biography of Garfield the assassin is mentioned only briefly and casually. Nor are contemporary newspaper accounts of the crime of much help: the earliest report of the assassination in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, for instance, states that President Garfield had been shot by a man named “Dooty.” Several inches below in the same column “Dooty” becomes “Gatto,” a man who had been removed from office as United States Consul at Marseille!

And yet there is a huge amount of material in print on the subject of Guiteau—but scattered so far and buried so deep that digging it up takes time and patience. Much of this information is salted away in the files of half a dozen medical magazines, for the physicians and specialists argued long, and many of them bitterly, over the character and legal responsibility of the murderer. The chief source for accurate knowledge of his life is the complete stenographic report of his trial for murder: November 14, 1881, to January 25, 1882—Garfield having died of his wound on September 19, 1881. This official record fills three big volumes, with a total of 2,681 pages. Turning also from one out-of-the-way book to another, one can collect a fair bibliography. Careful study shows that through most of the dark course of his wretched adult life Guiteau was a religious fanatic, bedeviled by delusions of grandeur. During many of his mature years he thought of himself as a latter-day St. Paul; later on he likened himself to Abraham, ready to kill at the command of

¹ This paper was read at the March, 1944, meeting.

God. The motive and the circumstances of his crime are strikingly similar to those of John Felton, who killed the Duke of Buckingham for the good and the safety—so he insisted—of the whole kingdom of England and made no attempt to escape.

Charles Julius Guiteau—one of his frequent interruptions of the trial was an outburst on the proper pronunciation of his last name, which rhymes with “veto”—came of able and industrious forebears. The family was French Huguenot in origin. The first trace of it in this country appears at Lanesborough, north of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was there that Francis Guiteau, Sr. (1736–1814), settled and became a successful physician. From Lanesborough three brothers, sons of Francis, Sr.—Francis, Jr. (1765–1825), Luther (1778–1850), and Calvin, a surveyor—emigrated to central New York shortly after the end of the American Revolution. Calvin drops out of sight; Francis settled at Whitesboro and, later, at Utica, near by; while Luther established himself at Trenton Falls. Both these sons became physicians, and each attained some distinction. Luther was a leading citizen of his neighborhood; for many years he served as President of the Oneida County Medical Society. In 1819 he was elected to the legislature, but he soon decided that he liked his practice better than politics and refused public office thereafter. One sentence of an address which he delivered to the students of the Fairfield Medical College is amusing: “And shun as a bane of your profession, any approximation of that senseless, brainless, cold-blooded, semi-vital being, denominated a quack.”¹ Luther’s elder son, Luther, Jr., also became a physician and was still living at Trenton Falls in 1881.

The second son of Luther, Sr.—Frederick William Guiteau (1811–1903)—is of passing interest. Having gone to the district school at Trenton Falls, Frederick William became a teacher at sixteen. Three years later he entered the employment of Ammi Dows, a produce and commission merchant at Utica. After two years Mr. Dows admitted him to partnership, and in 1835 the firm of Dows & Guiteau opened an office in New York City. Not long thereafter the partners moved all the business there and prospered to such an extent that in 1857 Guiteau, whose health had become “impaired,” was able to retire and go abroad with his only sister for a long tour of Europe. Shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War he settled

¹ Pomroy Jones, *Annals of Oneida County* (Rome, New York, 1851), 472–475.

down at Irvington-on-Hudson, where he spent the rest of a long and quiet life. This Guiteau was a great reader and not only collected a good library for himself, but gave a generous sum of money for the founding of the Guiteau Library at Irvington. He established a public library also at Trenton Falls, the place of his birth. He retired at forty-six, never married, and died on October 5, 1903, at the age of ninety-two. He left a handsome legacy, "The F. W. Guiteau Student Loan Fund," to Cornell University, which he had never even seen, and the income from this money helps needy persons through that college to this day. One can only imagine the anguish of this eminently respectable citizen, already seventy years of age, when a son of his first cousin killed the President of the United States.

The eldest son of the first Francis Guiteau, Dr. Francis Guiteau, Jr., who finally settled at Utica, New York, had a large practice all over Oneida County. At one time he owned a drugstore with a Dr. Solomon Wolcott. The best local historian describes him as follows:

Dr. Guiteau was six feet in height and rather spare of flesh, erect and active, of firm fiber, and well fitted to endure labor and fatigue. In manners he was genial and pleasant, but decided in his opinions and free in the expression of them. A leading man among the Baptists and a zealous advocate of their principles of belief, he was sensitive to any opposition to his religious views. He was also a strong Democrat. During the war [of 1812] he invented an explosive missile designed for sinking ships, for which he received a grant from [the] government.¹

This Dr. Francis Guiteau, Jr., grandfather of the assassin and "eminent in the early history of Utica," married Hannah Wilson, by whom he had eleven children. Not all of them lived long, or even happy, lives:

One paternal uncle of the assassin died insane in an asylum, a second was a drunkard and finally imbecile; of one paternal aunt, who died of "consumption," and who had an insane daughter, her husband having also been insane, it was testified and denied that she was morbidly in dread of her family's going to the poorhouse; another paternal aunt, with regard to whose mental condition the testimony was contradictory, but of whom there was some evidence of insanity, had an insane son, committed to an insane asylum. Guiteau's paternal grandmother died of consumption.²

¹ Moses M. Bagg, *The Pioneers of Utica* (Utica, 1877), 120-121.

² Charles F. Folsom, *Studies of Criminal Responsibility and Limited Responsibility* (Privately printed, [Boston], 1909), 21.

The last of the eleven children of Francis Guiteau, Jr., was a son, Luther Wilson Guiteau (1810-1880), who married Jane Howe, by whom he had five children. Of these, three survived infancy: John Wilson (1834), who ultimately became a reasonably respectable insurance agent in Boston; Frances (1836), who married George W. Scoville, a lawyer in Chicago; and Charles Julius (1841-1882). This Luther Wilson Guiteau was something of a person. As a young man he left New York State and went out to the West. He stopped off at Ann Arbor, Michigan, where a sister Julia, a Mrs. William S. Maynard, had settled, and then in September, 1839, established himself in Freeport, Illinois. There he set up as a merchant, but he soon failed at this business. Later he was elected Clerk of the Circuit Court of Stevenson County, serving for one term. Subsequently he became Cashier of the Second National Bank of Freeport and held this office for twelve years, that is, until his death in 1880. To all intents and purposes Luther Wilson Guiteau was a practical, successful citizen, with numbers of loyal friends. One of the public schools of Freeport bears his name. But there was another, and a darker, side of his character. Reasonably reliable testimony accuses him of "delusions with regard to his own intimate relations with the Deity" and "attempts to cure the insane by the laying on of hands."¹

In 1864, when he took his crazy sister-in-law to the Central Hospital for the Insane at Jacksonville, Illinois, he found that asylum so interesting that he remained there during several days. He consorted with the inmates and conversed with the superintendent, Dr. Andrew MacFarland, who seems to have thought that Guiteau himself might have done well to sign up for an indefinite stay. Nor was he an ideal parent. He beat his younger son, Charles Julius, savagely because the poor little boy was unable to pronounce certain words correctly—he called a pail, for instance, a "quail." Banker Guiteau was a strong Whig, and later, of course, a Republican—and an ardent admirer of the ineffable Henry Ward Beecher and of Horace Greeley. Shortly after the death of his first wife he became deeply interested in the ideas of the Oneida Community and its founder, John Humphrey Noyes. The two men corresponded for many years, and at one time Guiteau would have joined the Community himself except for the strenuous objections of his level-headed second wife.

¹ Folsom, *Studies*, 20.

John Humphrey Noyes is a striking instance of the peril in any purely personal approach to the Bible, that best and most dangerous of all books. The United States has been a hotbed of queer creeds, and Noyes of Oneida was not the least of our strange prophets. He was shrewd, industrious, dictatorial, and, above all, ambitious. More important still, he was well educated and well connected. His father, a Dartmouth man, had sat in the Congress; through his mother he was a first cousin of President Hayes; in 1862 his niece, Elinor Gertrude Mead, became the wife of William Dean Howells. Born in Brattleboro, Vermont, Noyes entered Dartmouth at fifteen and was graduated with high honors in 1830. He planned to take up law but soon abandoned it for theology, a subject which he studied both at Andover and at Yale. In due course he developed a unique belief as to the second coming of Christ, according to which all other Christians, especially Shakers and Seventh-Day Adventists, were obviously heretics. What was far more important to society, however, was his notion that property and women should be held in common. Worse still, Noyes proposed to put his belief into practice. Having returned to Vermont and married, he was arrested for adultery by the authorities of an outraged neighborhood but broke bail and fled to central New York, whither his faithful disciples followed him. At Oneida, in Madison County, about fifty men and women, some married and some single, established an association of artisans and farmers which flourished for many years. When this community was reorganized as a business and incorporated in 1881, it had assets of six hundred thousand dollars.

Just about this time, however, Noyes thought it better to seek refuge in Canada, where he took up his residence near the border, opposite Niagara Falls. There he died, safe and sanctified, in 1886. The fundamentals of his doctrine can be found in *The Berean*,¹ a collection of lectures published in 1847, and in the *First Annual Report of the Oneida Association* (1849).² The title of his book of essays derives from Acts xvii, 10-11:

¹ *The Berean: A Manual for the Help of Those Who Seek the Faith of the Primitive Church* (Putney, Vermont, 1847), 504.

² *First Annual Report of the Oneida Association: Exhibiting Its History, Principles, and Transactions to January 1, 1849* (Oneida Reserve, 1849). Noyes and his wife included, there were forty-seven members of the Community in 1849. The "Testimony of the Members" (43-66) is of considerable interest, as is also the doctrine as to "the restoration of true relations between the sexes" (27-39).

10. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night into Berea: who coming *thither* went into the synagogue of the Jews.

11. These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so.

St. John of Oneida may have "searched the scriptures daily," but the results of his searches were strange. One instance, to jump ahead of our story, will serve to illuminate his shady character. In 1868, shortly after young Guiteau had broken with Noyes for the second and the last time, the spiritual leader of the Oneida Community wrote his friend Luther Wilson Guiteau that his son, Charles Julius, was unquestionably not sane. Thirteen years later, however, during Guiteau's trial for murder, Noyes, from the safe distance of Canada, sent an open letter to the press, stating that he had never had any doubt whatever as to the sanity of his former disciple.¹ Thus Guiteau was "insane" in 1868—apparently because he had nagged Noyes into paying back the "balance" of his "investment" in Oneida; but in 1881 Guiteau was "sane" because Noyes obviously did not dare to leave his safe exile in Ontario to become a witness at Washington.

Jane Howe Guiteau, the mother of the murderer, "at the time of his birth, had been confined to her bed for some time with a disease attended with marked cerebral symptoms, for which her head had been shaved."² She was shut up in a room alone for months suffering from what was then called "brain fever." Charles Julius was the third and last of her five children to survive; a fourth and a fifth child, born later, died at the ages respectively of two years and twenty months. She herself died in 1848, at the age of thirty-three, when her younger son was only seven. Five years later, in June, 1853, Luther Wilson Guiteau married Maria Blood, a lady of Freeport³—thus incurring the fury of his second son. Modern psychology might offer an explanation for this reaction. Thereafter home was anything but happy. The boy went to school at Freeport to a Mr. Horatio G. Burchard, who was living in Washington in 1881, serving as Director of the United States Mint. When he was seventeen, Guiteau escaped to Chicago to live with his sister, Frances, who de-

¹ William W. Godding, *Two Hard Cases: Sketches from a Physician's Portfolio* (Boston and New York, 1882), 98-100.

² Folsom, *Studies*, 21.

³ H. G. and C. J. Hayes, *A Complete History of the Life and Trial of Charles Julius Guiteau, Assassin of President Garfield* (St. Louis, 1882), 23.

clared that he was always "very much attached" to her. There he attended Bell's Commercial College in Oak Park. Probably because of the hostility between father and son, Charles Julius made frequent visits to his maternal grandfather, Major John Howe, who lived in Ulao, a small Wisconsin town on Lake Michigan, just north of Milwaukee. Major Howe had made money as a steamboat captain and seems to have thought well of this grandson, who, he believed, was "the only Guiteau who would ever amount to anything." When he died in 1859, Howe, apparently ignoring the two older children, left Charles Julius a legacy of one thousand dollars.

Frances Guiteau, Mrs. Scoville, showed an almost fierce affection for her unstable younger brother, much of it maternal. Although she had married at sixteen and had two sons of her own, the wayward Charles Julius seems to have been the chief concern of her life. She stuck by him to the very last. In 1888 she published, at her own expense, under the name of Frances Marié Norton, a long-winded, tiresome novel entitled *The Stalwarts; or Who Were to Blame?* This book is full of affectation and sentimentality—and thinly disguised satirical portraits of politicians like Blaine. It lays the blame for Garfield's death on the President's enemies within his own party: her beloved brother had been the innocent tool of these unscrupulous schemers. The taste of the author is worse even than her style and her plot. On October 29, 1882, Mr. Scoville had his wife declared insane, alleging that she had suffered from epilepsy during all her married life.¹

In the summer of 1859 Charles Julius Guiteau left Freeport and Chicago for Ann Arbor, for he was determined to go to college. His father was bitterly opposed to this plan, but the windfall of an inheritance made the troublesome son independent and defiant. He settled down as a student at the University of Michigan, where William S. Maynard, the husband of his father's sister Julia, who had died in 1856, tried to keep an eye on him during his one academic year. The youth seems to have been incapable of serious study. Instead of learning his lessons, he, too, began to pore over the Bible. In the meantime the father he professed to hate bombarded him with religious tracts and long letters of pious advice quarried out of Noyes. Before long the son was reading *The Berean*.

Odd people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were

¹ *Alienist and Neurologist*, III (October, 1882), 688.

greatly concerned over the probable date of the second coming of Christ. The Millerites, in particular, made themselves notorious, and even ridiculous, on this subject. According to Noyes, however, the second coming had already occurred, Christ having appeared in the clouds over Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of that city by Titus. Then it was that He kept the promise that He had made and passed final judgment on the Jews. Gentiles would not be weighed in the balance until the end of the world. The sum and substance of the two little books which Guiteau was to publish some years later will be found in these writings of Noyes. Some passages are lifted from the master almost word for word. In one sense, however, Guiteau was a decided improvement on Noyes: he was not so long-winded. Noyes, it has been pointed out, planned to resume the practices of primitive Christianity on earth. To the best of his ability and understanding, he founded the Oneida Community on the basis of what are believed to have been Christ's instructions to his disciples—only one of several experiments with ideal Christian life in the United States. It is strange that Guiteau should have followed in the footsteps of his father, but the relations of parent and son were complex, and the fact that neither was well balanced makes any reasonable explanation of this circumstance impossible.

So it was, in the spring of 1860, in his nineteenth year, that Guiteau "got religion." His correspondence shows an apparent change of heart.¹ Much to the pleasure of his parent, Charles Julius decided to join the Oneida Community. Summoned to Michigan by Mr. Maynard, the faithful Frances rushed out to Ann Arbor in order to dissuade her brother, but, although she argued with him until midnight more than once, she failed.² The new disciple was determined; he entered Oneida in June, putting what was left of his legacy into the common pot of the Community. His two periods of residence with Noyes were neither profitable nor happy. For a short time, to be sure, all went well. On February 24, 1861, Guiteau wrote his brother-in-law, Mr. Scoville: "The Oneida Community is the beginning of the kingdom of God on earth."³ Noyes, how-

¹ See thirty letters of Guiteau to members of his family, written between October 18, 1857, and July 26, 1873, *Report of the Proceedings in the Case of the United States vs. Charles J. Guiteau, Tried in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Holding a Criminal Term, and Beginning November 14, 1881* (Washington, 1882), 522-524. This work is cited hereafter as *Trial of Guiteau*.

² Godding, *Two Hard Cases*, 84.

³ *Trial of Guiteau*, 319.

ever, found his new recruit unqualified for spiritual life and too indolent for the manual labor of farming and domestic manufacture. The thin, dark, moody young man loafed, brooded over the Bible, and picked quarrels with his companions. Yet he stayed on for almost five years, fleeing to Hoboken, New Jersey, on April 10, 1865. He had decided to give up religion for journalism.

Guiteau's first letter of farewell is revealing:

April [10], 1865

TO THE COMMUNITY: I am about to leave you. The movement about to be made has been long pondered and well considered, and I make it in obedience to an irresistible conviction that if I do it not a woe will be upon me. The most painful thing connected with it is leaving so many warm hearts, but I cannot yield to a pleasure-seeking spirit, and therefore must manfully obey the call of God. God and my own conscience drive me to the battle and I dare not draw back.

I now see very clearly why I was, nearly five years ago, drawn into this community and run through a most crucifying experience. It all means *preparation* for the great work of my life, which is to give Jesus Christ a daily paper. I know that I have received a vastly better education in the Oneida Community than I could have received at either West Point or Yale College. I sincerely thank the community for past forbearance and patience with me, and hope God will in due time reward them for it. I wish the community will [*sic*] avoid all unnecessary talk about this movement and let me *withdraw* as quietly as possible. If the community would make me *free* to visit them whenever it may be expedient for both parties, I should deem it a great favor. Should our folks choose to visit me they will be heartily welcome.

Adieu.

CHARLES J. GUITEAU¹

Yet he returned to the Community in August, 1865, and left the earthly paradise for good and all only in November, 1866, when he fled to New York City. He always "indignantly denied" the story that he was expelled. Following an exchange of angry letters he got a payment of \$550 out of Noyes after threatening to sue him for it.² He had lived like "a Shaker" at Oneida, so he said, and had come to the conclusion that its founder was "an old scoundrel." Noyes, for his part, seems to have been glad to be rid of his troublesome disciple.

The six years at Oneida were poisonous for Guiteau. To a flamboyant admiration for General Grant and Horace Greeley he now

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 673-674.

² Letter of Guiteau to Scoville, January 3, 1867: "I have just settled with the Community, and received their check for \$550, it being the amount due me." *Trial of Guiteau*, 549.

added odds and ends of the noxious nonsense which Noyes had made out of the Bible. Thereafter his cloudy ambition wobbled between politics and preaching; he was politician and prophet, by turns, for the rest of his life. The success stories in Greeley's *Tribune* seem to have developed delusions of grandeur in his feeble brain. One crazy scheme after another took possession of him; there was nothing of which he was incapable. He loafed in public libraries, haunted churches and revival meetings, and roamed about the country, living, when he could, on his scattered and numerous relations. If his clothing was noticeably queer, his personal habits were almost puritanical—he never smoked, drank, or gambled, or even went to the theater. Once he had become notorious, people remembered his alternating moods of silence and incorrigible talk. He was always reading the Bible; he would lapse into sudden fits of prayer and liked to rail against the Mormons.¹

After a grandiose scheme to found a "Theocratic Press," in which he was to play the part of a Horace Greeley to the Gospel once a day, Guiteau drifted back to Chicago in 1867. In August, 1868, he somehow got admitted to the bar—a strange story. It seems that a Charles H. Reed was invariably one of a committee of three delegated by the Supreme Court of Illinois to examine candidates who wished to practise law in Chicago. Reed did all the work of the committee and consequently passed or rejected the applicants. Merely by virtue of random reading and a clerkship in a law firm, Guiteau was palmed off on Illinois as a qualified attorney. After the great fire in Chicago in October, 1871, he moved back to New York and was admitted to practice there by virtue of his standing as a lawyer in Chicago.

A wife went along with him. On July 3, 1869, he had married a respectable young woman named Annie J. Bunn, whom he had met at the rooms of the Christian Association in Chicago. Man and wife drifted among the boardinghouses of the lower West Side of the city, living from hand to mouth on the slender profits of a collector of bills. When he earned no fees, Guiteau borrowed, or simply brazened his way as a dead beat through those dreary years. Having presented a letter from the Reverend W. W. Evarts, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Chicago, he joined the Calvary Baptist Church on West Twenty-Third Street, stating that the fire had driven him out of Chicago. Man and wife were received as members

¹ See the *New York Herald*, July 3, 4, 1881.

on September 27, 1872. Before long Guiteau had borrowed ninety-five dollars from the Reverend R. S. McArthur, who could hardly have believed the story that Horace Greeley was going to appoint Guiteau minister to Chile or Switzerland. This money went for unpaid board bills. Then the new member's attendance began to fall off, and Pastor McArthur became uneasy. Even Mrs. Guiteau was growing weary of her shiftless husband. Eventually she divorced him. His comment some years later on his marriage is characteristic: "I was not going to live with any woman all my life that I did not love. I had no business to have married that woman to start with. . . . I only married the woman on ten hours' notice."¹ Shortly thereafter Pastor McArthur called Guiteau before a committee of the Calvary Baptist Church. The culprit confessed to adultery with one Clara Jennings on September 1, 1873, and admitted that he was suffering from "a vile and loathsome disease"; whereupon he was finally expelled on April 23, 1875.

In 1872 Guiteau, the statesman, had been confronted with a dilemma: his two great heroes, Grant and Greeley, were pitted against each other for the presidency. Arguing that there was more chance for him with the "outs" than with the "ins," Guiteau supported Greeley, boasting, as we have seen, that he was going to be sent abroad, and borrowing money from easy marks on the strength of the boast. As Greeley folded up, Guiteau abandoned all hope of political preferment and returned to his shady business of collecting bills. He played the cheat right and left. Eighteen months later he made a serious mistake: he beat the fashionable St. Nicholas Hotel out of a week's room and board. He was promptly arrested and placed in the Tombs, where he spent five weeks. He was finally set free through the efforts of his brother-in-law, Mr. Scoville, who "happened to be in the city at the time"—and who settled with the hotel. Once he was out of jail, he brought a libel suit for one thousand dollars against the *New York Herald*, which had written him up gaily under the caption "A Profitable Collecting Lawyer." When his suit was thrown out of court, he offered to settle with T. B. Connerly, managing editor for the second James Gordon Bennett, for ten thousand dollars and "call the thing square."²

Early in 1875 Guiteau drifted back to Chicago and put up with the Scovilles—his sister Frances and her husband, who had a sum-

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 900.

² *Ibid.*, 558.

ERRATUM

Page 462, lines 31–32, *for* one thousand dollars *read* one hundred thousand dollars.

mer home in Waukesha County, Wisconsin. There, sometime during the spring of 1876, on a very warm day, his sister asked him to help her two sons, Louis and George, who were making hay. Their uncle aided them for a time but became overheated and went back into the house to lie down. Not long thereafter his sister asked him to cut her some wood, and he obediently departed for the barn. Sometime later, no wood having appeared, she went out to see what had become of her brother. She found him idle at the woodpile and complained of his indolence; whereupon he raised his axe at her in a threatening manner. Mrs. Scoville fled into the house and summoned the family physician, who pronounced the patient insane. While the Scovilles were wondering just what to do with him, Guiteau escaped from the house by the back door, his only baggage his Bible. The opinion of Frances is significant: "He was always in dead earnest. . . . I never knew him to do as other young men did in regard to games, or playing, or swimming, or anything at all like other young men. He was always by himself."¹

The collapse of the absurd campaign for Greeley, and Guiteau's five weeks in the Tombs did not turn the politician back into the prophet at once. In Chicago, Guiteau opened a law office on the first of February, 1875, but had little or no business. In December he laid plans to purchase the bankrupt *Chicago Inter-Ocean* and turn it into a duplication of the *New York Herald*. According to his scheme the contents of the *Herald* would be sent to Chicago by telegraph every day and printed there for an evening edition. All he needed was seventy-five thousand dollars in cash. First he approached John H. Adams, President of the Second National Bank of Chicago, with the proposal that if Adams would put up fifty thousand dollars, Guiteau would make him Governor of Illinois by supporting him for that office with what would be his newspaper. Discreet Mr. Adams was not ambitious: "He did not want to be governor." Blissfully undismayed, Guiteau turned to Charles B. Farwell, a Republican member of the House of Representatives from Chicago. He asked Farwell to lend him two hundred thousand dollars with which to purchase the *Inter-Ocean*, promising to repay him from the profits, and make him President of the United States to boot.² Farwell was not convinced: either he did not wish to be President or he did not

¹ *Ibid.*, 479.

² *Ibid.*, 560, 782-784.

like the thought of lending money. Partly for this reason, perhaps, Guiteau took no part in the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876.

Yet there seems to have been another reason, for he was completely absorbed all that autumn in the revival which Moody and Sankey were holding in Chicago. He acted as an usher at these meetings and did his full share of singing and praying. Once again his religious mania was in the ascendant. He wrote two dull little tracts: *A Reply to Recent Attacks on the Bible, Together with Some Valuable Ideas on Christ's Second Coming . . .* and *The Truth: A Companion to the Bible*. The first was published in Syracuse in 1878; the second in Boston in 1879.¹ At least one printer was never paid for his work. With his manuscripts in his pocket, Guiteau set out as an apostle of the Lord. He gave his first lecture in Chicago in January, 1877, "The Second Coming of Christ at the Destruction of Jerusalem." "Admission twenty-five cents; free to all who cannot afford to pay twenty-five cents." At eight o'clock he appeared at the Methodist Church, which he had borrowed for the purpose, delivered his lecture to about twenty-five people, and was duly rewarded the next morning by the *Chicago Daily Tribune* with three-quarters of a column of wicked ridicule.² According to the official record of his trial for murder, Guiteau lectured in at least eighteen cities of the north-eastern part of the United States, all the way from Chicago to Boston. The circular which advertised his eminence is eloquent, but the most he ever netted for a night was four dollars.³ He always hoped to draw Robert Green Ingersoll into an epic debate, but that noisy agnostic never deigned to take any notice of him. A railroad conductor, however, obviously a skeptic, and deaf to Guiteau's protests that apostles of the Lord were expressly forbidden to make provision for board, room, and transit, cold-bloodedly put him off a train.

In the autumn of 1879 he drew up in Boston, where *The Truth* appeared in print. A stormy interview there with his brother, agent of the New York Mutual Life Insurance Company, seems to have persuaded this dingy imitation of St. Paul that "theology did not

¹ A copy of *The Truth*, a small octavo of 126 pages printed by Wright & Potter, is in the Boston Athenæum. It bears on the flyleaf, in Guiteau's handwriting, "Compliments of the Author, December 26, 1879."

² "Autobiography of Guiteau," *New York Herald*, October 6, 1881.

³ *Trial of Guiteau*, 307.

MY DEAR SIR:

I desire to lecture in your city this season. I am known as the "Eloquent Chicago Lawyer," and worked with Messrs. MOODY and SANKEY when they were in that city. Last season I lectured on my own account in most of the large cities east, and was well treated by the press.

This season my lectures will be—

1. A lecture on Christ's Second Coming at the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70.

2. A reply to recent Attacks on the Bible.

3. Paul, the Apostle.

(This will be the leading dramatic effort, and will present a new view of this wonderful character.)

4. Martin Luther.

5. John Bunyan.

6. The Origin of Evil.

These lectures are full of new and important ideas. I lecture because I have something to say.

TERMS:—Whatever you can afford to give. In cities of 20,000, or less, my price is \$100 a night, (I to pay my personal expenses, and you to pay the hall and advertising.)

These lectures can be delivered separately or in a course. Special terms for a course.

Milwaukee is a delightful place, and I have taken up a temporary residence here.

I intend to lecture in the west, commencing Sept. 15th, after that in the east and south.

If you desire my services any time this season you can address me at 484 Cass Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Yours Respectfully,

CHARLES J. GITEAU.

September, 1878.



PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHARLES J. GUTEAU

1881

pay." Once again he decided to return to politics. The campaign of 1880 was getting under way, and Guiteau was strong for a third term for Grant. Because it appeared that General Hancock would be nominated by the Democrats, Guiteau promptly got busy and wrote a campaign speech entitled "Grant *vs.* Hancock." Into the Republican convention went three hundred delegates pledged to General Grant, with Roscoe Conkling at their head. Yet no one who knows much of the senior Senator from New York will believe that he honestly thought he could win a third nomination for the former President. Behind Conkling's skillful support of Grant lay two purposes, the first open and avowed, the second secret. His immediate hope was to block Blaine; then, should the convention become deadlocked between those who would not have Grant again and those who would not take Blaine, Conkling would have first claim on the former President's delegates and might win the nomination for himself. But Conkling was too clever by half: a dark horse galloped off with the prize. Garfield, Senator-elect from Ohio, favored the nomination of Blaine, but he was chained to the chariot of John Sherman, of his own state, who was also a candidate, and he was acting as Sherman's leader on the floor. The convention did indeed become deadlocked between the mutually hostile opponents of Grant and Blaine, just as Conkling hoped it would; but it was Garfield, and not Conkling, who got the nomination.

Guiteau promptly changed the title of his campaign speech to "Garfield *vs.* Hancock" and left Boston for New York in the summer of 1880. He haunted Republican headquarters and was assigned to give his speech just once—to a small gathering of colored voters on the East Side.¹ Garfield defeated the hero of Gettysburg by the slender margin of 9,464 votes in a popular total of almost nine millions. The outcome was decided by New York, where Tammany stabbed Hancock in the back. Shortly after the election Guiteau wrote two letters. The first was addressed to Garfield and was brief: "We have cleaned them out just as I expected. Thank God! Very respectfully, Charles Guiteau." On November 11, 1880, he wrote to Secretary of State Evarts to inquire if he was correct in supposing that all President Hayes's appointments to foreign missions would expire on March 4, 1881. Both these letters were signed "Charles Guiteau." The writer had dropped his middle name for two reasons:

¹ *Ibid.*, 584.

Julius was given too often to Negroes, and it had once belonged to a greater man than he!¹

On March 5, 1881, Guiteau left New York for Washington. He took a room at a boardinghouse not far from Lafayette Square and, with this as headquarters, proceeded to make a noticeable nuisance of himself. Two posts were on his mind: he would like to be Minister to Vienna or Consul General at Paris. His recommendation for the first place was his proposal to marry a rich woman in New York whom he had not yet met; the post in Paris would be suitable because his name was French. He pestered Senator Logan of Illinois and Secretary Blaine, and even got so far as to see the affable Garfield, who promised to read the campaign speech which Guiteau pushed into his hands.² The patience of these politicians was amazing, but Guiteau finally wore out his welcome. After two months of nagging, Secretary Blaine shouted at him: "Never speak to me again on the Paris consulship as long as you live."³ Just at this moment, on Friday, May 13, Conkling, with his colleague Platt, decided to resign from the Senate, in dramatic protest against what they called Garfield's disloyalty to the Republican Party. Stalwarts and Half-Breeds were now at daggers drawn. On May 11 the *New York Herald* had published "The Wiggler," a long and powerful denunciation of Garfield's character and conduct. A marked copy of this newspaper was found in Guiteau's pocket on the fatal morning of July 2.⁴

Once again, and for the last time, Guiteau gave up politics to resume his "intimate relations with the Deity." On March 13, 1881, it should be noticed, the good Czar Alexander II had been blown to pieces with a bomb in the streets of St. Petersburg. The noise of this assassination rang round the world, and Guiteau pored over the elaborately sensational reports of it in the *New York Herald*. Once Conkling had resigned, however, he decided he would not accept any office from Garfield, for the new President had proved himself an ingrate and a traitor to his party and his country. A second civil

¹ Folsom, *Studies*, 35; *Trial of Guiteau*, 311.

² *Trial of Guiteau*, 587.

³ Folsom, *Studies*, 43.

⁴ See the *New York Herald* for May 11, 12, 13, and 14, 1881. The case of the Stalwarts against Garfield and Blaine was ably argued and very well written, and the inflammatory effect of these four articles on Guiteau can hardly be exaggerated. See also T. B. Connery (Editor of the *New York Herald* at the time), "Secret History of the Garfield-Conkling Tragedy," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, XXIII (May-October, 1897), 145-162. Connery's chief reason for writing this article was to lay the blame for the attacks on President Garfield in the *New York Herald* on Senator Conkling.

war was on its way. General Grant had sacrificed thousands of men to save the Union—why should Guiteau hesitate to sacrifice one? God had ordered Abraham to kill Isaac; there were thirty-eight such cases of holy murder in the Bible.¹ He could no longer sleep at night, and Conkling's bitter struggle at Albany for reelection to the Senate kept his feeble nerves on edge.

On June 8, 1881, he borrowed fifteen dollars from an acquaintance and bought a pistol, going down to the banks of the Potomac every day to practise marksmanship with it. He loafed in Lafayette Square and shadowed the President for weeks. First he examined the church which Garfield attended, made a note of his pew, and selected a window through which he might shoot him with safety. This plan did not please him: unlike Laertes, he was not willing to kill his enemy there. About the middle of June, with his gun in his pocket, he watched the President and his wife take a train for Long Branch, but the pale face of the ailing Mrs. Garfield dissuaded him from firing at her husband just at that moment. Then, after dark on the first of July, still lurking in Lafayette Square, he saw Garfield and Blaine come out of the White House after dinner together and walk slowly, arm in arm, through the night to the residence of the Secretary of State. He followed the two men, watched them separate, and then stalked the President back to his home. This was the golden opportunity. But it was too warm—and if no one knew who fired the shot, Guiteau might be robbed of the honor of the deed! So he waited until morning, and at twenty minutes past nine, on July 2, in the Baltimore & Potomac Station, in broad daylight, he shot the President of the United States in the back and then gave himself up quietly, asking for nothing but protection from the public until the people should understand the high-mindedness of his motive. The following letter was found in the street soon after Guiteau's arrest, with the envelope unsealed and addressed: "Please deliver at once."

To General Sherman or his first assistant in charge of the War Department

TO GENERAL SHERMAN: I have just shot the President. I shot him several times, as I wished him to go as easily as possible. His death was a political necessity. I am a lawyer, theologian and politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with General Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I am going to the jail. Please order out your troops and take possession of the jail at once. Very respectfully,

CHARLES GUITEAU

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 2222, 2216.

The following letter was taken from the prisoner's pocket at police headquarters:

July 2d, 1881

TO THE WHITE HOUSE: The President's tragic end was a sad necessity, but it will unite the Republican party and save the Republic. Life is a flimsy dream, and it matters little when one goes. A human life is of some value. During the war thousands of brave boys went down without a tear. I presume the President was a Christian, and that he will be happier in Paradise than here. It will be no worse for Mrs. Garfield, dear soul, to part with her husband this way than by natural death. He is liable to go at any time any way. I have no ill-will toward the President. His death was a political necessity.

I am a lawyer, a theologian and a politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with General Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I have some papers for the Press which I shall leave with Byron Andrews and his co-journalists, at 1240 New York Avenue, where all the reporters can see them. I am going to the jail.

CHARLES GUITEAU¹

When President Garfield died on September 19, 1881, Guiteau was arraigned under an indictment which had already been drawn up and was then filed on October 8. On October 14 the indictment was read to him; whereupon he pled "not guilty." From his point of view this plea was much more than a legal formality, for he declared time and again that it was not he who had murdered the President, but the physicians—if Garfield had been given proper surgical care, he would not have died! God had spared Isaac at the last moment. However that may be, the trial opened in due course in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on the morning of November 14 before Mr. Justice Walter S. Cox. District Attorney George B. Corkhill acted as prosecutor, assisted by two eminent criminal lawyers, Walter D. Davidge and John K. Porter. Mr. Corkhill was something of what we should call a "stuffed shirt": he had been dubbed "The Napoleon of the Washington Bar," and having been told that he looked the part, he always tried to act up to it. His two assistants were obviously eager to attract attention, and clients, to themselves. Against this formidable array of counsel there appeared only George W. Scoville of Chicago, husband of the elder sister of the defendant, who was not familiar with the community or with the practice of criminal law. Mr. Leigh Robinson was assigned to

¹ Anonymous, *The Life and Assassination of President Garfield, together with The Life of the Cowardly Assassin, Guiteau. President Garfield's War Record and Life in Full. From Canal-boy to the First Office in the Gift of the People* (Philadelphia, 1882), 25.

the case by Justice Cox to assist Mr. Scoville in the defense, but the personal abuse showered on him by Guiteau soon forced him to withdraw. Charles H. Reed of Chicago volunteered to take his place and stayed on to the bitter end. The culprit's brother and sister were present in court throughout the trial, each taking the stand in turn; their conduct was strange to the extreme, and John W. Guiteau's frequent statements to the press were anything but helpful to the plans of the defense.

Guiteau had "his day in court"; he had, in fact, seventy-two days there, for the trial dragged on until January 25, 1882, much to the indignation of professional patriots and the scandal of the community. Two attempts were made to kill the culprit: Sergeant John A. Mason tried to shoot Guiteau in his cell in September, and William Jones fired into the van in which the prisoner was being taken back to jail from court. Although the trial had its comic aspects, Guiteau being determined to make the most of his brief notoriety, the long record of the conduct of it is, on the whole, a credit to the patience, fair-mindedness, and good will of the presiding justice.¹ Apart from the prisoner himself, perhaps the most interesting persons present were the twenty-four medical specialists called by the prosecution and the defense, of whom thirteen appeared for the United States. As far as reputation is concerned, the honors are precisely even, for of the eight of these men who survive today in the pages of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, four appeared on each side. The prosecution succeeded in proving that Guiteau was sane to the satisfaction of the jury, but the detailed stenographic record of the trial makes their decision questionable, to say the least. Cynics insisted that Guiteau was only acting a part, was trying to save his neck by shamming insanity; but his consistently crazy conduct, even after his conviction, casts grave doubt on the probability of this plausible explanation.

While he was in jail awaiting the consequence of his act, Guiteau dictated an autobiography to a reporter from the *New York Herald*.²

¹ See George F. Edmunds, "The Conduct of the Guiteau Trial," *North American Review*, cxxxiv (March, 1882), 221-231. Edmunds lamented the "gross exaggeration" in the reports of the trial in the newspapers, which seemed to do their best to make it appear "a low and disgraceful farce." He did not deny that the conduct of the prisoner was "impudent," and implied that Justice Cox should have imposed more "decorum" on persons attending the trial, but he dwelt on the fact that the plea of insanity put the court in a very "delicate" position.

² *New York Herald*, October 6, 1881.

This strange story, packed with arrogance and vanity, fills seven columns of fine print and shows considerable care, if not skill, in the use of words and even punctuation. The account is reasonably accurate as compared with the facts of his disordered life which came out in the course of the trial. Guiteau had acquired a kind of cheap facility of speech, which he had picked up from the *New York Tribune* and *New York Herald*, both of which papers he read assiduously. Added to this was a superficial knowledge of theology, acquired from his long association with Noyes of Oneida and his writings. Guiteau stuck to the story of his motive: "I acted under divine pressure. It was the same kind of pressure that led Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac." Yet a streak of madness runs through his narrative; he rambled, he dwelt on trifles, straining at gnats and swallowing camels, and went off at tangents every so often. One of his favorite digressions, especially during the eleven months of his life after he shot Garfield, was a set denunciation of the Mormons.

Moreover, if Guiteau was acting a part, then he acted very poorly from the point of view of his own interest. He abused counsel and witnesses, for both prosecution and defense, indiscriminately and quibbled over points of law and even over the pronunciation of his last name. Through it all, his obvious delight at being the center of the show was morbid, if not mad. Actually, law and medicine came into collision at the trial: it was the age-old dispute as to whether or not all crime is essentially insane. Guiteau suffered from the fact that during the preceding decade, in several notorious trials for murder, prominent persons capable of hiring expensive counsel had been acquitted. The first successful plea of mental aberration in a murder trial was made by Congressman Daniel Edgar Sickles, who shot and killed Philip Barton Key, son of the author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," in Washington in 1859, accusing him of improper relations with his wife. The acquittal of Sickles caused considerable turmoil, for the Keys were important and powerful. In 1872 the dissolute Edward Stokes murdered the malodorous James Fisk, partner of Jay Gould, in the lobby of the Grand Central Hotel in New York, as the result of a quarrel over an actress. While neither man was of any value to the community, it was felt that the subsequent acquittal of Stokes was chiefly due to the social eminence of his family. The plea of insanity as a defense against the charge of murder seemed likely to become a public scandal. Guiteau's crime,

moreover, was political, and the venomous gossip and panic fear to which it gave rise are a lasting reproach to the American press and bar. Nowadays, in similar circumstances, lawyers would leap to the defense of a culprit of this kind, but such was not the case in 1881. What is more, some of the people who hated the conservative faction of the Republican Party did not hesitate to imply that the Stalwarts were only too happy to be rid of the Half-Breed Garfield and have Arthur in his stead. There were ugly rumors of connivance, and certain newspapers went so far as to put this poisonous slander into print. Mr. Scoville himself, in summing up for the defense, stooped so low as to lay the responsibility for his client's crime at the doors of Grant and Conkling.

As the serried ranks of medical specialists put in their appearance for prosecution and defense, Justice Cox took a firm stand: "I hold that a medical expert cannot say whether a man may be responsible or irresponsible in the law."¹ Obviously, then, it was for the jury to decide, after hearing all the evidence and being duly charged by the judge. Although the prosecution had a very poor case so far as the sanity of Guiteau was concerned, District Attorney Corkhill and his two assistants made far better use of their doctors than Scoville did of his. The tormented lawyer for the defense, harassed both by his opponents and by his client, insisted on putting hypothetical questions to his specialists, questions some of the friendliest of them flatly refused to answer. The most eminent alienist for the prosecution was Dr. John Purdue Gray, Superintendent of the New York State Lunatic Asylum at Utica. Gray examined Guiteau and came to the conclusion that he was sane, and Gray was not a man to change his mind. He was unquestionably a leader among the neurologists of his day and was "conceded to have done more than any other one man in bettering the condition of the insane," but the record of this trial shows that Gray was just a trifle too proud of his position as dean of his profession. Guiteau simply did not fit into any pigeonhole of his experience; therefore, it followed, "as the night the day," that Guiteau must be sane. Gray's influence with the jury seems to have been predominant: the culprit was only an egotistical murderer. Gray, however, was not always sound in his judgment. The very year in which Guiteau was hanged this eminent alienist was suddenly shot in the face by one of his more docile patients, and the resulting

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 967.

shock to his nerves led to the physical collapse from which he died.

Edward Charles Spitzka was by far the most interesting alienist who testified for the defense.¹ Born in 1852, he was just past twenty-nine when the trial of Guiteau opened, but he was to have a long and distinguished career as a neurologist and a psychologist, and an able son was to follow in his footsteps. Spitzka had spent three years in postgraduate study in Leipzig and Vienna and began to practise in New York City at the age of twenty-four. "One of the pioneers of his specialty in America, he gained a nation-wide reputation as a consultant and as a medical-legal expert in cases involving insanity and injury to the nervous system." Young Spitzka watched the trial of Guiteau with great interest but decided to remain a spectator.² He was approached by the prosecution but refused to hire himself out in what he thought was a bad cause. Mr. Scoville, however, got wind of his reputation and opinion and summoned him for the defense, and then the fireworks began. Spitzka's success had aroused the envy of certain of his professional rivals, among others, of Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton, grandson of the eminent victim of Aaron Burr, who was appearing for the prosecution. Because Spitzka filled, at different times, the position of Professor of Comparative Anatomy at Columbia Veterinary College, Hamilton and Gray prompted Mr. Davidge to call him a "horse doctor." In fact, the treatment of Dr. Spitzka by all three lawyers for the prosecution—Corkhill, Davidge, and Porter—was so outrageous that Justice Cox had to intervene on his behalf at least three times.³

In view of the background of jealousy and ill will in regard to Dr. Spitzka, the following dialogue is of interest:

¹ For Spitzka's evidence, see *Trial of Guiteau*, 809-810, 964, 967, 998-999, 1007, 1011-1013.

² On October 20, 1881, before the opening of the trial, Spitzka wrote an article pronouncing Guiteau insane, and that article appeared in the *New York Medical Record*. On October 31, however, Judge Porter, for the prosecution, called on Spitzka, who told him that he would have testified for the United States had he not concluded that Guiteau was insane (*Trial of Guiteau*, 998). On November 2 Dr. Spitzka published the following letter of the same date in the *New York Times*:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES: I am much surprised at the announcement in this morning's *Times* that I am to appear as one of the witnesses *in re* Guiteau. Having distinctly declined to serve as a medical expert witness in this case for the Government, or for the defense, and having had no communication with either attorney, the request of the latter for a summons against me was altogether unauthorized.

E. C. SPITZKA, M.D."

³ *Trial of Guiteau*, 1002, 1007, 1014.

Davidge: "All these celebrated gentlemen whose names you have mentioned belong to what are called horse doctors?"

A. [Spitzka]: "I never have treated any other animal but the ass, and that animal has two legs, and therefore I could not consider myself a veterinary physician, but a human professional."

Davidge: "You are a veterinary surgeon, are you not?"

A. [Spitzka]: "In the sense that I treat asses who ask me stupid questions, I am."

Davidge: "How many people have you ever committed to an insane asylum?"

A. [Spitzka]: "Between thirty and forty. . . . As to the value of my services in this case, however, I do not receive enough to take me to Jersey City. If I had desired to sell my services, or to sell my convictions, I would be sitting by you as one of the experts for the prosecution."¹

In October, 1881, several months before he interviewed Guiteau on January 20, 1882, posing as "Professor Brown, a phrenologist," Dr. Spitzka had decided that the assassin was insane. He based his opinion on four kinds of evidence: documents, that is, Guiteau's crazy letters to the press, etc., the expression in photographs of the culprit, the almost unanimous interpretation made by the laity, and knowledge of the family and heredity of Guiteau. Although Spitzka stated expressly that he was "not one of those who consider murder and insanity as identical" in view of the fact that "most murders are committed from sane motives—from criminal motives," he insisted that Guiteau was logical only if one granted his erroneous assumptions.² He thought the prisoner a cunning, third-rate shyster as a lawyer but pressed the point that looking on one's self as the agent of the Deity was a common delusion of maniacs.³

At this point Mr. Davidge gave way to District Attorney Corkhill, who had a special score to settle with Spitzka. The "Napoleon of the Washington Bar" asked the witness if he had not contributed the following to the *New York Medical Record*:

Sane or insane the narrow-minded official conducting this trial, whom Judge Hoar has already censured for his intemperate zeal, that had carried him on more than one occasion beyond the legal limits in this case, will find experts who will be only too willing to chime in with the public against what public prejudice stigmatizes as the insanity dodge.

Spitzka having acknowledged authorship of the letter, the District Attorney proceeded:

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 969-970.

² *Ibid.*, 980-992.

³ *Ibid.*, 995-997.

Corkhill: "To whom do you refer there?"

Spitzka: "I refer to you." (*Sensation*)¹

From this point Corkhill continued the process of discrediting Dr. Spitzka in the eyes of the jury—by implication.

District Attorney [Corkhill]: "Do you believe in God?"

The Witness [Spitzka]: "If the court does not declare your question irrelevant—"

The Court [Justice Cox]: "You are not obliged to answer that question, doctor."

Spitzka: "I do, on principle, decline to answer that question."

The Prisoner [Guiteau]: "Do you believe in God, Corkhill? I have been digging up your record, and it stinks worse than old mackerel. That stinks worse than anything else."

Corkhill: "Then I understand you to decline to answer whether you believe in a God or not?"

Spitzka: "I decline to answer it on principle, as, from my point of view, an impertinent question in a country that guarantees civil and religious liberty."

Mr. Davidge: "Irreligious liberty."

Corkhill: "If you decline to answer that question, I do not think I have any questions further to ask you."²

Guiteau, it will be remembered, had married in Chicago on July 3, 1869, Annie J. Bunn, who sued him for divorce for adultery in New York City on December 26, 1873, the divorce being granted April 4 and filed in the Supreme Court April 11, 1874.³ Mrs. Guiteau later became Mrs. Theodore Dunmire and settled in Colorado with her second husband. The prosecution called her to Washington as a witness. When she took the stand, certain of the more respectable spectators, most of them ladies, began to leave the courtroom. Noticing the exodus, Guiteau stood up and shouted:

I do not think there will be any smut in the examination of this witness. People need not go out. There will not be any smut, unless that man Corkhill stirs it up. He had no business to put this lady on the witness-stand, anyway; and if he had any brains or sense or decency he would not do it. He wants to nauseate the American public here with a lot of filth. It won't have any possible bearing on this issue, and it shows that he is a low-down whelp, or he would not do it.⁴

Mrs. Dunmire having been duly sworn, District Attorney Corkhill began by questioning her about her former husband's political interests during the four years of their married life. What she chiefly remembered was Guiteau's great interest in the presidential campaign

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 1002.

² *Ibid.*, 1007.

³ *Ibid.*, 1142-1147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1163.

of 1872, at which time he was, as we have seen, an ardent supporter of Horace Greeley, for whom he worked hard, said Mrs. Dunmire, in the hope of an appointment as Minister to Chile. At this point Guiteau broke in to insist that it was the Swiss mission on which he had had his eye, adding: "My interest in Mr. Greeley terminated about the first of September, because I saw there was no possibility of his being elected." Ignoring the interruption, Mr. Corkhill picked his way to his goal.

District Attorney [Corkhill]: "I will ask you to state whether, in your association with him, you ever saw anything that would indicate that he was a man of unsound mind?"

Mr. Scoville: "I object to that."

The Court [Justice Cox]: "To the form of the question, or the substance?"

Mr. Scoville: "To the substance of it."

The Court: "The question is admitted."

Mr. Scoville: "I except."

The District Attorney: "You may answer the question."

A. [Mrs. Dunmire]: "I never did."¹

Those three words of the woman who had lived with Guiteau as his wife for over four years probably did more to send him to the gallows than all the lawyers and doctors put together.

The trial dragged on toward its close. Already, during five days, November 28 to December 2, Guiteau had taken the stand in his own defense, following his brother and sister. Finally, on the morning of Saturday, January 21, 1882, Guiteau was permitted to make his personal plea to the jury. If there be such things as documents in madness, surely this is one. The prisoner began by solemnly instructing the jury:

You are here to say whether I was sane or insane at the *moment* I fired that shot. You have nothing to do with my condition before or since that shot was fired. You must say by your verdict sane or insane at the *moment* I fired that shot. . . . Some of the best people of America think me the greatest man of this age, and this feeling is growing.

After thanking his sister and brother and his counsel, to whom he promised "ample fees," Guiteau, weeping from time to time, read a speech in defense of himself which had appeared in the *New York Herald* on the preceding Monday. Then he graciously expressed his satisfaction with President Arthur's course in office, and having denounced Blaine as a vindictive politician who was "morally respon-

¹ *Ibid.*, 1165-1166.

sible" for Garfield's death, he added: "As a matter of fact I presume I shall live to be President."¹ He rambled through the story of his sordid life, only to return to his obsession: he shot Garfield to prevent a second civil war, obedient to an inspiration from God which came to him about the middle of May. Although he was, he conceded, a madman under duress of the Deity at the moment of his act, "the President might have been taken off by a railroad accident, or slipped on an orange peel and broken his neck."²

Gloatingly he read to the jury all the crazy letters and telegrams he had received from cranks and cruel practical jokers from every corner of the country, together with three stanzas of doggerel which had been sent to him as a New Year's greeting from some tipsy citizens of Philadelphia, and then reminded the jurors that "Isaac was rescued by God. Garfield was killed by God." Having warned the twelve good men and true to beware of the wrath of the Deity by remembering the dreadful fate of France, Rome, and Israel, the culprit sang the first verse of "John Brown's Body" and then recited the balance of the stanza to the quiet courtroom. A discourse on the character and career of St. Paul dissolved into another fit of tears. He, too, was a martyr.

Certain witnesses have excited my wrath by their perjury, and I have denounced them in plain language. For this I have the example of the meek and lowly Jesus. How does this sound? . . . I was overpowered by the Deity, that is, I was suffering from transitory mania. . . . The American people are saying: "Well, if the Deity did it, let it go." I expect you, gentlemen, will let it go. . . . You might as well hang a man for murder during the war as to hang me.³

With a final fling at the heresy and lewdness of the Mormons and a threat that "perhaps in 1884 I shall get a chance at them," Guiteau ended his amazing oration: "My act was called the act of a 'madman'; it will be far better every way that it be officially decided that it was the act of a 'madman.'"⁴

It was ten minutes past twelve on Saturday, and the court adjourned for luncheon and the week end. The trial resumed on Monday, January 23, and by the evening of Tuesday both prosecution and defense had completed their cases. On Wednesday, January 25, 1882, Justice Cox summed up and charged the jury, in conclusion, as follows:

¹ *Trial of Guiteau*, 2206.

² *Ibid.*, 2210-2212.

³ *Ibid.*, 2220-2225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2226.

And now, to sum up all that I have said, in a few words:

If you find from the whole evidence that, at the time of the commission of the homicide, the prisoner, in consequence of disease of the mind, was laboring under such a defect of his reason that he was incapable of understanding what he was doing, or that it was wrong, as, for example, if he was under an insane delusion that the Almighty had commanded him to do the act, and in consequence of that he was incapable of seeing that it was a wrong thing to do, then he was not in a responsible condition of mind, and was an object of compassion, and not of justice, and ought to be now acquitted.

On the other hand, if you find that he was under no insane delusions, such as I have described, but had possession of his faculties and the power to know that his act was wrong, and of his own free will deliberately conceived, planned, and executed this homicide, then, whether his motive was personal vindictiveness or political animosity, or a desire to avenge a supposed political wrong, or a morbid desire for notoriety, or fanciful ideas of patriotism or of the divine will, or you are unable to discover any motive at all, the act is simply *murder*, and it is your duty to find him guilty.

Now, gentlemen, retire to your rooms and consider this matter, and make due deliberation in the case of the United States against Guiteau.¹

The jury retired at 4:35 and returned at 5:40 with a verdict of "Guilty," after which it was polled and then thanked and discharged. When Justice Cox sentenced Guiteau to be hanged by the neck until dead, he added the customary "and may God have mercy on your soul," to which the prisoner replied vehemently: "And may God have mercy on *your* soul." The case was duly appealed to the full bench of the Supreme Court of the District on May 9-11, 1882, being argued before Chief Justice D. K. Cartter and Associate Justices MacArthur, Hagner, and James. District Attorney Corkhill and his colleague, Davidge, appeared again for the United States; while only the faithful Charles H. Reed was on hand to represent Guiteau. On May 22, Mr. Justice James delivered the opinion of the court, affirming the verdict and the sentence.² Justice Joseph P. Bradley of the Supreme Court of the United States denied an application for a writ of habeas corpus on June 19, 1882.³ Thereafter only one man stood between Guiteau and the gallows, but how could the President of the United States dare to commute the sentence of the man whose crime had made him President? Arthur was a good man, but the tide was too strong for him.

An editorial in the *Nation* shows the lead which the supereminent Godkin was giving to respectable people. Approving President

¹ *Ibid.*, 2348.

² *Ibid.*, 2423-2587.

³ *Ibid.*, 2634-2636.

Arthur's refusal to grant a reprieve for Guiteau, the petition for which had been signed by 160 physicians who believed the assassin was insane, the *Nation* declared that the signatures of only sympathetic doctors had been asked for, and no one but Guiteau's counsel called these signatures "representative." The trial, "one of the most thorough on record," had dragged on for a year, and the opinions of those specialists who had never seen the culprit were not "worth a cent." "Why not hold a popular election on the subject?" Most of the experts who testified at the trial believed that Guiteau was "sane enough to be hanged." Dr. Beard and his like were "fast becoming a great burden to the community." There was "no such thing as a science of insanity, any more than a science of health." In short, the "growing excesses of the bar all over the country in the defense of criminals" was "making American criminal justice a byword all over the world. . . . It now only remains to add assistance in breaking jail to the list of a criminal lawyer's duties, and then the last shred of the professional character will have disappeared from him."¹ For approximately fifty years the *Nation* was an almost infallible guide to what the "best people" were saying; today the files of it seem intolerably self-righteous and stale.

The last weeks and days of Guiteau's life were made less horrible than they might have been by the chaplain of the prison, the Reverend W. W. Hicks, who seems to have exercised a beneficent influence over him at the end. Day after day they prayed together and discussed religion by the hour. Hicks persuaded him not to insist on being hanged in his underwear and dealt as tactfully as possible with the brother and the sister of the criminal, who did not contribute much in decency to those last days. On June 29 Guiteau made his will, leaving his body to Mr. Hicks, with the provision that it should never "be used for any mercenary purposes." Mr. Hicks also inherited the copyright of *The Truth* in order that he might use the royalties therefrom to prepare and publish the "Life and Work of Charles Guiteau." This last testament concluded as follows: "If at any time hereafter any person or persons shall desire to honor my remains, they shall do it by erecting a monument whereon shall be inscribed these words: 'Here lies the body of Charles Guiteau, patriot and Christian; his soul is in glory.'"²

¹ *Nation*, No. 887 (June 29, 1882), 536.

² *Mid-America: An Historical Review*, XVI (October, 1933), 97-98.

On the day of execution crowds of idle spectators haunted the jail, and lemonade stands were set up at its gate. Guiteau rose at five, had his breakfast, walked briskly in the courtyard, and then composed a prayer which he was determined to read on the gallows. The last paragraph of this prayer is completely in character:

The American press has a large bill to settle with Thee, righteous Father, for their vindictiveness in this matter. Nothing but blood will satisfy them, and now my blood be on them and this nation and its officials. Arthur the President is a coward and an ingrate. His ingratitude to the man that made him and saved his party and land from overthrow has no parallel in history, but Thou, righteous Father, will judge him. Father, Thou knowest me, but the world hath not known me, and now I go to Thee and the Saviour without the slightest ill will toward a human being. Farewell, ye men of earth.¹

This done, he ate his luncheon "with much relish." Dr. Godding, also, was struck with Guiteau's peace of mind and good appetite. Immediately after breakfast, according to his account, the condemned man sat down to write "Simplicity, a Poem," and then sent his shoes out to be blackened at the eleventh hour, just as he had had them polished at the station on the fatal morning of July 2. When he tripped on the way to execution he said with a smile to Dr. Hicks: "I stubbed my toe going to the gallows." At the very edge of death, "cool as an iceberg," he read a passage from St. Matthew x, then his own prayer patterned after St. John xvii, and finally the poem which he had written that morning. His signal for the end was: "Glory, ready, go!" A few minutes after high noon on June 30, 1882, Charles Julius Guiteau was hanged at Washington.

Death silenced Guiteau's voice but not the clamor of those who disagreed about him. Once the public passion for revenge had been satisfied with his execution, the tide began to turn in favor of those people who had insisted all along that the assassin was insane. For from the day he shot Garfield to the day he died for his deed Guiteau's conduct, it should be repeated, was utterly consistent. The case attracted attention far and wide, and journalists, lawyers, and physicians, in Europe as well as America, went into print on the subject. One of the most interesting studies of Guiteau's character was published in Edinburgh seven years after his death.² The star witness for the prosecution, John P. Gray, printed his professional

¹ *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 30, 1882.

² William W. Ireland, *Through the Ivory Gate: Studies in Psychology and History* (Edinburgh, 1889).

verdict as early as January, 1882.¹ Because he put the medical case for the prosecution in its best light, Gray's arguments deserve respectful attention. Protesting against "a growing tendency . . . to contract the limits of human responsibility" and drag medical science beyond its "legitimate sphere," Gray defined insanity as "a positive pathological state, a physical disease," within the boundary of which "experts may speak intelligently and to the purpose." In judging Guiteau, Gray declared that only "morally depraved will and character" were concerned. When he called attention to the remarkable unanimity and consistency of the testimony of the specialists in the official record of the trial, Gray was not quite honest, for Scoville, as we have seen, handled the experts for the defense so unwisely that most of them refused to answer the hypothetical questions he pressed upon them. Gray felt that recent judicial decisions in cases where murderers such as Sickles had pled insanity with success threatened to undermine human "ability to exercise the power of self-control."

As he reviewed the assassin's life, Gray came to the conclusion that the whole of it was nothing more than an example of "present-day contempt for authority in religious belief and social conduct." He agreed with those who thought that "the turning point" in the criminal's career was his "decision to enter the Oneida Community." Yet Guiteau had threatened his sister with an axe in 1876 merely because "his design was not to be asked to work," and his letters to Blaine, Evarts, and Garfield showed "a keen eye to the main chance" and "unbounded cheek and audacity." Many would question the "keen eye to the main chance." In listing the fifteen physicians who stood at his side (among these Fordyce Barker, who was an obstetrician and "did not examine the criminal personally," and Francis B. Loring, who was an oculist), Gray proudly called attention to the fact that ten of them were superintendents of asylums for the insane; while another alienist, Samuel Worcester of Salem, had gone to Washington with the intention of testifying for the defense but had changed his mind, after much misunderstanding, and sided with the prosecution. During his professional experience in Utica, Gray had been called to examine more than three hundred homicides and, in view of this varied experience, found the defense of Guiteau "tedi-

¹ John P. Gray, "The Guiteau Trial," *American Journal of Insanity*, xxxviii (January, 1882), 303-448.

ous and inconsequential" on the question of heredity. At one point he shows a distinct animus against Spitzka, without referring to him by name, when he boasts of "the value of experience over mere book reading and speculation." Guiteau, he contended, was a criminal, not a madman: "Insanity is a disease of the brain, in which there is an association of mental disturbance, a change in the individual, a departure from himself, from his own ordinary standard of mental action, a change in his way of feeling and thinking and acting." No such change, he insisted, was evident in Guiteau. Gray was confident and adamant: "Men are required to conquer their surroundings, even the 'baseness of their blood.' " Some readers may think that the triumphant doctor dragged in morals where morals were not at issue.¹

Young Dr. Spitzka was the only expert who was permitted to pronounce Guiteau insane on the witness stand. The evidence of Dr. Andrew MacFarland of Illinois, who, we have seen, had known Guiteau's father, was excluded from the trial on "a technical quibble";² while Dr. Francis Kiernan, who agreed with Spitzka, was "not once asked his opinion [by Scoville] regarding the actual prisoner at the bar." Having refused to appear for the prosecution because he be-

¹ Dr. Godding, for one, had no high opinion of Dr. Gray's testimony at the trial: "As, listening to Dr. Gray, I sat there, almost the last of that long line of now vanished experts, who for weeks had occupied those seats, I could not help asking myself, Wherein is this new enumeration of 'all the possible manifestations of insanity,' with its convenient eliminations, to be preferred to the old? . . . You cannot get rid of a fact by denying its existence." Godding, *Two Hard Cases*, 205.

² Dr. MacFarland, although denied the opportunity to take the stand for the defense, wrote Dr. Godding an interesting letter on the subject of the assassin and his father on April 5, 1882:

"The only real fact I have bearing at all on the great criminal you refer to, is one which has impressed me with all the force that we give to the principle of *heredity*. From the instant of hearing who the assailant of the President was, my theory of the crime was what it substantially is now.

"The father of Guiteau—a total stranger—visited me in 1864. He came with his second wife and the latter's insane sister. The patient was verging on complete exhaustion, and he proposed staying a few days, remaining part of a week. But he soon seemed to lose all interest whatever in the patient, and devoted all his time and took up all of mine, to the limit at least of my courtesy, in following me up with a strain of discourse, the staple of which I perceived to be delusional, though mingled with much fruit of reading, and an intelligence of quite high order for a man of his standing. . . .

"Now, while the delusions of the father and the son prove the opposite of each other in their tendencies, and especially their results, the fundamental nature of the two is the same,—a belief in the power to act by supernatural agency; for this is what C. J. Guiteau's talk amounts to, when you sift it out from the chaff of his wild and irrelevant rhodomontade. He has the same fearlessness, defiance, and bombast, the same faith in the final outcome, that all the lunatics have who believe themselves divinely led, and so he will be to his last breath." Godding, *Two Hard Cases*, 71-74.

lieved Guiteau insane, and for the defense because he had no ambition to become "a target for attacks in behalf of so unpopular and unprofitable a cause," Spitzka planned, at first, to "refrain from adding to the enormously increasing Guiteau literature."¹ The Congress, however, had refused to print three thousand copies of the record of the trial "as was moved by one of the members"; so the limited number of sets available passed into the hands of librarians, lawyers, and doctors. This left the public, and those who wished to write up the case at a distance, at the mercy of reports in the daily press or scientific communications of prejudiced persons who were active participants in the trial. According to Spitzka, even the experts for the defense were subjected to pressure and declined, with the exception of Doctors Godding, Kiernan, and MacFarland, to give either Reed or Scoville their views on the mental state of the prisoner. Scoville's stubborn repetition of his "notorious hypothetical question" destroyed the value of the experts who were ready and willing to declare Guiteau insane. It was Spitzka's contention that no self-respecting alienist should appear for either prosecution or defense, but only as a "friend of the court." He was pleased that Justice Cox treated him as such when he was on the stand, rebuking counsel for the prosecution more than once for "their worst attacks" on him. He was interested to observe that these assaults had strengthened his testimony in the eyes of the *Springfield Republican*. It should be remembered that in taking care to correct slips of wording and punctuation in the stenographic report of the trial, Spitzka stated that the "impression" that he had "acted the part of an aggressive witness" was "erroneous."

According to Spitzka, Guiteau's condition showed deficient development of the brain, evidence of which he found in his defective speech—noticeable also in Mrs. Scoville. He was suffering from theomania, erotomania, and, quite plainly, in view of his business, financial, and political aspirations—from megalomania! "I think that with the extensive record of Guiteau's life, his documents, his career after his conviction, and the manner in which he took his de-

¹ Spitzka's essay on Guiteau, "A Contribution to the Question of the Medical Status of Guiteau and the History of His Trial," will be found in the *Alienist and Neurologist*, iv (April, 1883), 201-220. This so-called "horse doctor" was actually Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the New York Post-Graduate Medical School; physician in the Department of Nervous Diseases in the Metropolitan Throat Hospital; a member of the American Neurological Association; and President of the New York Neurological Society.

parture, as well as his hereditary antecedents, there can be very little doubt in any impartial, competent, and truth-seeking mind, that these were evidences of a disordered brain action." Although he was in general agreement with Dr. Folsom, Spitzka was surprised at the latter's conclusion that Guiteau's crime arose from "criminal motives," for to Spitzka "the connection between the insanity and the crime [was] clear." Moreover, he could not "discover a single unquestionably sane step in the man's reasoning." Spitzka thought that Guiteau "felt confident (almost to the last moment) that he would never be executed," but, in commenting on the disgraceful scenes in the jail during the last weeks of Guiteau's life, he found the assassin's pleasure at these goings-on "strong cumulative evidence of his insanity." How, he concluded, could the "check of the law ever be applied so as to influence so overwhelming a self-exaltation?"

Charles Follen Folsom, of the Boston City Hospital and the Harvard Medical School, made a careful examination of Guiteau in the jail at Washington.¹ Although he could not "find any positive physical evidence of brain disease," he "certainly had never before seen such a grotesque contrast between lofty delusion and low reality except in cases of general paralysis of the insane." After thinking over his interview with Guiteau for several days, Folsom reported that his "present impression" was that "he should not be hanged," provided he could be "sent to an asylum for the criminal insane, a prison, or a jail for life." Hearing Guiteau call "his best witnesses liars, . . . his brother a defaulter," and "his counsel a jackass," Folsom could not believe that he was shamming, for it did not seem possible to him that Guiteau could have "avoided tripping up not only once but often." For one thing, Folsom was struck with the fact that Guiteau was vaccinated, at his own request, to escape infection through letters sent to him while he was in jail. Years afterward the doctor found no reason to alter his final judgment on the culprit.

Guiteau has been observed chiefly while on trial for his life and at a decided disadvantage. Even if he was shamming, as I think he was to a certain extent, that fact is as characteristic of the insane as of the sane. . . . He seems to me to belong to that class of insane criminals who do least harm to society, after their crime, by being secluded for life in a criminal lunatic asylum, without trial, if that is practicable in our country.

¹ Folsom, *Studies*. Dr. Folsom's little essay is the most concise and easily available study of the character and career of Guiteau.

The most thorough and interesting study of the career and character of Guiteau was made by William Whitney Godding, Superintendent and Physician of the Government Hospital for the Insane in Washington.¹ The Government allowed him to visit Guiteau in the jail late in September, early in October, and again during the progress of the trial. Through John W. Guiteau, Godding had access, later on, to a number of letters written by the father of the assassin and others, letters which, though not introduced as evidence at the trial, threw some light on the earlier portions of the criminal's career. Godding was tough-minded: he felt from the beginning that if Garfield died, no plea of insanity could save Guiteau from the gallows; yet, if the President lived, no commission of lunacy would fail to find the man who shot him insane. He observed that hostility to Guiteau was almost universal: of the 131 men sworn and examined for the purpose of getting a jury, only one stated that he had no knowledge and had formed no opinion of the case. Godding was disgusted, in particular, by the pharisaical conduct of the clergy—indeed, not the least charm of his study of the case is the gentle irony which plays over his whole gracious treatment of it. His report of his sight of Guiteau just after his sentence and just before his execution is memorable, if painful:

Some days later I saw him for a few moments in jail, having been called there to visit another prisoner. He was already showing a relief from the tension of the trial, was markedly gaining in flesh, was happy in the sale of photographs and autographs, was making money at last, was calm and apparently content. I am satisfied he still looks for an earthly redemption. To such a mind there is always something ahead; hope never dies. They will talk of his "weakening," and he is by nature cowardly and shrinks from pain, but this time they will find he has enlisted for the war.

And a few months later:

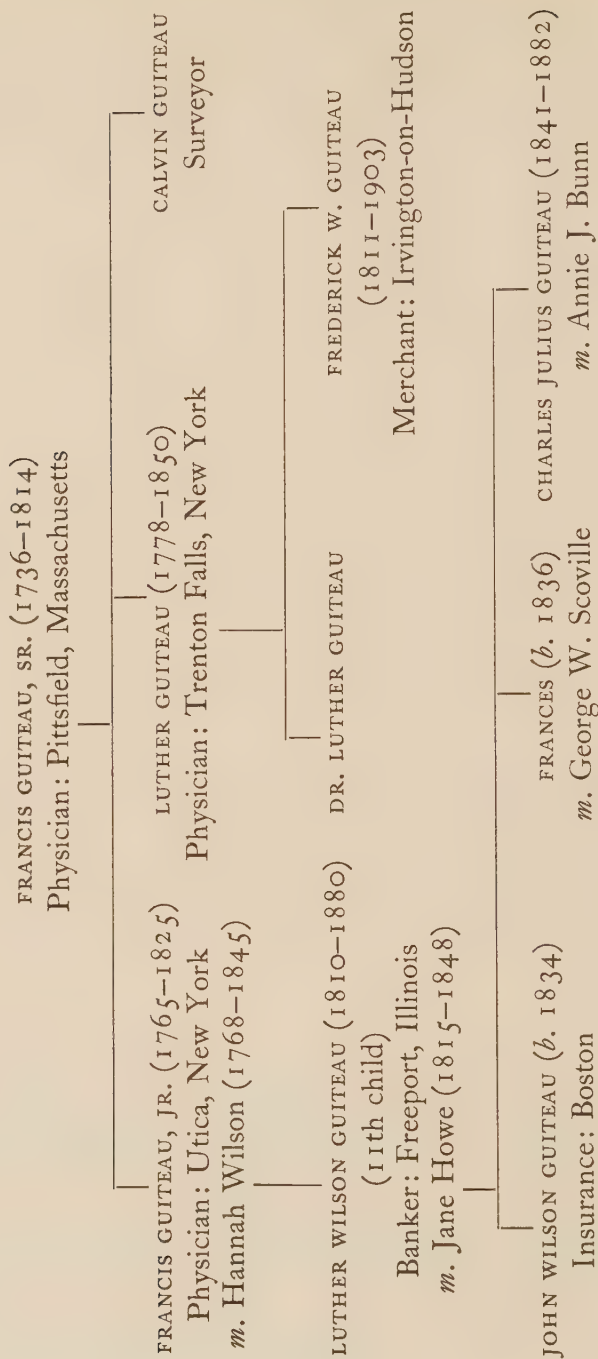
With a firm step and an upturned eye he went away; and while the notes of a weird chant lingered in the air, with a paraphrase of the prayer of prayers on his lips, and the exultant yell of the mob rising without, he took the appeal "beyond these voices." Perhaps not in vain, for that mind which saw through a veil comprehended not; even as that brain acted through thickened, clouded membranes.

The final verdict belongs by right, perhaps, to Guiteau's luckless victim. Shortly after he was shot, Garfield asked someone at his bed-

¹ See William W. Godding, "The Last Chapter in the Life of Guiteau," *Alienist and Neurologist*, III (October, 1882), 550-557; and *Two Hard Cases*.

side just what had happened at the railroad station. On being told the circumstances and hearing as adequate a description of his assailant as could be given him at the time, the President thought for a moment and then remarked: "He must have been crazy."

GUILTEAU GENEALOGY



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Glimpses of a Prairie City

By ARTHUR BURR DARLING¹

THERE are impressions from boyhood of dusty roads lined with cottonwoods stirring fretfully in blazing sunlight, sending their pods of bursting white aimlessly upon the shimmering air. There are memories of excessively broad and paved, but empty, avenues into the center of town that spoke of throngs once anticipated but as yet unobserved, and indeed never likely to crowd those thoroughfares. A stone mansion or two faced the "Little River"; these, you were told, belonged to Cattle Kings. But never did you see one upon a magnificent horse with his trampling and bellowing herd. In fact you saw no cattle at all unless you climbed the unromantic fence of the stockyards near the smelly packing plants in the "North End."

On one occasion a troop of United States Cavalry such as Frederic Remington has immortalized came straight down the road upon the boy, in dusty blue and wide sombreros, with carbines in holsters, sabres, six-guns, pennants, and everything! But these troopers were not pursuing Santanta or any other bad Indian of the Southwest. They were simply walking their horses through town on their way to new barracks in Oklahoma. Once, too, an Indian tribe camped as of old, teepees and all, between the Big and Little rivers in what is now Riverside Park. These Indians were decidedly not on the war-path. They were merely being transferred, with probably no hard feeling of any sort, from one reservation in Nebraska to another in Oklahoma. But the boy overheard around the fire that they ate dogs. Rounding up his own, he broke from their fascination for the day and ran home—without verifying the historical evidence.

Such things as Indians, Cavalry, Cattle Kings were already of the past, forever in the past of this little prairie settlement. There was a feeling of desertion about it as the boy rode his pony through its streets and out upon the prairies. The suspicion in fact all but became a conviction that you were just imagining, that what you were thinking never could have happened. It was all so quiet, so empty.

¹ This paper was read at the November, 1943, meeting. The illustrations accompanying this article, as well as those which were shown at the time of the meeting, were selected by Paul Wellman, Esq., from collections which have been preserved by successive commercial photographers in Wichita.

There were no tumbling ruins such as marked in your schoolbooks the places where men had been. You must be just imagining. You could see for yourself that the prairies were empty. And yet, they were so intimate. They must have history in them, of men and cities, of living, and not so very long ago.

The veteran of the Civil War who drummed for you was real. His story was authentic. You could believe this, for here he was with drum and a map of his battlefield to prove it. So too were the Southerners real, who were so courteous to your mother and touchy, it seemed, when you talked of things you heard beside the drum. And so were the "foreigners" real—those Germans who worked on near-by farms and came in to the Catholic church, and those Scottish people who also farmed but never went near the Catholic church, as you noted. And the outside world was very real indeed to the lad of that prairie town at the turn of this century, at least so much of the outside world as reached him through the newspaper from Chicago, which arrived a day late, and the magazines from "back East"—*McClure's*, the *Outlook*, the *Century*, and the *Congregationalist*—coming to a family transplanted from northern Indiana, proud and rather wistful about forebears in Connecticut and the Old Colony. Finally, there were those newcomers whom one resented, almost, as a good native should. They assumed as they arrived that they belonged, apparently because they had money and attended the Episcopal church, if any. There were the Railroad Men—they came in private cars; and the Flour Millers—they drank. Thus it seemed to the lad who had arrived in the blizzard of December, 1892, by way of obstetrics.

Wichita lies below the great bend of the Arkansas River on the plains and above its entry into the Ozark timberlands, in fact rather far above, for no mountains are to be seen in any direction. Stretched upon the ground you can see nothing but sky unless you turn or raise your head. The location is near the western edge of the prairies but still some distance from the twenty-inch rainfall line where, it has been said, men must cease counting upon God for water and begin looking for it themselves. They still rely upon God in Wichita, for the most part. There is no irrigation. But neither is there water to spare. In any case, the native grass becomes short not far to the west, and trees are found only along the river bottoms, unless they have been planted and given care. Indeed one feature of the locality which made it attractive to the white men wandering those prairies

and plains was the little grove of natural timber—cottonwoods, black walnuts, and others—between the two rivers. It must have stood below the rolling horizon like an oasis in the more famous desert of Sahara. Kansans, however, welcome such comparisons no more than Californians like remarks about fog.

Not far from this spot the Spanish explorer, Coronado, crossed the Arkansas in 1541. When compared with the distance he had come to reach these high plains before the Rockies, it really is not far. He may even have visited the exact spot, although that seems very doubtful. It is more likely that his successor, Onate, found the place in 1601; for he spoke of peculiar dwellings in a certain locality which it is easy to identify with this—if you want to do so. But no matter, both expeditions did leave records of the straw houses of the Wichita Indians, unique homes upon the prairies; and it is established fact that at a later date these Indians did live and cultivate the soil upon this very site.

If Wichita may not claim direct descent from Coronado's fabulous Quivira, as I am afraid it may not, it has an ancestry almost as strange to its present population of oil men and aircraft workers. The house by Frank Lloyd Wright on one of its streets today, I venture, would seem hardly more amazing to the inhabitants of the grass house in Quivira than to the buffalo hunters who camped in the grove by the two rivers before the Civil War.

Immediately after the war it became an outpost of the Army between the settlements at the heads of the trails in eastern Kansas and Camp Supply far out upon the barren plains on the way across those desolate stretches to Santa Fe and the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. And it was near here that Generals Sheridan and Hancock, under orders from Sherman in St. Louis, spread their troops along the line of the Arkansas to hold back the wild tribes of the Southwest led by such as Santanta and the more famous Geronimo of a later date.

By 1868 these troops had done the job so well that the state legislature laid out counties westward from the fringe of those early settlements in the Kaw and Osage valleys where "Free-Staters," with the aid of money and guns from New England, had fought "Slave-Staters" from Missouri and the lower South in the 1850's, and where John Brown had gained much of his fame. Out and beyond those old settlements now came the pioneers who were to unhitch



INDIAN ENCAMPMENT ON THE SITE OF WICHITA, KANSAS

Circa 1868



VIEW OF MAIN STREET, WICHITA, KANSAS
Looking North, *Circa 1876*

their teams from lumber wagons and prairie schooners at the juncture of the two rivers and the head of the wagon trail from the Indian Territory to the south. Anticipating these new townsmen and preparing the way for them upon the plains were three frontiersmen as diverse in origin and personality as might be imagined. But they had one trait in common. They were determined to build a town.

The first of these was James R. Mead, of Massachusetts stock, whose father had attended Andover Theological Seminary and then taken a church in Vermont. From there Mead had gone west to establish himself in trade with the Indians beyond the edge of "civilization" and—if historians are allowed occasionally to guess—beyond the range of the theological controversies in Andover. How he survived is a story I am unable to tell, though it is indisputable that many white men, in fact most, quietly did survive in the Indian country without scalping or being scalped. Mead seems to have been the one who actually first laid out the townsite, took his pick of the lots in the center of the future city, and put his children on the way to wealth. The second character, William Greiffenstein, came from Germany during the uprisings of 1848 and found his way into the Indian country, also as a trader. Years afterwards he emerged from it long enough to help promote the city on the two rivers and to build one of its showiest houses for his Indian wife. And then, with the momentary collapse of the town, he disappeared again among the Indians, it is said, a broken and poor man.

The third founder was William Matthewson, the original Buffalo Bill. He left upstate New York as a boy of seventeen to walk across the whole Mississippi Valley to the Rockies, never once losing his sense of direction. He became expert as a scout among the Indians; he won his nickname, it appears, from having saved frontier families who were starving by supplying them with buffalo meat; he employed William F. Cody on his ranch and gave that celebrity his start in life. After these experiences on the frontier Matthewson moved into Wichita to become a staid, respected, and taciturn banker.

With the three founders of the city should always be remembered the Scottish-Cherokee wagoner, Jesse Chisholm, whose name is upon the trail winding northward out of the Indian Territory. He had nothing to do, I think, with the founding of the community. But his trail and his early trading post on the creek which still bears

his name formed the link with the far-off Texas country out of which came the herds and the swaggering cowmen who gave the town its first notoriety and probably its economic foundations.

Wichita as a cow town is familiar to all who have read Stuart Lake's biography of Wyatt Earp, frontier marshal. Lake has caught the spirit of the Texans who camped with their herds on Cowskin Creek west of the "Big River" (the Arkansas) and rode across the toll bridge from Delano, or West Wichita, to "tree" the town—if they could. Their belligerence toward all Northerners, caused no doubt in largest part by the humiliating defeat of the Confederacy—though they themselves may never have ridden with Lee—was concentrated upon the townsmen at the northern end of any cattle trail. This antipathy for Northerners was in no way diminished by the fact that the Texans might be riding herd at the moment for the rancher "Shanghai" Pierce, a Yankee from Connecticut if there ever was one. It was their avowed purpose, profanely and obscenely avowed, to get past the pistol rack at the bridge without checking their six-guns—if they could; to "licker up"—as they easily could; and to "hurrah" the town—if the marshal and his deputies did not interfere. Their effort kept the police judge busy and supplied the town treasury with revenue. It also gave the local physician a certain amount of practice, for considerable damage was done to cowboys by the marshal's "buffaloing" or pistol-whipping. Gunfire was occasional, but rare. Then more often it was the coroner's job. But farmers were fencing off the land about Wichita. The cowmen were soon driving their herds northward to Dodge City along the trails farther west. The railroad pushed on southward to the Indian Territory.

The meeting of a schoolteachers' association in Sedgwick County gives a far better indication of what was happening to the town by 1879 than any words I might employ. It was not that the cowboys were routed personally by New England's spinsters. There were bad men still in the community. But they were much less inclined to shoot up the town and they were increasingly mute. The honky-tonks and dance halls which had once greeted them with bright lights and open arms, unabashed, were slinking into the back streets and behind darkened windows. The influence of New England in this matter was unmistakable.

Then came blaring the "Peerless Princess of the Plains." Wichita became a boom town in the latter part of the 1880's, thanks to the

efforts almost single-handed, it is said, of "Colonel" Marsh Murdock, editor of the *Wichita Eagle*. Certain it is that he made his *Eagle* scream. But there must have been other causes as well of the growing population and its bursting energy. The census for the whole state shows that its population increased from a little more than 364,000 in 1870 to nearly 1,000,000 in 1880; and by 1890 its population was over 1,400,000.

For one explanation, this little settlement out upon the prairies was no longer living so completely upon the soil as it had in the 'seventies, in the days of the cattle drives and sheepherding. It had begun to find its wealth within the soil. Wheat farming was spreading rapidly into its neighborhood. Until very recently its brokerage or jobbing business and its retail trade have been dependent, perhaps still are, upon the condition of agriculture—in short, the marginal price of wheat. But for whatever reason, boom the town surely did in the 1880's. A contemporary newsman reported that a clerk had put his savings of \$200 into a lot and had sold it in two months for \$2,000. During the five months from January to May, 1887, some forty-odd sections of land were subdivided to be sold as town lots. It was said that the total amount of money involved in real estate transactions rose to \$35,000,000.¹

Murdock and his fellow enthusiasts thought they saw rising also the cultural metropolis of the Southwest. They planned five universities and built three. Of these, Garfield University, boastfully claimed to be the largest college building under one roof in this country if not the world, continues as a small Quaker college with the name Friends University. The second was opened and operated for a time but could not be maintained. The third was supported by Eastern funds and teachers for some years as a Congregational academy and college to purvey New England's learning and traditions to farmers' sons and daughters as well as the youth of Wichita and small neighboring towns. It has become the municipal University of Wichita.

The boosters of the city decided to bring cattle cars to the herds. The result was a large freight-car works upon the prairie north of the town. It failed in the panic of 1893. They also built what they claimed was the first electric street-railway system in the United

¹ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party* (Minneapolis, [1931]), 25-26.

States to replace their horsecars and to provide rapid transit into the city from the suburban residences which they were already planning. And they decided that watches should be manufactured on the spot rather than imported from the East or Switzerland. The company was organized, the factory erected, but its windows were not in place before its financing collapsed. The Y.M.C.A. put up a pretentious stone building only to lose it in the panic. It is now the Masonic Temple. And the first cowmen's hotels gave way rapidly to the last word in hotels at the time, the five-storied Carey Hotel. It is still operating, I am told, and its fame is still wide as the scene of Carry Nation's first assault upon barrooms. But it has long since been overshadowed in height and splendor by several more metropolitan and up to date.

The particular object of Mrs. Nation's attention on that occasion was the painting over the bar entitled "Cleopatra at the Bath." It was the work of the native artist, John Noble, who later won recognition for his art both in Paris and at Provincetown. Presumably it was not his lack of talent that vitalized Carry. What more recent psychiatrists would make of her, I can only guess.

Where gambling houses, proclaimed the "toniest" west of St. Louis, once were crowded with the cowmen of the 'seventies, banks flourished in the boom days of the 'eighties. Their interiors were even more ornate, if that were possible; but there was no more certainty of return upon investment, as the panic of 1893 quickly proved. Today banks still occupy those corners, sober, cautious, secure—or relatively so.

Agrarian discontent was already seething about the Peerless Princess before she collapsed from nervous perhaps as much as financial exhaustion. The 'nineties were times of hardship and suffering upon the prairies of Kansas. The "sod-busting" farmers were overreaching themselves. Their mortgages were too heavy upon their farms. They produced too much wheat and corn for the immediate demand. The railroad rates standing between the farmers and more distant markets were so high that they seemed like exactions of tribute. Into this situation rushed Mrs. Mary E. Lease, wife of a druggist in Wichita, calling the wrath of the countryside down upon the railroads and the banks of her fellow townsmen. It was she who exhorted the farmers to raise less corn and more hell. But probably what gave the business men of her town and her time more apoplexy

was her shrilling: "Kansas suffers from two great robbers, the Santa Fe Railroad and the loan companies. . . . We will not pay our debts to the loan-shark companies until the Government pays its debts to us. The people are at bay, let the bloodhounds of money who have dogged us thus far beware."¹ Mrs. Lease also declared: "The prairies of Kansas are dotted over with the graves of women who have died of mortgage on the farm."² It was too near the truth for the complacency even of bankers in the city. And so long as children in Eastern slums were undernourished while wheat rotted on the farms of the West, there was much to be said for her accusation that the distributing system of the nation was not working as it should.

Wichita survived both the panic and Populism. It receded down the slope of the riverbank known as College Hill as its depression deepened. Empty houses moving upon rollers into the bottom land of the two streams were a common sight. Graded streets which curved out upon the prairies toward future residential parks reverted to prairie grass. But the town recovered. Many left in discouragement, others to escape the sheriff, and were soon forgotten. Still others, however, remained doggedly working at the business of paying their debts and recouping their losses. And by the 1900's it was a quiet and secure little city—in spite of Carry Nation's effort to "hurrah" it as no cowboy would ever have dreamed of doing. It was enjoying a steady growth as a distributing point for Eastern manufactures, consumers' goods, buggies, wagons, and agricultural machinery; as a milling center for the wheat now flowing into its elevators from a more stable agriculture; as a packing town for the hog and cattle industry which had replaced the herds that once had come north from Texas to the railheads.

With this steadying of their economic enterprises, the townsmen found leisure for golf and the relaxation of a country club on the outskirts of the city. Whatever may have been the desire, perhaps the necessity, for such an escape to the country from fetid and overcrowded conditions of living in Eastern cities, it seemed incongruous on the prairies of Kansas where there was so little crowding and so much air. Nonetheless the Wichita Country Club flourished, and it

¹ Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 160.

² George D. Leighton, *Five Cities: The Story of Their Youth and Old Age* (New York and London, [1939]), 181.

marked as few other things could the sharp difference even upon the prairies between urban and rural people.

It was no time at all, of course, before a rival club sprang up around the dry "sloos" and hollows of another cow pasture. Whether this was because its founders could not get into the first club or because they thought they had found a better turf for a superior brand of golf, I would not be sure. It hardly has to be said that the occupants of the near-by farms belonged to neither club. But they did not much care. The ramping Populism of the 'nineties had subsided to mere progressive Republicanism in support of Theodore Roosevelt. He was, indeed, warning the "malefactors of great wealth" in Wall Street. But it was not with the shrillness or, possibly, the eloquence of Mary Lease. In any case, Kansans, whether townsmen or farmers, were quietly making money from the products of the soil and seeking only mild reforms in politics when the Great War came upon them.

The agricultural depression following the war in the 1920's visibly affected the community and the whole Southwest. Many were in distress although a few seemed more affluent as the city went deeper into the soil for wealth. Oil refineries appeared and even a small producing field. This by the blunt logic of nature was developed in one of the more luxurious residential sections of the town. And then came the airplane to make of Wichita in 1935 a mid-continent port of the United States.

By this time ten- and twelve-storied hotels and office buildings occupied or stood very near the sites where the prairie schooners and lumber wagons of 1869 were unloaded. Stockyards, packing plants, grain elevators, and flour mills had now put the town among the half-dozen milling and packing centers of the country. Airplane factories had begun to appear, which, expanding with war contracts today, have made it one of the fastest-growing cities. And far out of town on the prairies, reached by high-powered, sumptuous motors, Oil Men had built palatial residences that the Cattle Kings with all their imagination could not have conceived. But Wichita was still in 1935 a town of thousands of small homes set in straight lines, row on row, many of them squat bungalows built heavily of variegated brick with sleeping porches, two stories high, rising behind like cats' tails. And seemingly everywhere, in garages, in driveways, before the doors, were motor cars, though not so expensive perhaps as their

owners desired. As for country clubs, there were at least three, and now there was a municipal golf course.

Trees, which in 1868 could be seen only along the two rivers, marked the avenues and streets of 1935 from the rivers to the farthest suburban park—all planted and given special watering that they might not die. Many spread above the roadways and shut the blazing sun from the populace as the covered walks of the early days had never done. The “dust bowl” had crept toward the city; but many had taken care to meet the danger with air conditioning in their offices and homes. Their city was much more pretentious, really, than the Peerless Princess of the 1880’s. And it was far more secure. But it was still a little city of small proprietors, business men, wage earners, and laborers. Few were convinced that they had been born to a class, that they had no chance to alter their social position. Most were of the same mind as the pioneers who had come sixty years before: they were all going to be on “Easy Street.”

As the transcontinental plane from Los Angeles came over the southwestern horizon one summer’s evening, circled the field, settled to the runway, rolled to a stop, three natives of Wichita were idling at the fence to watch the cosmopolitans alight and walk stiffly across the field to the rest house. Perhaps those who had dropped from the sky were a movie star, a dynamic executive of some Eastern banking house, a director of a steel corporation, a general, possibly an admiral or two. What they thought of this hole in the universe and the three natives, of whom they took no notice as they passed by, I cannot record. I can only surmise. I doubt that they expected to see Indians and grass houses on those prairies as Coronado had, or Mead’s town with its prairie schooners, or Wyatt Earp and his cowboy foes from Texas, or Mrs. Lease and her farmers. I do not know. What they saw were natives, but natives who were graduates of Yale University. The influence of New England prevailed even in Coronado’s Quivira.

The Last Half Century of *Transcript* History

By ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN¹

SAMUEL P. MANDELL married Ann Dutton, daughter of William Henry Dutton, of the firm of Dutton & Wentworth, founders of the *Boston Transcript*. Their younger son, George S. Mandell, graduating from Harvard in 1889, became virtually the controlling force from that time until his death in 1934, thereby constituting what I am pleased to call the Mandell Régime. This was the last half century, broadly speaking, in the life of that newspaper.

Of the original firm, Mr. Dutton had early bought out his partner, Wentworth, so that the property was destined to descend in the Dutton line. This founder-proprietor had one son and four daughters. The son died childless at the age of forty on November 13, 1874, and the father, broken in spirit, followed him on April 15, 1875, at the age of seventy-nine. The younger Dutton's widow became the wife of Jerome Jones, the well-known head of Messrs. Jones, McDuffee & Stratton, china merchants in Franklin Street. To this son the elder Dutton had given one-third of his newspaper investment, the income of which Mrs. Jones continued to enjoy as long as she lived. To the four daughters the founder left one-sixth each. Two of these were maiden ladies, who lived with the Mandells and on their decease divided their holdings equally between their married sisters, Mrs. Mandell and Mrs. William Tracy Eustis. The latter died in 1900 and her husband in 1906, dividing their possessions among their six children.

On Mrs. Jones's demise in 1908 the principal of her estate went back to the descendants of the elder Dutton, her first husband's father, and since there were six Eustises in the third generation and only two Mandells, the Eustis group became owners of six-eighths of Mrs. Jones's third, and so of a majority of stock in the paper. But the Mandells continued undisturbed in its management. Mr. Samuel P. Mandell served as president of the company from 1875, on the death of his father-in-law, until 1920, when he died at the age of

¹ This paper was read at the October, 1941, meeting.

eighty-five. It had always been the family understanding that William D. Mandell should go into his father's business, that of C. F. Hovey & Company in Summer Street, while George should go into that which his mother inherited at the corner of Washington and Milk Streets.

These details of ownership seem vital to the story of the *Boston Transcript*. A cynic has said that in the ownership rests the only real editorship. There is something in that. Alexander Woollcott's theory, conspicuously expressed in the last presidential campaign, that the editors, reporters, correspondents, and other writers of a newspaper should, forming an industrial republic, elect their own leadership and decide on the paper's editorial policy has not yet become the law of the land. Since a majority of these writers are unionized in the guild and would undoubtedly limit future admissions to its ranks to their own descendants and friends, just as do the unionized members of the mechanical forces of the paper, it is easy to see that here is a predicted change which would vitally affect newspaper operation in America, and so give new meaning to the much-vaunted freedom of the press.

The extent to which newspaper owners have their own way, editorially speaking, in disregard of community preferences and desires, is a much-debated question. Its answer depends upon circumstances. In a highly competitive field owners incline to print the kind of newspaper that the community appears to wish and at least modify their editorial policies accordingly. In places where the ownership enjoys a nearly complete monopoly—and there the newspaper is usually profitable—its owners can do nearly as they please. The *Chicago Tribune*, the only morning newspaper in that great city, except for a small commercial daily, is an example in point.

The *Boston Transcript's* program in this regard was directed during the last fifty years of its life by George S. Mandell. Previous to that time it had been directed by Samuel P. Mandell, although he in turn was perceptibly influenced and moderated in his judgments by William Durant, who had been the mainstay in the business management of the property under the earlier Dutton owners. Durant had gone to Philadelphia with Mr. Mandell, on the death of the elder Dutton, to confer with the latter's friend, George W. Childs, then publisher of the *Public Ledger*, to see whether they would better continue the ownership of the *Transcript* property or should accept a

relatively modest offer for its purchase. Mr. Childs, studying the situation, warmly recommended their continuance of the paper, a decision for which they forever after remained profoundly grateful.

The first political controversy of importance came in 1884 when the Republicans nominated James G. Blaine for President, and the Democrats named Grover Cleveland. This was the year of the great Mugwump uprising. In all parts of the country newspapers of Republican affiliation, including *Harper's Weekly*, swung over to the support of the Democratic candidate. Mr. Edward H. Clement, then editor of the *Transcript*, afterwards an honored member of this Society, took the paper into the Cleveland camp. The elder Mandell was in Europe at the time and had not been consulted on this rather radical move. He was deeply incensed and would doubtless have terminated Mr. Clement's services as editor but for the warm backing which Clement received from Durant, whom the Mandells regarded as a wise and sagacious counsellor. (Mr. Durant remained throughout his life a warm admirer of Mr. Cleveland, voting for him in 1892.) But the friction that developed between the elder Mandell and Clement never altogether abated. While the two men met pleasantly on formal occasions, they were never friends. The senior Mandell once told me he did not like to come upstairs to the editorial offices of the *Transcript* because he did not like to run into Clement. After the 1884 experience, however, the *Transcript*, still under Mr. Clement's editorship, rejoined Republican ranks, supporting Harrison in 1888 and in 1892—but there were occasional suggestions that those who wrote the policy editorials did so with their tongues in their cheeks.

This may be a fitting place to remark upon some of the characteristics of the two chief actors in the controversy. Clement was cultivated, well-read, idealistic. He had three children by his first marriage, and he lived in the Back Bay. Naturally generous, he gave liberally to various causes and spent money in keeping up what he believed were the requirements enjoined by his position. He became aware, however, that Mrs. Jerome Jones, who never entered the building and was merely the one-time wife of the son of the founder, received \$50,000 a year in dividends on her property. Under the economic system of which this was a part Clement proved restive. He became a great believer in the nationalization of coal mines, oil wells, and other natural resources. He favored the government

ownership and operation of everything you could think of. He was a vegetarian, in theory always, and in practice most of his life. I recall an editorial which he turned in during my day explaining a drop in meat prices which had been chronicled in the morning newspapers as due to the spread of vegetarianism. He was an antivivisectionist and edited in Tremont Temple during the latter years of his life a small vehicle of propaganda. He once explained to me that he was not a thoroughgoing antivivisectionist but merely hoped by the Society's activities to hold in check the more shocking cruelties involved in the practice. He was a great friend of the Negroes, deeply incensed by the injustices to which they were subjected here as well as in the South. He naturally became an ardent anti-imperialist. It should be added that in general literary attainment and in the range of his editorial accomplishments he was markedly superior to any of his successors, and that he was the last editor of the *Transcript* whose control covered the whole paper. He had customarily given Boston travelers assignments to see on their trips to Europe this or that political leader or literary figure; he frequently called on the city department to send out its reporters to seek interviews in every direction. His successors, beginning with me, were restricted for practical purposes to the editorial page, George Mandell directing the other parts of the paper, both news and business, through the various heads whom he had installed.

Now the elder Mandell was an ardent Republican, even where this affected his own business adversely, as in the high protective tariff upon articles which C. F. Hovey & Company were disposed to import. He lived in a neighborhood in the Back Bay of very intense party feeling—so Jerome Jones, Democrat, always explained to me—and these neighbors Mr. Jones had all numbered and ticketed, with examples of their partisan intolerance, as he viewed it. At all events they were disinclined to get away from Republican leadership, and whenever they saw an issue like that of anti-imperialism in 1898, which threatened to invade the Republican ranks, they became alarmed. It is easy to see why Clement and the elder Mandell should have been so uncongenial, an uncongeniality to a large extent inherited by George Mandell.

Clement gave them a good many reasons for suspicion and dislike. He was cleverer than they. He was constantly putting things over, so to speak. On his retirement from the editorship in 1906, but

while he was still retained on the paper at a somewhat reduced salary, Wallace L. Pierce and the Reverend James DeNormandie decided to get up a testimonial fund designed to take care of some of his more pressing obligations. They prepared a letter of appeal to be sent to supposedly interested persons—naturally readers of the *Transcript*. The Mandells objected. They decided in conference with Pierce and DeNormandie on a revised version of the letter, painstakingly edited in the Mandell interest. It was only natural that they should wish to know what kind of appeal was to be addressed to their public in behalf of one of their employees. So the compromise version was reached. Then Clement, unknown to the Mandells, promptly wrote a letter himself, printed on a separate sheet of paper, and that paper of a different tint, to be included with the more formal missive, in which he set forth the points the Mandells had edited out of the original document. He thus accomplished the Pierce-DeNormandie purpose by indirection. He could nearly always do this. I recall a long editorial he once wrote on which I sought the counsel of George Mandell as to its publication. Mandell demurred as I had done. Yet it came out the next day on the editorial page in the Listener Column which Clement then ran. So far as Clement and the reader were concerned, it made relatively little difference in which column or in which size it appeared. Clearly he had great capacity for annoying the elder Mandell, whatever one may think of the basic issues involved in the controversy. These two antagonists were buried from the Arlington Street Church within a single February week of 1920, the elder Mandell at the age of eighty-five and Clement at seventy-five. Does not this recall Addison's reflections in Westminster Abbey beginning: "When I behold the tombs of the great every emotion of envy dies within me"?

George Mandell, who became the dominating force of the *Boston Transcript* when it was little more than half a century old, possessed far more education and culture than his father, and a vastly more liberal spirit—even though he did not like Mr. Clement. The younger Mandell was the most honest man, if that adjective may be qualified, that I have ever seen on a newspaper. He would not take free theatre tickets but sent his office boy to the playhouse to buy them. He would not take for himself any books sent for review, a long-established newspaper graft. He accepted only \$5,000 a year salary in the days of the newspaper's prosperity, although he gave

all his time to it, and when the paper ceased to be prosperous, he took no salary at all, though remitting none of his energy in its behalf. Year in and year out he sustained H. T. Parker, dramatic critic, in saying things that undoubtedly reduced the volume of theatrical advertising, as Mr. Mandell was repeatedly warned, by implication at least, by the late Eben D. Jordan in behalf of his Huntington Avenue Opera House. Mandell would not take items out of the paper to please his personal friends. He never gave those under him authority to do so. Daniel G. Wing, President of the First National Bank, whom I turned over to Mr. Mandell with such a request, feelingly remarked: "You stacked me up against a hard man." George Mandell's theory of political liberality was to allow his several editors to express, each in his turn, their own views on all the broad national questions. For example, he allowed James T. Williams, Jr., who had conceived a violent hostility to Woodrow Wilson, to criticize that President more severely perhaps than any other newspaper in the United States was doing. Mr. Mandell allowed Frank B. Tracy to argue valiantly for the adoption of a Federal income tax at a time when all taxes were held in great disfavor by *Transcript* readers. The elder Mandell had expressed great disgust with Theodore Roosevelt's prediction, in the dedication of a building in Washington, of the nation's early resort to this type of taxation. And yet the younger Mandell allowed Tracy steadily to advocate it. Tracy was an Iowan in general sympathy with the so-called progressive element of his section. Williams had been a great militarist. I had been a near-pacifist. We were all free to express our own opinions. Everything I ever advocated seems now to have been wrong. During my years of control of the editorial page I opposed encroachments of Federal authority and, like the great Grover Cleveland, looked with alarm on the mounting scale of public expenditure. Tracy, my successor in 1910, after a long period of failing health committed suicide by jumping off a Fall River boat on Thanksgiving Day. He was followed as editor by Williams, who cared little about economic questions and warmly advocated the soldiers' bonus. Williams resigned to become a special writer for the Hearst newspaper syndicate at an ample salary and is now engaged with great success in the lecture field.

To all these editors George Mandell gave an exceedingly free hand, too much so, I think, when one regards reputation for con-

tinuity of policy as a newspaper asset. There were some issues in which Mandell was interested, but their number was not large nor their influence important. By "interested" I do not mean financially but only intellectually. In those he practically dictated the paper's policy. His nearest to the middle-of-the-road editor was his last one, Henry T. Claus, who came to the paper immediately after leaving Tufts College and remained with it to the end. He now edits the morning and evening newspapers of Wilmington, the only ones in the state which enjoy Associated Press membership. Mandell regularly took the view that the *Transcript* was doing so much for Republican and affiliated causes that it should seize every opportunity where it was reasonably possible to give support to the opposition. He asked me not to accept an invitation to attend a meeting of Republican editors, saying he did not wish the *Transcript* to subscribe to such a classification. In fine, I never saw a newspaper proprietor try so hard to be scrupulously free from responsiveness to his own social environment, or one who regarded a newspaper as so little of a personal preserve as George Mandell. He sustained his own employees vigorously and what they said, an attitude of mind which led the late Nathan Matthews, former Mayor of Boston, to say that once any statement had been through the type metal of the *Transcript* composing room its accuracy became unchallenged.

But someone will ask why Clement, for example, was so poorly paid by contrast with the earnings of the stockholders. In part this was because they did not like Clement, but more because his salary had come over from the William Durant era, when economies were practised, made necessary for the paper's very existence, which would seem hardly believable now. My own predecessor as Washington correspondent in 1895 had received but \$20 a week, out of which he paid all his office expenses. And even this stipend went to him only when Congress was in session. The first correspondent the *Transcript* ever offered to send to a Republican National Convention was told he could go if he would take that time in lieu of his customary vacation. Few persons have the least comprehension of the small salaries of old-time newspaper workers, here and in other cities. Edward Page Mitchell told me of his early days, fresh from Bowdoin College, on the old and highly respectable *Boston Advertiser*, and of the minute salaries then prevailing. And yet this was the man who could write like Dana. Newspaper work seemed destined to be

poorly paid. It required too little in the way of training and apprenticeship. In very recent years the Newspaper Guild has effected some improvements, but doubtless at the cost of a lessening list of newspapers. The columnists make good money. They are a law unto themselves.

I never blamed good Mr. Durant for his economies. They were the order of his day. He was appalled on the coming to authority of George Mandell, whose continuing extravagances shocked the old man beyond expression. Durant told me he trembled for the future of the paper when he saw how that young man spent money. But as it happened this policy of the younger man proved coincident with a rapid upsurge in receipts, a condition which continued for thirty years. Then the earnings began to sag, and when the income tax returns were first printed the *Transcript* announced a profit of only \$78,000.

I must try to tell something of the *Transcript*'s relation to the community fifty years ago this autumn when I was first a reporter on its staff. *Transcript* readers constituted a fraternity. They might almost have had a password and a system of secret signals. At one home in the Back Bay four maiden ladies, four sisters, took four copies each day so that each might have undisturbed possession of her own. The advertising manager of the R. H. Stearns Company told me in 1910 that the store did not need to do general advertising in any other newspaper since all Stearns customers took the *Transcript* and all *Transcript* readers were Stearns customers, a view for which much could then be said. The *Transcript* reader customarily spoke of “my *Transcript*,” not “the *Transcript*,” in alluding to something he had seen there. One woman expressed great surprise to me fifty years ago that the death column in the *Transcript* had begun to carry Irish names, an invasion she could not understand, although for her observation she might have found a more felicitous lodgment.

The *Transcript* under the Mandell régime liberalized its news policies to some extent, and of course after that régime ended a few years ago, the various short-lived experimenters did almost everything they could think of without being able to prevent its decline and fall. At a birthday dinner given to William Durant, approximately sixty years ago, Mr. Edward W. Hazewell, a young and brilliant editorial writer, wrote a set of amusing verses predicting under Mr. Durant's leadership a lurch into sensational journalism.

The one horrible prediction that I best remember was that the *Transcript* would eventually carry pictures. It was not for some years that this practice began, but finally George Mandell became greatly interested in the development of news photography, and the *Transcript* gave increasing attention to this form of telling the day's great story. However, the *Transcript* never became sensational. It did not turn over its columns to detailed accounts of even the choicest murders—such as the Hall-Mills case, which appealed strongly to all our best people. To be sure, under Mr. H. H. Fletcher, who was taken over from the old Associated Press on its discontinuance, new departments blossomed out, such as a cotton page on Tuesday and a woolen page on Thursday and a religious page on Saturday, with results, particularly in the case of the two first named, of exceedingly doubtful value. It is a great mistake to make a newspaper look heavy and unattractive. The *Transcript* was always exceptionally strong in music, drama, and books, and these departments so remained to the end. Much of the newspaper's reputation rested on this phase of its activities. Its telegraphic service left nothing to be desired, particularly as modern appliances brought more and more material to its overcrowded desk.

The obituary column of the *Transcript* was long an institution in itself, conducted by Charles E. Alexander, whose meticulous attention to detail and studied exactness in his estimates made him a miniature day of judgment, except that he had to give some heed to whether the subject of his survey had died for the morning or the evening newspapers. Those whose deaths came fresh to the *Transcript* hopper he appraised a trifle higher than those whose decease had become by the afternoon an old story.

Some of the best things written by the *Transcript* never appeared because of the cautious restraint of its management. I recall that at the time the attorneys for the defense of Harry K. Thaw were covering pages of newspaper space with his so-called letters, clearly intended to show insanity, Mr. Rollin Lynde Hartt, the well-known humorous paragrapher, brought in this announcement: "One great mystery in authorship is nearing a settlement. Either Mrs. Eddy wrote the Thaw letters or else Thaw wrote *Science and Health*." I committed it to the wastebasket. At the same time we did not save the feelings of the Christian Scientists enough to prevent their starting a daily newspaper of their own. I have often wondered if this

would have been avoided if the *Transcript* had taken a more conciliatory attitude toward the believers. Their patronage of the newly established *Monitor* undoubtedly detracted from the circulation of the *Transcript* and so contributed to its ultimate demise.

In the old days the *Transcript* maintained a department headed “Divers Good Causes,” in which the ordinarily responsible reader could tell of some family that needed a wheel chair or a baby carriage, and in a few days the *Transcript* would print the names of those who had contributed to its purchase. Some persons attained great reputation for philanthropic intents by the prominence with which their names figured in these tables of acknowledgment. Letters to the editor proved a great feature. One excellent woman virtually contributed a restatement, or revised report, of every affair that she attended, so anxious was she that her *Transcript* impressions should be absolutely accurate. When I became editor in 1906, my friend John B. Smith, the father of Edson B. Smith, the present financial editor of the *Boston Herald*, congratulated me on my appointment but said he would not take the position himself because he did not like “the Back Bay state of mind.” He was speaking of a very real thing, as I came to understand, and as Mr. John P. Marquand has taught a wider public to perceive. When the first windy day in the spring sent clouds of dust scurrying across the macadamized highways, our beloved readers would climb up two flights of stairs to agitate for the calling out of the street sprinklers. One good man, a member of this Society, made the toilsome ascent on February 12, 1909, early in the working day, to warn me against a mistake which he feared I might commit, and that would be to speak editorially of Abraham Lincoln on the centenary of his birth as a great man.

Fifty years ago conditions were exceedingly primitive in the *Transcript* office. There was no typewriter, although two machines had been installed in the business office. There was but a single telephone for an entire newsroom consisting of ten reporters besides telegraphic and financial writers. There was no elevator until many years later and then on the business side of the building with an entrance on Milk Street. How we should have handled our callers had it been easier to get up to the editorial offices I have often wondered. They came not so much to bring pieces of news—although that was part of the story—as to help steady the old boat when it might otherwise have rocked in the stormy seas of Back Bay opinion. Many a

reader sighed, "I do not like to borrow my neighbor's paper to get the news," when something really wicked blossomed forth. Although I had nothing to do with this phase of the paper's activity—nor am I aware that any change in that regard was in process—numerous complaints reached the Mandells on my becoming editor to the effect that the *Transcript* was abandoning its old standards of propriety. The readers generally felt a responsibility with the editors for what its columns carried.

For many years the *Transcript* gained about 1,000 readers every twelve months. Its owners then felt entirely sure of its increasing and sustained prosperity. The illustration was once presented to me that just as the land at the corner of Washington and Summer Streets was steadily growing in value, so the *Transcript*, with its peculiar point of competitive advantage, would surely go on from strength unto strength. The paper then paid union wages to its mechanical employees without recognizing the union as such. In the business management Frederick B. Whitney assisted and eventually followed William Durant. He in turn was succeeded by Louis M. Hammond, whose devotion to the paper was evidenced in later years by his serving entirely without salary and finally by his making a substantial loan to the paper, a still severer test of loyalty.

Persons were always eager to work for the *Transcript*. This community contains an exceptional number of persons of both sexes who like to write and who enjoy a writing connection. I recall many examples of important contributions which were made wholly without compensation, even in the days of the *Transcript's* prosperity. The writer wished his message to appear in the newspaper that reached his group. The paper had extremely strong men in the old days in its various departments, or at least they seemed so to me, too long a list to recite at this time, and as my observations of the *Transcript* cover an even half century, the changes during that period in the filling of the various posts would in itself constitute an extended recital. The *Transcript* was of the old Boston, the Boston that is fading, an extreme example of the type of newspaper which has gone out nearly everywhere else in the world. I remember when the *Transcript*, early in this century, put in typesetting machines. Mr. Mandell, Senior, told me these were destined to save \$50,000 a year. They actually saved nothing. The machine enlarged the size of all

newspapers so that the typesetting bills were bigger than they had ever been before.

The personal relations of the paper to its community in the old era may be illustrated by what happened the day when a stout colored woman brought to the business office an advertisement saying that she would like to take in washing, and signed her name. Some hours later the notice came down from the proofroom with the comment that since it contained no address it would be of no use to her. The spry boy at the desk said he could fix that all right, and, grabbing the city directory, the predecessor of our present telephone book, he found a name on Brimmer Street, if I remember rightly, enough like the washerwoman's to satisfy his need, and so promptly affixed that address to the advertisement. Of the two callers the next morning the colored woman was the more easily appeased. The husband of the woman on Brimmer Street attributed his unfortunate publicity to a cantankerous sister-in-law who had in that way sought to humiliate him in his confessedly fallen estate by advertising that his wife wished to take in washing. He was not easily consoled.

In the summer of 1930 the *Transcript* celebrated by a dinner at the Copley-Plaza Hotel the first century of its existence, with everybody seated in the order of seniority on the pay roll. There were no speeches and no congratulatory letters. George Mandell had already despaired of the paper, and had it not been for an obligation he felt to keep alive positions for the employees, in whose personal welfare he was deeply concerned, he would then have closed down the plant. From that time forward the only question was what to do with it as it steadily sank in estate. The knowledge of such a condition within a newspaper is necessarily very injurious. Its proprietors were too honest to keep two sets of books, as one of America's great newspaper owners did, one with the facts and the other with what he wished prospective purchasers to believe. The *Transcript* owners knew they were doing poorly and made no secret of it, with results that were fatal to its morale.

Some may ask why the *Boston Evening Transcript*, after more than a century of honored history, was obliged to go out of business. The fundamental reasons are economic. The amount of money spent in advertising of all kinds in the United States has shrunk vastly since 1929. Of the present total, newspapers get only one-third, and that

percentage has been declining. Newspaper advertising in 1929 stood at \$800,000,000. It stands today at \$545,000,000. Periodicals are down from \$325,000,000 to \$225,000,000, while radio is up from \$23,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Do you see the *Saturday Evening Post*? It felt it necessary in the boom period to equip itself with presses which would bring out an edition of 256 pages three times out of every four. It prints today, as a rule, from 96 to 128 pages. Newspaper advertising, if the country is taken as a whole, now rests at approximately the 1918 level, while production costs have moved steadily upward. Circulation revenue has increased just as the circulation has. But that is not where the money lies. The number of dailies, in spite of a multitude of new ones constantly starting in the small cities, has fallen from 2,036 in 1933 to 1,877 in 1940. The real question is not why the *Boston Transcript* faded out but why it lasted so long, and why so many other newspapers are still among the living.

In this respect Boston's position remains highly exceptional. We have four morning and four evening and four Sunday newspapers of popular circulation. I do not include financial and commercial journals like the *Boston News Bureau*. Meanwhile the following cities have only one morning newspaper in the English language: Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Seattle, Pittsburgh, Denver, and Louisville. In the evening field two newspapers often remain, but rarely more than that. New York has only two morning newspapers besides the tabloids. Why should Boston, a city of stagnant or perhaps declining population and business, of fading financial strength and security, continue to publish four newspapers in each of the great time zones? The only answer to this question is that Boston cannot continue to do so. Economic forces rather than individual or personal leadership will decide the answer. Advertising rates are in constant competition with other devices for making the same appeal, like the radio, the theatre screen, the billboard, and the circular letter. Meanwhile newspaper costs of all sorts, particularly of labor and the various forms of taxation, have sent one side of the newspaper ledger spiraling upward just as the other side has been sagging downward. There can be but one end to these things—and that is fewer newspapers. Within our day the *Journal* has gone out, the evening *Herald* and the *Traveler* have been consolidated under the name of the latter. The *Record* and the *Advertiser*, which Mr. Charles

Sumner Bird, a public-spirited citizen, tried to maintain on a high plane, found eventual lodgment with the Hearst properties, and Mr. Hearst, who long maintained the theory that a newspaper once started by him must never be abandoned, has thrown that idea out of the window in city after city. The Scripps-Howard League has dropped some of its papers. Mr. Munsey was once the subject of a celebrated cartoon in one of the weeklies; he was pictured as establishing a cemetery for newspapers taken out of the competitive field. However, he was no more to blame than the Wagner Act and the New Deal taxation are to blame for what is happening now; these latter undoubtedly accelerate the tendency, but their responsibility is no greater than that.

Then there has been a great change in the character of Boston's population. It is a different Boston from that of the era when the Old Corner Book Store on Washington Street was the gathering place for the literary lights of a great period—the period when Boston basked in the afterglow of Emerson. Look at the Boston Athenæum, a wonderful institution, redolent of this old era, and free from taxation, something calculated to give its proprietors what the cartoonists call a grand and glorious feeling. I have seen its shares drop from the \$900 which I paid for mine to \$200, the last figure I saw quoted. Do you remember James Freeman Clarke, founder and pastor of the Church of the Disciples, whose *Ten Great Religions* was one of the standard works of his era? Long after his day his pulpit maintained a powerful tradition. The edifice has now been sold to the Seventh Day Adventists. To a considerable extent the *Transcript* fell a victim to this changing Boston. I cannot review this last half century of history without wondering how the proprietors were able to keep it alive so long in such a sadly changing world!

The War Debate of 1937-1941 and Its Lessons

By THEODORE CLARKE SMITH¹

THIS country has recently gone through a four years' debate of a kind scarcely paralleled at any previous period. It was a debate in which the words, acts, and legislative proposals of the administration were incessantly attacked on the ground that they were certain to bring on war. Whatever arguments were brought forward by the President or his supporters to justify their policies were brushed aside by the opposition as immaterial, for the danger of war was all that counted. The fact that the administration, from start to finish, disclaimed any intention or wish to bring on war did not serve to stop the attack which went on until the reverberations of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor put a stop to the clamor of tongues. The only other occasion in our history when anything comparable took place was when, in the winter of 1915-1916, President Wilson's stand on neutral rights was attacked, not on the ground that it was unjustified, but because it risked war. But this Congressional revolt was too short-lived and too easily quelled to offer any real parallel.

It has seemed worth while, at this moment before the recollections of the episode are buried under the pressure of war problems, to make an attempt to analyze the circumstances which gave rise to this prolonged controversy. It is not possible, of course, to attack the subject in any but a superficial way. There is a full record of speeches, public acts, and Congressional debates, but next to nothing is known as to the "inside history" of Presidential decisions on either the diplomatic or the personal side, and until such are known, the most that is permissible to attempt is a tentative outline of what the known facts suggest.

The decisive element in the whole affair is the fact that the President's policies ran counter, in certain respects, to some of the most thoroughly accepted American traditions as to foreign relations, and also affronted a special emotional attitude towards war that had taken possession of the American public and affected recent legislation.

¹ This paper was read at the February, 1942, meeting.

There was, to begin with, the established tradition, arising from the geographical situation of the country and also from the sporadic and episodic character of the previous wars that had taken place, to the effect that war was the exception, peaceful foreign relations the rule. The only circumstances in which war was felt to be justifiable were when the country was attacked or had been subjected to prolonged grievances for which no redress could be obtained. As part of this tradition there was a custom of steadily pacific diplomacy, sometimes interrupted by bad manners and bluster, but not relying on the threat of force save in occasional dealings with turbulent neighbors on the American continents. Toward Europe an attitude of entire neutrality in all European contests, joined with a complete disinterest in all purely European questions, was an unbroken rule.

In this pacific tradition there was one vulnerable point. There existed a firmly rooted tradition to the effect that American citizens had, as neutrals, a right to carry on trade in any foreign war with both belligerents under the protection of international law. Further, the American government was held bound to protect these rights. Three times, after patient and pained diplomacy, the United States had had to go to war to vindicate this tradition. The humiliating experiences of President Wilson in trying to conform to both the traditions, from 1914 to 1917, led him to advocate a change in American policy to the extent of having the country join in a League of Nations to prevent war, but this never received any Congressional sanction, and when embodied by Mr. Wilson in the peace terms, the treaty failed of ratification. The subsequent administrations reverted strongly to the established traditions, adding a claim for a navy equal to the greatest as a support for American rights under international law. The only forms of political coöperation with European governments that were tolerated by American opinion were conferences for the sake of establishing naval ratios or efforts at mediation in favor of peace. These traditions were all in full force when President Roosevelt initiated his new policy.

There was in addition a new emotional attitude about war that had its rise in the reaction against the kind of diplomacy that had brought on the World War. Idealism in dealings between states, as preached by President Wilson, was repudiated as fantastic and futile. War was the sum of all folly, and the crowning abomination was the expeditionary force of 1918. For a generation after the war this sentiment was

stimulated by a stream of writers and dramatists and a succession of historians who found only sordid economic forces operating in all diplomacy. This culminated in the movement called "revisionism," one of the most pestilent diseases that has affected historical and political thinking. Its exponents held that the European war had been caused by Great Britain, France, and Russia; that Germany was guiltless; and that all the ills of the world were due to the Versailles Treaty, a monument to British and French malignity. So incessantly was this last proclaimed that it became firmly fixed in the minds of millions of Americans as a political commonplace. A favorite corollary of this creed was that the treaty left the United States, France, Great Britain, and Russia as the "have" powers, while Germany, Italy, and Japan were "have nots," chiefly because they lacked large tropical possessions.

As applied to the United States, revisionism discovered that the American entrance into the war in 1917 was caused by munition makers and bankers, especially the House of Morgan which had loaned to the British government and wished to safeguard its investments. It was held that these plotters directed the policy of the State Department and the President. As for the actual declaration of war, that, the revisionists argued, had been voted by a bewildered Congress under the influence of British propaganda. To entertain a belief in this creed was considered the mark of a liberal and socially minded man.

In its most extreme form this antipathy to war appeared as outright Christian or philosophical pacifism: the belief that war was always wrong and that no country needed ever to fight. This gained a wide following in religious circles and had surprising success among university and college men. In both English and American institutions it led to manifestoes on the part of students declaring that they would refuse to take up arms in any war.

All these tendencies combined to lead Congressional revisionists to try to prevent war by removing what they felt to be the diplomatic, economic, and psychological causes. In 1935, when Italian aggression against Ethiopia threatened a European conflict, Congress passed an act (August 31) prohibiting the export of arms to a belligerent, establishing a federal control over the munitions industry, and authorizing the President to prohibit travel by Americans on ships

of belligerents. The next winter another law (February 29, 1936) added a prohibition of loans or credits by American citizens to a belligerent state or any purchase by them of its securities. Things getting worse in Europe, Congress passed two more acts in 1937. The first (January 8) prohibited the shipment of arms to Spain, then torn by civil war. The second (May 1) revised and extended both the earlier acts, adding a further prohibition, at the President's discretion, of the transportation of any American articles to belligerents except in belligerent ships and unless ownership had been transferred before their departure. This was popularly known as the "cash and carry" system. There was also a prohibition against arming American ships. This was called a "Neutrality Act," but it had obviously little to do with neutrality, properly so-called. It was an act to prevent the country from being "dragged into war" by sinister influences emanating from bankers and munition makers, or from being called upon to uphold neutral commercial rights. The things for which Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Wilson had contended were abandoned.

That this act represented American opinion is unquestionable. It passed both houses of Congress almost without opposition. The negative votes came mainly from isolationists who were dissatisfied because the statute did not bind the President more tightly and leave him no discretion. In 1937 it seemed to be the general conviction that no war between any other states could be of any real concern to Americans; that neutrality was the only safe policy; and that common sense called for the abandonment of traditional "rights" under international law, since they had in the past led to war and might do so again. Peace was the most important diplomatic objective.

It was in this atmosphere of aversion toward war and an almost fanatical belief in isolation that President Roosevelt set forth a view of the foreign situation that directly challenged the prevailing sentiment. It seems to have been the Japanese invasion of China, in August, 1937, coming after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and intervention in Spain, that inspired his words. On October 5, 1937, after reciting the unprovoked aggressions that were threatening the breakdown of civilized international relations, he said:

If those things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy. . . . If those days are not to come

to pass—if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely . . . the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.

Later in the same speech he added:

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.¹

The reference to concerted action and the allusion to a quarantine seemed to imply some world action, along the line of "sanctions," but Mr. Roosevelt did not develop that idea any further. He was far too cautious. The only positive action he proposed when Congress met was an increase in naval construction as a step towards security. In the case of a general war, he remarked on January 28, 1938, "we cannot assume that our defence would be limited to one ocean and one coast." In this Mr. Roosevelt struck the keynote for all of his subsequent proposals: national defense.

Within a short time after this speech the disquiet over Italian and Japanese aggressions was lost sight of in the alarm caused by German actions. Austria was suddenly annexed by force in April, 1938; Czechoslovakia was first dismembered, then annexed; and finally Poland, which resisted dismemberment under threats, was attacked and mercilessly crushed. Great Britain and France raised no objections to the violent seizure of Austria and actually aided Hitler at Munich to dismember Czechoslovakia and did nothing when he suddenly seized it. Finally girding themselves to try to protect Poland by making a defensive alliance, they were ignored by Hitler and could only declare war on him in September, 1939, although quite unable to give Poland any assistance.

During this time Mr. Roosevelt made three attempts to prevent war. In August, 1938, he wrote two letters to Hitler urging him not to plunge Europe into war, and justified his intervention by the same argument used a year earlier: "The supreme desire of the American people is to live in peace, but in the event of a general war they face the fact that no nation can escape some measure of the consequences." In April, 1939, after Hitler had seized Czechoslovakia and Mussolini had occupied Albania, he publicly asked each dictator to allay the general fear by promising not to invade any one of thirty named

¹ *New York Times*, October 6, 1937.

small states. Again he used the same argument to justify American interest in peace. Finally in August, 1939, he again appealed to Hitler, warning him against plunging Europe into war over the Polish question. By this time his language had become emphatic.

The people of the United States are as one in their opposition to policies of military conquest and domination. They are as one in rejecting the thesis that any ruler, or any people, possess the right to achieve their ends or objectives through the taking of action which will plunge countless millions of people into war and which will bring distress and suffering to every nation of the world, beligerent and neutral, when such ends . . . can be satisfied through processes of peaceful negotiation. . . .¹

To his arguments the dictator was completely impervious. Nothing but military backing could have given them any weight. So convinced was the President of the utterly unscrupulous character of Hitler that he ceased after this to have any dealings with him. He had already withdrawn the American ambassador, November 15, 1938, to mark his indignation over the persecutions of Jews and liberals in the autumn of 1938, and he did not replace him. When Under-Secretary Welles, in the winter after the outbreak of war, made a tour of the European capitals, he visited Berlin, but he bore no proposals and received none. His aim was solely to gain firsthand information. From this time onward Mr. Roosevelt steadily treated Hitler as an enemy of the human race and made no attempt to veil his opinions behind conventional diplomatic phrases. In the language of one German exile, he was the only head of a state to speak of and to Hitler as he deserved to be addressed.

It was four months after the Munich affair that the President began in earnest his campaign for a new foreign policy. In his annual address to Congress, January 5, 1939, he set forth his ideas at length, including an unmistakable allusion to the German policies toward Czechoslovakia.

. . . where religion and democracy have vanished, good faith and reason in international affairs have given way to strident ambition and force. . . . For if any government bristling with implements of war insists on policies of force, weapons of defence give the only safety. . . . We have learned that long before any overt military act, aggression begins with preliminaries of propaganda, subsidized penetration, the loosening of ties of good will, the stirring of prejudice and the incitement to disunion. . . . God-fearing democracies of the world which observe the sanctity of treaties . . . cannot safely be indifferent to international lawlessness

¹ *Boston Herald*, August 25, 1939.

anywhere. . . . Obviously they must proceed along practical, peaceful lines. But the mere fact that we rightly decline to intervene with arms to prevent acts of aggression does not mean that we must act as if there were no aggression at all. . . . There are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people. At the very least we can and should avoid any action, or any lack of action, which will encourage or build up an aggressor.¹

With this address the President began an unceasing attempt to convert the American people to the view that the domestic and foreign policies of the Nazi government constituted a positive danger to freedom and religion in the whole world and to the United States in particular. Realizing that this was in square contradiction to the whole body of accepted tradition concerning isolation, he exerted his utmost powers of persuasion and argument through a series of carefully prepared addresses delivered over the radio, all marked by skill in statement, a constant use of concrete images, a close adherence to the intellectual level of his audience, and a firm maintaining of the dignity appropriate to his position. There were over twenty such addresses in the years between January 3, 1939, and November 11, 1941, besides a great many short statements made in press conferences and on similar occasions. Taken together they form a body of doctrine and constitute the basis upon which his whole foreign policy rested.

It was the formulation and presentation of policies intended to carry out the idea of necessary defense against Hitler that tested the President's ability to countervail the overwhelming sentiment in favor of neutrality and isolation. It was here that his shrewdness was manifested. The first definite proposal, already made in January, 1938, was a great strengthening of the country's naval and air defenses. In a message of January 12, 1939, again urging an increase, he said, prophetically, "We must have armed forces and defenses strong enough to ward off sudden attacks against strategic positions and key facilities," and he pointed to the behavior of Japan, Italy, and Germany for illustration. An organized attempt to defeat this proposal was made by some isolationists, but it broke down completely, and no such attempt was again made. American naval defense was too thoroughly in keeping with tradition, especially recent tradition, to be successfully opposed.

¹ *New York Times*, January 5, 1939.

Another corollary of the German danger was a movement for unity in the Western Hemisphere to block Nazi encroachments. This was launched by Secretary Hull at the Lima Conference of December, 1938, and continued with increasing intensity as war clouds darkened. This was so fully in keeping with established traditions growing out of the Monroe Doctrine as to command general approval. It played no part in the debate of these years and need not be further considered here, important as it was.

The remaining conclusion drawn by the President from his conviction of the grave danger to the United States from the unbridled ambitions and aggressions of dictators seemed to be embraced in the somewhat indefinite sentences at the close of the quotation given earlier (page 520). What this meant, translated into concrete terms, was that it was to the national interest of the United States to give economic assistance to countries threatened or attacked by aggressors and to withhold it from the dictator states. Nothing could have been more completely contrary to the established traditions of neutrality and isolation, but it was noteworthy that only when applied to European countries did it arouse the opposition that was naturally to be expected. At the time the President spoke, the policy was already in full operation in regard to the Sino-Japanese struggle. When Japan invaded China in August, 1937, to compel the Chinese government and people to "coöperate," the Japanese government refused to call the resulting hostilities a war. They constituted an "incident." Taking advantage of this transparent pretext, Mr. Roosevelt refused to apply the provisions of the Neutrality Act to the situation, and so trade continued with both combatants. What was important was that by this device it became possible to export munitions to China and to supply a loan. The United States was actually working against Japan, a situation that was ultimately to lead to war, but so long as Japan continued to export to the United States and to secure from it oil and scrap iron, the Japanese government made no serious objections. What was significant was that American opinion entirely upheld the President, and this application of his proposal called forth no debate and no criticism.

It was when the President's policy of aiding democracies was applied to European countries that opposition instantly developed. When in January, 1939, he used his influence to facilitate the purchase by France of recent-type American airplanes, he ran into an

angry and suspicious body of critics. But he continued his policy and in the spring of 1939 ventured to risk a Congressional contest by supporting Secretary Hull when he proposed to amend the Neutrality Act so as to permit the export of munitions in time of war. Mr. Roosevelt was certain that Hitler meant to strike, and he hoped that Congress might remove the embargo before war should break out. Mr. Hull also advocated the continuation of the cash-and-carry clause, which expired by time limit on May 1, so that munitions would be treated like any other exports, but Congress proved recalcitrant. The President's warnings had not had time to gain full support. The House voted to retain the arms embargo, and the Senate committee in charge of the bill refused to report it for action in spite of a personal plea by the President.

After war broke out in Europe on September 1, 1939, the embargo on munitions went into effect, and the President faced the blocking of his whole plan unless he could get Congress to act. Hence he made a plea on September 21, renewing the proposal to treat munitions like all other articles on the cash-and-carry basis and adding suggestions to keep American ships out of combat zones. He stated his object with entire frankness, although without using names openly: "It [the embargo] had the effect of putting land powers on the same footing as naval powers. . . . A land power which threatened war could thus feel assured in advance that any prospective sea-power antagonist would be weakened through denial of its ancient right to buy anything anywhere."¹ This time Congress acted and adopted his suggestions by large majorities: the House by 243 to 172, the Senate by 55 to 24. There had been a strong swing in sentiment. Thus France and Great Britain were enabled to continue purchases.

This first phase of the President's policy lasted from January, 1939, until the early summer of 1940. During it Mr. Roosevelt hammered away in his speeches on the increasing danger from Hitlerism and the rising need of aiding Hitler's opponents, "short of war." The actual aid to France and England continued to be privately purchased under the cash-and-carry system. But by June, 1940, circumstances had changed so greatly as to alter the whole American outlook. The astounding military triumphs of Germany, preceded by the most cynical invasions of neutral states, beginning

¹ *New York Times*, September 22, 1939.

in April and culminating in the collapse and surrender of France on June 22, raised to a hitherto unequalled importance the question of American national defense. From being a mere concomitant of American foreign policy it leaped to become a dominating factor. Everything that the President had been saying about the potential danger to the United States and the Western Hemisphere suddenly assumed the aspect of a terrifying possibility, and Congress at the President's urgent and repeated suggestions turned with unheard-of alacrity to the task of creating defenses adequate to meet a German overseas menace.

Between June and September the following acts, among a large number, were passed: one, on July 2, authorizing the prohibition of exports of munitions and war materials which was later the basis of an embargo placed (September 25) on the export of scrap iron or steel to any place outside the Western Hemisphere, except Great Britain; one, on July 19, authorizing a "two-ocean navy"; one, on August 27, authorizing the calling of the National Guard into Federal service; and one, on September 16, providing for an enrollment of manpower and the raising of an army by selective draft—a step never before taken in time of peace.

While this rush toward defensive armament was in progress, the President began to take steps toward an extension of the foreign policy outlined in January, 1939. There now remained only one power still opposing Nazi arms—Great Britain—and its situation after the surrender of the French and the loss of its artillery and tanks in the campaign of Dunkirk seemed almost desperate. During the late summer and autumn of 1940 Great Britain, with an outnumbered air force, was fighting for life against the German effort to bomb it into submission by destroying its industrial cities and important seaports. Even the British seapower was threatened by the merciless depredations of submarines and airplanes against shipping. The effect upon American opinion was tremendously to stimulate the demand for defense and to deepen the gravity of the whole international situation. Sensing the change in American temper, the President now began to take steps directly aiding Great Britain in its hour of necessity. This marked a second phase in the development of the President's foreign program.

In June he caused the War Department to turn over to Great Britain, through an intermediary firm, a large quantity of World

War small arms and artillery, classed as obsolete, but still capable of use. This was to help in the emergency existing after Dunkirk. Then, in September, a still bolder step was taken. By an exchange of notes the United States secured the right to establish airplane and naval bases in eight British colonies, extending from Newfoundland to Guiana, by giving fifty "over-age" destroyers to Great Britain. By this stroke the President gave England desperately needed naval material and greatly strengthened the possibilities of American coast defense. Later, on November 8, 1940, he promised an equal apportionment of all new American airplanes between England and the United States.

By the end of the year the President was ready for a still bolder step. The policy of supplying Britain through private sales began to show a weakness in that British financial ability to continue purchases under the cash-and-carry system was almost exhausted. After the existing contracts for supplies and munitions were filled, there was doubt as to the possibility of making enough more to fill British needs. Cash and credit were lacking. Mr. Roosevelt then set forth in a powerful radio address to the country on December 29 the necessity for the Federal government to take over the business of supplying Great Britain as a component part of national defense. "If Great Britain goes down," he declared, "the Axis powers will control the Continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military." The course that he advocated was not, he maintained, "a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion" but "a matter of realistic, practical military policy, based on the advice of our military experts."¹ His concrete proposal was that the Federal government should take over the matter of supply and should either postpone compensation or take it in ways that would not impose crushing financial burdens.

This led to the enactment of a bill known from its third clause as the "Lend-Lease Act." Its language was dryly technical. It contained no reference to the war in Europe, it announced no international policy, and it purported to be, by its title, only "An Act to

¹ *New York Times*, December 30, 1940.

promote the defense of the United States." But it authorized the President to transfer to any government whose defense he considered "vital to the defense of the United States" any "defense article," including munitions, food, or any other form of supplies. It also authorized repairing or reconditioning any "defense article" for such a government, which included men-of-war. It further appropriated enormous sums for the purposes named. It took two months to get the bill through Congress, but the final majorities were ample: in the House 260 to 165, in the Senate 61 to 30. There could be no claim of any lack of Congressional support.

The President secured by this measure a power to be exercised in complete disregard of any and all preëxisting American traditions concerning legal neutrality and isolation. That he succeeded was due to his waiting to time his proposal at the moment when the Nazi bombing of Great Britain had profoundly shocked and alarmed American feeling, driving home the truth that sea power was no longer an absolute protection and that British stubbornness was all that stood between the Germans and the partly armed United States.

The third and last phase of Mr. Roosevelt's new foreign policy began after the signature of the Lend-Lease Act on March 11, 1941, and extended until the outbreak of war in December. In it the government of the United States, while still legally at peace, played the part of an active economic participant in the world war and performed a series of acts that contravened every American tradition of neutrality. All of them were done on the assumption by the President that when the Lend-Lease Bill was enacted, the country intended the "defense articles" supplied to other states to reach their destinations. "Our country," declared Mr. Roosevelt on March 15, "is going to be the arsenal of democracy."

Aid was accordingly sent not only to England but to Greece, to Yugoslavia, and, through Britain, to Turkey. When in June, 1941, Hitler suddenly attacked Russia, the American government, on June 29, did not shrink from promising aid to the Soviet Republic in spite of the extreme ill repute of that country in the United States. In August Mr. Roosevelt took the bold step of meeting Mr. Churchill on a warship in the North Atlantic for consultation about ways and means of supplying aid, on which occasion the two men issued a joint statement of peace aims on which the sentiment of the two countries could agree. When it is considered that one power was at

war and the other legally at peace, the extraordinary nature of this maneuver is obvious.

Equally striking were other measures taken for the purpose of aiding the transportation of Lend-Lease articles. On April 10 Greenland was taken under American protection by agreement with the Danish minister and the inhabitants. On April 18 it was announced that American warships were patrolling the North Atlantic to aid convoys by furnishing information of submarines. On June 6 an act authorized the government to take over foreign-owned ships, a thing which was immediately done. On July 7 it was announced that United States troops were in Iceland to protect that island as a point on the shipping route to England.

Direct action against Germany followed shortly. On June 11 all German consulates were closed on the charge that they were interfering with the shipment of supplies under the Lend-Lease Act. On September 5, after several American vessels had been torpedoed, both merchant ships and naval patrols, the President issued orders for the latter to shoot if attacked or if they saw any submarine operating in the western Atlantic. He explained this action in a radio speech of September 11 which clearly indicated the difference between his attitude and that of President Wilson under somewhat similar circumstances. He intended, he said, to uphold the freedom of the seas, by which he meant the right of American ships to traverse the oceans outside of blockaded areas without molestation. The Hitler government had declared enormous war zones, but, he said, "Actually they are sinking ships at will and without warning in widely separated areas both within and far outside of these far-flung pretended zones. . . . It is now clear that Hitler has begun his campaign to control the seas by . . . wiping out every vestige of international law, every vestige of humanity. . . . Normal practices of diplomacy—note-writing—are of no possible use in dealing with international outlaws who sink our ships and kill our citizens."¹

In recognition of this situation he asked Congress on October 9 to repeal the prohibition against arming merchant ships included in the Neutrality Act and also called the attention of Congress to the prohibitions which he had himself suggested in 1939 upon American ships entering war zones or ports of belligerents. "It is essential," he said, "to the proper defense of our country that we cease giving the definite assistance which we are now giving to the aggres-

¹ *New York Times*, September 12, 1941.

sors. For, in effect, we are inviting their control of the seas by keeping our ships out of the ports of our own friends."¹ These proposals involved virtually destroying the supposed "safeguards against war" set up by the Neutrality Act, but Congress responded and on November 11 the amending bill became law. American merchant ships might henceforth carry guns and might sail directly to Great Britain. The House majority on repealing the prohibition on arming was 259 to 138; the Senate vote was 50 to 37. With this step American commerce was nominally restored to the general status of a neutral under international law, free from the special restrictions imposed under the lead of the revisionists. But, as the President remarked, international law had ceased to have any meaning, and the repealing amendment could most properly be regarded as a step in the policy of aiding victims of aggression.

The President's initiative thus finally led the country from a position of extreme isolationism into one of active support of a definite world policy. Unprecedented as this was, it should not be overlooked that the idea of opposition to aggressors was by no means novel. It had been widely discussed as a possible addition to the Kellogg Pact of 1927, and although isolationist tendencies had defeated any proposal to permit the United States to discriminate between aggressors and victims, the idea was a familiar one and represented a sentiment to which the President could confidently appeal. Furthermore, the fact that the actual measures were frankly based on national interest and national defense tended to make them acceptable. "We have made no pretense," said Mr. Roosevelt on May 26, 1941, "about our self-interest in this and Great Britain understands it—and so does Nazi Germany."

A good many writers, supporters as well as opponents, pointed out that the President's logic pointed to actual participation in the war on the side of the democracies, but Mr. Roosevelt was too well acquainted with the American temper to risk adopting any such position. The idea of war for national interest was still beyond the comprehension of most Americans. They still felt that the only justifiable war was one actually in defense, a war thrust on the country by actual outrages or affronts or, at the most remote, by an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine. The fact that Germany and Italy, in spite of the American program of open aid to the enemies of the dictators,

¹ *New York Times*, October 10, 1941.

remained passive, kept American temper still pacific. Doubtless the Axis leaders realized this American tradition and accommodated their policies to it. Their statesmen and their press assailed Mr. Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and buried him in abuse, but they took no action to resent his doings. As a rule they affected a supreme contempt for all that the United States had done or might do. Hitler said more than once that American aid to Britain could not prevent or even delay that country's destruction.

The real German reply was indirect but far-sighted and in its outcome very effective. On September 27, 1940, Germany made a triple treaty of alliance with Italy and Japan in which each power recognized the others' plan for a "New Order," whether in Europe or in the Far East, and agreed to act together if attacked by any power not then involved in the European or the Asiatic war. This was obviously aimed at the United States and was calculated, apparently, to deter any aggressive move on its part. The object of the treaty was at once recognized, but it was brushed aside by Secretary Hull and defied by the President. On October 12, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt declared: "No combination of dictators will stop the help we are giving to almost the last free people to hold them at bay."

The position occupied by the United States was now almost beyond comprehension by many of its citizens. It was still looked upon as a phase of national defense, in spite of its world-wide scope. Never before had the country engaged in world politics after this manner. Yet with all its manifold developments American policy still remained as defined by Mr. Roosevelt in 1939: aid to democracies "short of war."

The effect of the gradual evolution of the President's policy was to call forth immediate and implacable opposition from all in the country who upheld the accepted traditions. Some of this came at the start from men accustomed to conventional standards of diplomacy, who were shocked at the President's unsparing condemnation of the aggressions of the dictators. William R. Castle, at one time in the State Department, speaking on February 22, 1939, deplored "verbal attacks on other nations." "International good manners," he said, "are more than ever necessary in these days and the United States government should speak and act firmly and clearly but always with courtesy." J. F. Dulles went even further. On March 23, 1939, he condemned the President's reference to the sanctity of

treaties. "Our government," he complained, "has made itself the principal exponent of the status quo philosophy and thereby forfeited all moral influence with the German, Italian and Japanese people."

These headshakings were soon lost sight of in the more violent attacks that were aimed by the upholders of the recent "neutrality" legislation. These men were not concerned with international bad manners but with the serious danger that the President's utterances and, still more, his concrete acts and proposals might involve the country in war. From his first speech, that of October 5, 1937, to the proposal in November, 1941, to repeal the prohibition on arming merchant ships, this was the one unvarying charge: that his policy "meant war." And with war was invariably linked an expeditionary force to France as in 1918. The two were treated as inseparable, as synonymous. It was always assumed that any departure from traditional diplomacy or any modification of the Neutrality Act meant the dispatch of "our boys" to Europe. The public had been taught for a good many years that the avoidance of war was a sufficient end in itself and ought to constitute the principal diplomatic objective of the government.

When one tries to discover just how the policy of the President would bring on war, one reads the anti-administration speeches as a rule in vain. The usual assumption seemed to be that any departure from neutrality would lead Germany to declare war, but the idea was never developed. Sometimes it was suggested that the President meant to get the country involved in "unneutral acts" and then call for a declaration of war to maintain them. Occasionally isolationist senators, remembering the War of 1812 and the World War, accused the President of trying to create "incidents" by sending American vessels into danger zones, with the intention of calling for war as a consequence of German "defensive" action. As a rule, however, small attention was paid to such details.

The President tried steadily to break the force of this charge by including in nearly every speech a disclaimer of a desire for war or any intention to bring on war. On the dreaded expeditionary force he was highly specific. On October 30, 1940, toward the end of the presidential campaign, he declared: "I have said this before and I will say it again and again; your boys will not be sent into any foreign war." In his aggressive radio speech of December 29, 1940,

paving the way for all-out aid to Britain, he was explicit on this point: "There is no demand for sending an American expeditionary force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your government to send such a force. . . . Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and away from our people."¹

No such statements deterred the opposition from constantly repeating the charge that he was scheming to drag the country into war. Representative Fish of New York was led by the President's proposal to "build up" the democracies to refer to "this war-mad, blood-crazed administration." In similar fashion opposition speakers paid no attention to the fact that none of the policies they execrated did cause war. The failure of the German and Italian governments to resent the "unneutral acts" in any way except by abusive words did not discourage the unchanging repetition of the prediction that each new step "meant war" and an expeditionary force. The whole attack, in fact, was on a thoroughly emotional basis, and it did not alter during four years of vociferous opposition.

Here, for example, is the reaction of the *Boston Herald* on October 6, 1937, to the President's speech of the day before. The editorial writer did not deny that the foundations of civilization might be shaken by the international lawlessness, but, he continued, "this time, Mr. President, Americans will not be stampeded into going 3000 miles across water to save them. Crusade if you must, but for the sake of several million mothers, confine your crusading to the continental limits of America!" Senator Wheeler, the most active isolationist of all, brought the terrors of an expeditionary force into every speech. In the debate on the Lend-Lease Bill he achieved the rare distinction of stirring the President's indignation when he said: "It may well mean that every fourth American boy will be ploughed under African or European soil." In the debate on the bill to permit the arming of merchant ships, in November, 1941, the Senator gave a florid exhibition of this emotional approach to the subject:

It is no secret that planning has begun for an A.E.F. on the hysterical bombast of those unthinking people who want to declare war first and think about winning it afterward. . . . It will be three or four million mothers' sons who will be packed like sardines in a troop transport, wondering if they will ever set foot on dry land again. It will be three or four or five million American boys who will

¹ *New York Times*, December 30, 1940.

cower in ditches to escape bombs and shells and machinegun bullets and flame-throwers and hand grenades. And upon us who failed them will fall their curses, deserved curses because we were blind to facts.

This grim picture was repeated *ad libitum*. It played the major part in the agitation "against war" which was vigorously organized as the debate went on. Professional peace organizations already in existence took up the cry, and new ones formed to "keep the country out of war" made themselves heard. By 1940 the most vociferous of all, the America First Committee, had taken the field with public meetings, petitions, memorials, sponsored radio addresses, and an unceasing flow of statements to the press. Clergymen of pacifist tendencies, college presidents, and retired public men hastened to take part and let themselves be quoted. One of the most fertile devices for propaganda was the Congressional committee hearing, before which prominent opponents of the President kept reappearing as "witnesses" or "experts." Then the device of flooding Congress with letters and telegrams "against war" was freely employed, and ultimately numerous and noisy "peace demonstrations" were organized by groups concentrating on Washington, where they picketed the White House and the doors of Congress and were occasionally able to make an uproar in the galleries of the House or Senate. By 1941 an organization of "Mothers" became especially prominent.

Perhaps the least hysterical voices in this campaign were those raised by the out-and-out pacifists, who opposed endangering peace not out of fear of an expeditionary force but out of religious or moral convictions. Prominent among such was ex-President Hoover, who made frequent speeches opposing involvement in the European contest. In February, 1939, for instance, in criticizing the President's speech of January 3, he said:

Our country, standing apart, can make a contribution of transcendent service in holding aloft the banner of moral relationships . . . wrongs cannot be righted and durable peace cannot be imposed on nations by force. . . . I want America to stand against that principle, if it is the last nation under that banner. I want it to stand there because it is the only hope of preserving liberty on this continent.¹

The form that this agitation took was a novelty. Never before in American history had any such movement taken place based on the conviction that avoiding war is an aim that transcends any other.

¹ *New York Times*, February 2, 1939.

Below it there lay the century-old tradition that peace was normal and war, save in self-defense, was unjustifiable, but the form that this agitation took was an outgrowth of the propaganda that had culminated in the Neutrality Act. In the polls taken by the Institute of Public Opinion, directed by Dr. Gallup, there was regularly a proportion of 85 per cent or higher that opposed entering the European war, even when over 70 per cent were also in favor of the President's policies. This was constantly cited by the opposition speakers as a proof that the American people wanted peace more than anything else. Several times they challenged the President's supporters to bring in a declaration of war, confident that they could defeat it.

The most peculiar feature of this uproar was that there was, strictly speaking, no other side. Nobody outside a negligible handful advocated war. It became obvious as time went on that the mere blind fear of war was not enough, once the European contest had really begun, to prevent a majority of each house of Congress from sustaining the President's policies, even though a majority were probably firmly against war. An incongruous result was the presence of isolationist features. Both the act for calling the National Guard into service and that for a selective draft showed the persisting antipathy to an expeditionary force by limiting the use of the troops to the Western Hemisphere or to the possessions of the United States. Similarly the Lend-Lease Act contained a provision, quite in keeping with the temper of the Neutrality Act, prohibiting the use of naval convoys.

The opponents of the President's policy did not limit themselves to a mere outcry against war, especially when they found that it did not prevent the passage of the administration measures. From the start they appealed to the established tradition of isolationism in order to block the President's insistence upon the deadly danger inherent in Nazism. As the course of events visibly strengthened the public's belief in the truth of the President's position, the opposition became increasingly vigorous in denying it. "This is not our war," was their constant declaration, "and we should stay out of it." To sustain this position they used a wide range of arguments. For a time they claimed that it was a matter of perfect indifference to the United States what kind of government "the German people chose to have." As the sickening revelations of German cruelty and op-

pression turned virtually the whole American public against the Nazis, this argument ceased to be of any weight. But a great many, perhaps most, of the opposition speakers took perforce the ground that no matter how unpleasant Hitler's methods might be, they constituted no danger to the United States. The whole argument of the President based on that idea they scouted as nonsense, pointing to the impossibility of a successful attack across the Atlantic. They usually spoke as though only actual invasion could constitute a danger.

One speaker who went the furthest in this line was Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Beginning in the autumn of 1939, he spoke repeatedly against sending any aid to England or France on the ground that the country could make itself safe only by keeping all arms and munitions at home. To bolster this he proclaimed constantly that it was impossible for Germany to be defeated since it was the natural air power to control Europe, and the United States was making a bad mistake in opposing the inevitable. "This war was lost by England and France," he said on April 17, 1941, "even before it was declared. It is not within our power to win the war for England, even if we throw the entire resources of the nation into the conflict." The identity of his position with that of Hitler was shown when, in a hearing on the Lend-Lease Bill, he declared that "efforts to aid the struggling democracies will prolong the war and will not materially affect its outcome."

What ultimately ruined Colonel Lindbergh's standing was his rigid refusal to criticize Nazi methods or Hitler's attacks on neutrals. They were really caused, he said, by the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles and by British and French subsequent policies. He further reproduced German ideas when he held that the way to assure peace was to come to an agreement with the Germans as the dominating power in Europe. "But we are told," he said, "that if Germany wins the war, coöperation will be impossible and treaties no more than scraps of paper. I reply that coöperation is never impossible when there is sufficient gain on both sides and that treaties are seldom torn apart when they do not cover a weak nation." The incredible naïveté of this utterance (August 4, 1940) was too much for American public opinion. Even isolationists began to turn against him, but he continued his campaign, with stubborn persistence, under the America First Committee. Finally, on Septem-

ber 11, 1941, he practically ruined himself by openly employing German phraseology in a speech: "The three most important groups which have been pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration." By this time he was a distinct liability to the opposition. He was often excluded from public halls, and when he did speak, it required hundreds of police to maintain order. This, in his own eyes, raised him to the status of a martyr to free speech and peace. But his popularity and influence were gone.

Since the arguments based on Hitler's harmlessness and the impossibility of attacking the United States manifestly made slight impression in the face of the terrifying effect produced by the German attacks on neutral countries and the horror aroused by reports of their persecutions, extortions, and brutalities in occupied countries, the opposition speakers frequently undertook to prove that whatever Hitler might be, the British and French were as bad or worse and deserved no sympathy. It was constantly asserted that they were just as imperialist in declaring war to protect Poland as the Germans were in attacking that country. A typical utterance of that character was that of Senator Capper in opposing the amendment of the Neutrality Act in November, 1941: "I am unalterably opposed to the United States participating in the war in Europe, Asia and Africa. Therefore, believing that this legislation now before us amounts to voting all-out war—(and not defensive but imperialistic war)—I must and will vote no." More tersely, Representative Marcantonio of New York said of the Lend-Lease Bill: "This bill would catapult the American people into a war between two gangs of imperialist bandits." All this was in the approved isolationist manner.

With the extreme revisionists and the surviving members of the "Battalion of Death" of 1919, England was the international villain. At the opening of the debate in 1939 Senator Nye took exception to Mr. Roosevelt's intention to aid French rearmament. "Our foreign policy should be devoid of playing favorites in Europe," he said, "at least until those who won the loot from the last war offer to adjust the injustices of Versailles." In 1941 Mr. McMichael, leader of the Youth Congress, opposed the Lend-Lease Bill, saying, "We are against Hitler now and we are against the Versailles and Allied imperialism which produced him." Senator Wheeler sneered simi-

larly at the President's words: "Democracy and the American way of life are at stake! What hypocrisy! What transparent idiocy, hardly disguised, straight from the New York banks and capitalists concerned over their investments in British cartels and monopolies!"

Senator Borah, of course, went the furthest in this line. Even before the war broke out, he denounced it as an example of British and French wickedness.

A more sordid imperialistic war could hardly be imagined than this war should it unfortunately come. Great Britain and France violate treaties, disregard the most fundamental principles of right, pursue methods which inevitably lead to war and then call upon the United States, Canada, and other nations to save them from their own intolerable and vicious methods. When the time comes for the rising generation to deal with Nazism, Fascism, Communism . . . they will deal with it upon American soil and not upon foreign lands where they would be sold out within a fortnight after they had finished their job as they were at Versailles.

Dislike of Great Britain was of course a tradition existing quite apart from isolationism or revisionism and dating from the very foundation of the country. Surviving for the most part as an inactive tendency, it could be aroused by such things as the naval parity question from 1919 to 1930 and by the teachings of the revisionists. It could always count upon the hostility of Irish immigrants and their descendants and also that of some other racial groups of European origin. Overwhelmed in these years by the general horror of Hitler and the sympathy for the British people under attack it stood ready to crop out at any time. As late as the debate on the neutrality amendment of 1941 a representative from Texas gave this version of the tradition that the English preferred to let others do their fighting for them:

Our full participation is just what England is waiting for. England is now spending more money to help this country make up its mind about getting into the war than what she is spending on helping the Russians. . . . If the United States moves in, I am afraid that with Russia fighting on the Eastern front, and the United States on the Western front, England would want to sit back and referee it. Let's tell England, "We know you're in distress and we're sorry for you. But you get in there and fight like hell yourself for a while and then we'll see if anything else should be done."

In view of the anti-English prejudice, which was deepened by the cynical abandonment of the Czechs by Chamberlain at Munich, Mr. Roosevelt was forced to follow a cautious line during the first

two years of his policy of aiding democracies. He never mentioned Great Britain in his speeches, nor did he display any intimate relations with British ambassadors nor depart from generalities in speeches welcoming them or greeting the King and Queen on their visit. But after Mr. Churchill became Prime Minister in May, 1940, and displayed a courage in the face of catastrophe that commanded admiration, it became possible to speak respectfully of the British war effort and within a few months to pay public tribute to the fortitude of the British people under the German air attack. By this careful timing the President avoided successfully the dangerous charge of being pro-British.

A more recent but well-established tradition was that of fearing and working against Communism and against Russia, the Soviet state. During the years of the war debate a Congressional committee headed by Martin Dies of Texas devoted a great deal of time and money to hunting out "reds," real or imaginary, but paid slight attention to Nazi agents and propagandists. So long as Russia was in alliance with Hitler this did not prejudice the presidential program, but when in the summer of 1941 Hitler suddenly fell upon his late ally, there was a tendency on the part of a good many ultra-conservatives to side with Hitler. This form of isolationism appeared prominently among Roman Catholic clergy. Their hostility to Communism was greater than their resentment over the indignities and outrages inflicted by the Nazis on the German Catholics.

A wholly different type of argument, arising from the complexities of domestic politics, was employed by many Republicans and not a few dissident Democrats who had opposed what they termed the despotic tendencies of the New Deal. They deplored being drawn into war, on the ground that it would mean a dictatorship at home. If liberty was to survive in the United States, peace must be maintained. To prove this they pointed to the dangerous tendencies visible in the various measures carrying out the program, most of which contained grants, within limits, of discretionary authority to the President. These, the opposition proclaimed, were already establishing tyranny. When a number of leading opponents of the Lend-Lease Bill furnished statements which were published by the America First Committee in February, 1941, most of them took this line. Said Senator Clark of Missouri: "The bill indicates war abroad and dictatorship at home." Senator Capper of Kansas said:

"I think it gives the president dangerous power and it will lead to war." Senator Wheeler denounced it as a "dictatorship measure." Senator Taft of Ohio declared: "No Congress but a rubber stamp Congress would delegate its constitutional power to declare war." Senator Lodge, in his speech against the bill, asserted: "Not only does this bill increase the danger of foreign war and the danger of totalitarian control at home, but it enables the president at his discretion to enter into alliances with such foreign nations as suits him." Later in the same year isolationists constantly charged the President with having already brought the United States into the war by his unconstitutional usurpations. This type of argument was, however, already exceedingly familiar from its use by opponents over a period of at least eight years so that its effectiveness was much reduced. It sounded altogether too much like formula.

There can be no doubt that some of the opposition to the President's foreign policy was inspired by hostility to the New Deal policies and not by any deep convictions as to foreign relations. In so far as this tended to commit the Republican party as a whole to the opposition this raises a question which can best be taken up a little later. Here it is enough to say that many who assailed the President's program were inspired by party and personal hatred of him and his domestic record—manufacturers, bankers, and professional men who were unable to see any merit in any policy urged by "that man." It was common for such persons to assert that the whole program of aiding democracies was a mere political device to cover up the failure of the President's internal policies—a charge instantly echoed by the German press.

The only constructive proposal, if it can be so termed, that emerged from the opposition was the occasional suggestion by prominent individuals that the President should urge upon the contestants a "negotiated peace." The preposterousness of any such move at the time when Hitler was going from victory to victory and had the major part of Europe under military control prevented this from gaining any backing. The President brushed it aside on several occasions by showing that such a peace would be only a gift to Hitler and would, moreover, lack any certainty of finality. "It is perhaps unnecessary," he said, "for me to call attention once more to the utter lack of validity of the spoken or written word of the Nazi government."

Of the opposition as a whole it is clear that every phase of it reflected long-established precedents or tendencies. Even the hysteria about war was an exaggeration of the traditional preference for peace. The insistence on neutrality, the demand that the government abstain from showing any preferences or from giving material aid, the attempt to picture the struggle as between two imperialisms and without significance for Americans—all this grew out of the whole body of tradition since George Washington. Even the aberrations of the revisionists could be considered as a distortion of the anti-foreign and anti-English tradition. If the opposition leaders and their followers were unable to grasp the real nature of the President's policy and failed to see how it was really for American national interests, it was chiefly due to their perfectly natural adherence to the comforting and customary traditions of isolationism, which had just borne fruit in the passage of the Neutrality Act of 1937.

The antagonism to the President personally and the denunciation of his leadership and his executive acts were also completely in keeping with long-established, venerable American political habits. The same outcry was raised against Washington—that his actions were usurpations and constituted a tyranny—and it has been raised against every president who has ventured to act without express Congressional sanction. Mr. Roosevelt frequently tried to forestall this kind of attack by holding previous consultations with Congressional leaders, occasionally including members from the opposition party, but without much success. There is a group temper in each House which may well bring members of both parties to agree to disregard a presidential act simply because it goes over their heads or takes place outside their control.

When one turns to the supporters of the President, it is a relatively easy matter to summarize their arguments, for they simply accepted what Mr. Roosevelt brought forward and made it their own. This was partly due to his skill and persuasiveness, but it was also the result of the effect produced by the terrifying events in Europe and the way they bore out the President's predictions. These people all agreed that the advance of Hitlerism constituted a grave danger to the safety of the United States as well as its future prosperity and freedom and that the policy of supporting Hitler's antagonists was dictated by every consideration of self-interest and self-protection. To the antiwar uproar of the opposition speakers they

paid little or no attention. They did not advocate war, and let the isolationists hammer on that danger with no reply. What they did dwell upon was what the isolationists systematically ignored: the abominations of the Nazi policies and the need for the Americas to safeguard their future.

Various elements may be distinguished in the President's support. At all times, of course, he had the bulk of the regular Democrats in Congress. They supported him because of party loyalty. But this was not enough. Unless he had commanded a broader following, he could not have gone far. It was the nonparty support that was decisive. First to applaud his new doctrines were the "intellectuals," men who were appalled principally at Nazi domestic politics, especially the persecution of liberals and Jews. This element was not numerous, but it was strong in expression. After the summer of 1940 there was a strong rally of Americans of the educated and the traveled classes without regard to party, men who loved England, its scenery and traditions, and felt at home there. These were found not alone among the wealthy elements but among thousands who had traveled in the British Isles. To them were added millions of Americans who were struck with horror by the German attempt to bomb England into submission—to "soften it," in the Nazis' loathsome military phraseology. The effect of the British endurance under this murderous attack was profound upon all generous-minded Americans. For almost the first time in our history there was a genuine enthusiasm for the British people.

At the same time the realization of possible danger from Hitler's program was brought home by the German invasions of neutral, even friendly, countries and by the features of the blitzkrieg. A great wave of alarm swept many newspapers and Congressmen, hitherto undisturbed, into active support of defense measures. The unrolling narrative of German intrigue, mendacity, sudden violence, merciless plundering of occupied countries, and shooting of unarmed civilians struck deep into American imagination. Interestingly enough, this was fostered by the German authorities, who, in the expectation of terrifying American opinion into ceasing opposition to German aims, actively circulated pictures of Belgian, Dutch, Polish, and Russian cities laid in ruins by German artillery or bombs.

Finally, and of the utmost importance, was the flood of books and articles on the Nazi system, its leadership, its domestic methods, its

unbelievable spying and plotting, and its terrifying reliance upon merciless force. These sold like wildfire throughout the United States, familiarizing millions with the experiences of eyewitnesses and victims who had escaped—in many instances men and women of the utmost literary and scientific distinction—and also of American newspaper correspondents, radio broadcasters, members of the diplomatic staff, and private citizens caught in the upheaval of German victories. The reading public was saturated with descriptions of conditions and of events that could stir only horror and detestation. Added to these were novels and plays portraying the pathetic tragedies due to the cynical teachings of Nazism.

There was also, as time went on, a growing sense of the Nazi plan for organizing the whole economic life of Europe under their own control and, beyond that, a rigorous management of the commerce and production of the entire world—the whole based on a rejection of a money economy and a thoroughgoing application of German administrative control through “experts.” The specter of a Nazi-regulated world economy swung thousands who read and grasped the full implications of their plans into active support of the President’s measures.

It was the angry replies of men and women who held these views to the attacks of the isolationists that filled the newspapers, the radio forums, and the lecture platforms of the country with unending and often savage debate by 1941. Support of the President’s program, which at first had been hesitant, swelled into a storm of excited argument that would have drowned out the assailants had they not been men of indomitable energy, with lungs of brass and an ability to retain a position once assumed that has never been surpassed. Various counterorganizations sprang into existence to sustain the President’s policy and combat the America First Committee, while all over the country there was a stampede into agencies that sent clothes, supplies, and needed articles to the civilian British suffering from fire and bombs—all building up enthusiastic support of the ideal of aid to democracies. It was into this turmoil of controversy that the news fell of the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

The effect of the Japanese stroke, followed by a declaration of war, was instantly to stop the debate. The President’s assailants were struck dumb with the sole exception of Senator Nye, unshaken

revisionist, who, faithful to his suspicions of Great Britain, uttered the following grotesque explanation of the event: "The attack is just what Britain has planned for us. . . . Britain has been getting this ready since 1937." When four days later both Germany and Italy followed Japan with declarations of war, citing the alliance of September, 1940, there was nothing left for Congress to do but accept the situation and pass resolutions recognizing a state of war. The America First Committee went out of business, leading isolationists, including Lindbergh, offered their service or expressed their unqualified support of the administration, and, under the spur of mortification and anger, the subjects debated for four years were completely laid aside. The sentiment of the country was momentarily united.

It was true that since the summer of 1940 the Japanese government had obviously been getting ready for a "showdown" with the United States, but ever since the President's speech of January 3, 1939, the attention of the country as a whole had been fixed on the rising European crisis to the exclusion of everything else. The increasing tension with Japan was ignored by the speakers who were execrating the President for "dragging the country into war" by giving aid to Great Britain. No attention was paid to the ominous statements of the Japanese premier and press in October, 1940, nor did the Japanese alliance with Italy and Germany of September 27 cause any alarm. There was no war debate over the administration's Far Eastern policy. A contributing cause for this indifference was that Japan's inability to conquer China had left such an impression of military inefficiency that Japanese hostility was not considered at all dangerous. The consequence was that the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor bore to the American public the aspect of a treacherous and unprovoked attack, the kind of thing which even isolationists recognized as justifying war. It was according to tradition. The support given to Japan by the German and Italian declarations was looked upon as a gratuitous assistance to a power which had attacked the United States under particularly disgraceful circumstances.

As a matter of fact, the Japanese war could be considered as a direct consequence of the Roosevelt policy of giving aid to victims of aggression. It was the steady furnishing of munitions and supplies to China, the making of loans and the expressions of friendship and

sympathy, that convinced the Japanese of the necessity of eliminating American power in the Pacific as a bar to their national aspirations. Utterances by Secretary Hull in favor of the "status quo" in the East Indies were also considered as unfriendly to Japan. The only hold that the United States had over Japanese policy was through its offering a market for Japanese exports and supplying Japan with scrap iron and oil. When the first was terminated in September, 1940, and the second in June, 1941, it was only a question of choosing the most favorable time for Japan to strike.

Nevertheless it is improbable that the Japanese government would have entered upon the war without a previous understanding with Germany, so that the stroke may also be considered as a definite part of German world policy. It is true that Hitler in his wild and incoherent war speech on December 11 denounced Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and pointed to the seizure of German ships and to the shooting order as "exhausting his patience"; but the timing of the step and the tripartite announcement that followed advertised the maneuver as another adventure in military aggression by the Axis powers. The resemblances to other German actions are obvious. In no case did Germany begin war or declare war until it was in a position to deal a stunning blow. The invasions of Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and Greece did not take place until German troops were in complete readiness to move with the terrible impact of a blitzkrieg. Each time up to the hour before the attack the German government was apparently pacific or at least willing to negotiate. Then, in the well-worn phrase, its "patience was exhausted," and the blow was struck.

In this case the German government was undoubtedly irritated over the open assistance given to Great Britain, but it was in no position to deal this country a terrific blow, and so its patience, far from being exhausted, was remarkably enduring. The Germans heaped insults and abuse on President Roosevelt, but they sent no ultimatums and declared no war. It was when the Japanese military elements, warned by the withholding of American scrap iron and oil, decided to take the risk of striking that the Germans encouraged the Japanese navy to carry out the usual program and deal a terrific blow. Then all was ready for the German patience to be exhausted. Doubtless that was part of the plan. Germany was to declare war in order to furnish Japan diplomatic support and, by using submarines

against American shipping, to distract the American war effort. It was a thoroughly characteristic maneuver. It had been foreseen by experienced observers from the day when the three powers signed the pact of September 27, 1940.

In a sense, then, the opposition was right when they declared that the President's policy "meant war." No single act, not even the Lend-Lease Act, "caused war" as was constantly predicted by the isolationists. But the total policy did make Hitler willing to employ the Japanese war temper as a support to his plans. In the absence of Japanese action, however, it is difficult to see how he would have had anything to gain by going to war with the United States. Mr. Roosevelt spoke accurately when he said in January, 1941: "As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive they, not we, will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack. And when the dictators are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part."

From the foregoing analysis two provisional conclusions can be drawn. The first one is that the President has shown what a man in his position can do to establish a new policy in the face of tradition and habit and in the teeth of opposition. That he played the decisive part cannot be gainsaid. His speeches supplied the whole reservoir of argument for the men and the newspaper writers who rallied to his support. His political sagacity in taking positions that evaded dangerous attack and in linking his most unprecedented measures to such an unassailable objective as that of national defense enabled even the hesitant or timid to support him by their votes. At the same time he could scarcely have accomplished much had not the impact of European tragedies and catastrophes upon the American people shocked millions out of their traditional indifference to "mere European quarrels." It is one of his greatest titles to leadership that he so phrased and timed each utterance and each move as to make the fullest use of the rising tide of American feeling.

Unlike President Wilson, who assumed to commit the country to a war for the League of Nations solely on the basis of his own utterances and their apparent approval by the press and other agencies of opinion, Mr. Roosevelt took no major step without express Congressional backing. And while Mr. Wilson called upon American idealism to save the world from Prussianism, Mr. Roosevelt took care never to step outside the circle of American national

interests. The country went into the policy of sustaining the democracies against the dictators with its eyes open. The lesson to be drawn is perfectly distinct. Given a situation which profoundly disturbs and affronts some of the deepest American instincts, a president who conducts himself with combined boldness and caution, never running ahead of popular feeling and building his policy upon the foundation of such an unassailable thing as the necessity for American defense, can accomplish astonishing results. The transformation of American policy from the extreme of isolationism to a positive world program constitutes a feat that is not yet appreciated even by many who have aided in carrying it through. But what Mr. Roosevelt has done another president may do—in fact must do—if civilization is to endure.

To complete its present policy it is essential that the United States play a strong contributory part in the world reorganization, political and economic, which will be imperative after this war ends. What this may be is at present chiefly in the realm of speculation. The statesmen of the various anti-Axis countries are too deeply involved in trying to beat back their assailants to be able to devote much time or thought to this problem. The only thing pointing tentatively in that direction which involves the major countries is the so-called "Atlantic Charter," announced by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as a result of their warship conference on August 14, 1941. In this the two men, speaking in general terms for their countries, set forth the principles which ought to control the postwar program without attempting to set up specific terms. Briefly summarized, they comprised the following declarations:

1. The two countries seek no aggrandizement.
2. They desire no forced territorial changes.
3. They will respect the sovereignty of every state.
4. They wish to establish access on equal terms to raw materials.
5. They look for economic collaboration for social security.
6. They wish a peace that shall guarantee freedom from fear.
7. They desire the freedom of the seas.
8. They believe that the nations of the world, for realistic as well as for spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of force.

If this is to be translated into actual peace agreements there will be necessary a national leadership fully as skillful and as persistent as any that has yet appeared.

The other lesson taught by the four years of debate is that Ameri-

can traditions, temporarily surmounted or evaded by the President, still stand as a serious obstacle in the way of accomplishing anything like the ideals of the Atlantic Charter. There is nothing to show that the isolationists who opposed the President's program but who rallied to his support after the declarations of the three aggressor states have altered their attitudes by a single particle. Willing to fight for their country, in defense, they still cherish the same hatred for Great Britain, the same detestation of the President, the same unshaken belief in the ability of the country to stand alone. It is to be observed that the Atlantic Charter, far from meeting their approval, was furiously denounced as an intolerable usurpation on the President's part. It is clear that there exists the possibility of a strong and bitter revival of that temper which in 1919-1920 defeated the acceptance of the League of Nations by the Senate and led to its repudiation by the country.

It is also doubtful whether an actual majority of the American people, or even a strong minority, really grasp the significance of what has taken place or see the situation as the President and the members of his Cabinet do. The way in which the President secured the passage of the bills and amending acts he desired was by making them part of the traditional defense ideal. This was skillful and necessary on his part, but it resulted in the measures being passed with a considerable admixture among the affirmative votes of men who still thought in terms of the ancient traditions. To them, if one judges from their speeches, Hitler is a temporary phenomenon, and they appear to imagine that once the nightmare is over they can wake up again in the familiar world of "business as usual."

It is in this connection that the attitude of the Republican Party may prove decisive. There can be no doubt that when the President opened his campaign for aid to victims of aggression, the party's record had been steadily isolationist, and most of its leaders seemed inclined to attack the speech of January 3, 1939, and to criticize subsequent utterances of that year. But in the first decisive vote, that to repeal the prohibition on the export of munitions, a fair number of Republicans in each house helped make the majority, the bulk of the party remaining in opposition. The next spring, when Hitler's conquest of western Europe brought the question of defense to the forefront, Mr. Roosevelt took the striking step on June 20, 1940, of placing the two Cabinet departments associated with defense in

the hands of prominent Republicans. In making Henry A. Stimson Secretary of War he installed a man with a long record in Republican administrations; and by placing Frank A. Knox in the Navy Department he secured the assistance of a man who had been the Republican candidate for vice-president in 1936. While there is no sign that these appointments diminished general Republican opposition, it does appear that they removed those two departments from partisan debate.

It was also true that the Republican platform of June 26, 1940, frankly accepted the main point in the President's policy: "We favor the extension to all peoples fighting for liberty of such aid as shall not be in violation of international law or inconsistent with the requirements of our own national defense." Standing on this plank, some of the strongest advocates of aid to Britain were Republicans, including Mr. Willkie himself, the candidate for the presidency. But the fact remains that in the actual presidential campaign many Republican assailants of the President dwelt heavily on the charge that he was "dragging the country into war," and Mr. Willkie in the closing days of the campaign made constant use of it. "I do not want," he said on October 17, 1940, "to send our boys over there again. If you elect me, I promise you that they will not be sent. And by the same token, if you reelect the third term candidate they *will* be sent." A few days later he found another way of saying this which he used more than once: "If his promise to keep our boys out of foreign wars is no better than his promise to balance the budget, they're already on the transports." The party managers probably thought that they could win on this cry. It cannot be without significance that when the ballots were cast, the region where the Republican vote rose so greatly as to capture eight states from the Democrats was precisely that, from Ohio to Colorado, where isolationism, according to all reports, was particularly strong.

Probably the most significant fact is that during the entire period the Republican members in each house of Congress gave a majority of their votes against every policy-making measure that ultimately became law. In three cases in October, 1939, for instance, they voted against the amendment of the Neutrality Act, in the Senate by 14 to 6, in the House by 141 to 19; they voted against the Lend-Lease Bill in the winter of 1941, in the Senate by 17 to 10, in the House by 135 to 24; finally, they voted against the amendment of

the Neutrality Act in November, 1941, in the Senate by 21 to 6, in the House by 137 to 22. If it had rested with the Republican party to make the decisions, there would have been no aid to Britain and no selective draft. As a whole the party appeared heavily isolationist.

Some of this voting may be credited to mere minority habit, the desire to oppose everything asked by a Democratic administration. But most of it, to judge from the Republican speeches, was due to outright isolationism of the most conventional kind, the sort that added to its natural distrust of all foreign nations the bitter hostility of business men, manufacturers, bankers, and much of the bar toward anything coming out of a New Deal administration. This state of mind was well summed up in a letter to the *New York Times* written as late as November 26, 1941, after the country had been subjected to floods of debate and propaganda for nearly three years:

I have talked with dozens of isolationists in Columbus. The following is a summary of their attitudes:

1. Roosevelt and the New Deal are nearly as bad as Hitler and nazism. Even the business methods of the two movements are essentially similar.
2. Great Britain is disliked and suspected. The British are held to be essentially selfish and ungrateful. Why should we pull their chestnuts out of the fire again? We got our fingers badly burned when we did it in 1918.
3. Hitler may win the war, but his system won't last long. Then we shall be on top.
4. In any event, this war is none of our affair. We should keep out of the mess. We can live alone and like it. . . .
5. Our true American leaders are Lindbergh, Hoover, Wheeler, Nye et al.

A large majority of those who take these attitudes are business and professional men and their families. They are quite impervious to arguments . . . that if Hitler wins the war, the Nazi New Order can, without sending a ship or firing a shot, run us out of South America, after having made us either knuckle down to their barter system or get out of the markets of Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as those of the non-American British dominions.¹

Such men represent the indestructible and unalterable block of isolationism, rooted in American tradition, incapable of being affected even by the most earth-shaking and ghastly happenings in other countries when once thoroughly solidified by hatred of the President and his ideals.

This, then, is the situation. If such a man as Willkie can lead the Republican Party—which appears doubtful—there is a chance that it too may face the facts of the world situation. But if the party re-

¹ *New York Times*, December 1, 1941.

mains unaltered, and if, as is quite in keeping with precedent, it makes great political gains and even elects a president after the war, the fate of the country may hang upon the conduct of a body of men whose sole idea is to return to the so-called "business administrations" of Hoover, Coolidge, Harding, Taft, and McKinley. That would mean full economic and diplomatic isolation. What such an attitude would mean for the world and for this country is a matter of grave consideration. At the moment the impact of the world tragedy and the skillful leadership of the President have temporarily united American sentiment against Hitlerism and in favor of coöperation with other endangered peoples. Upon the continuation of that temper hangs the future of this country and of the world.

The Setting for Dictatorship in Latin America

By CLARENCE HENRY HARING¹

WE, and the United Nations with which we are allied, are at this moment waging a global war against dictatorship, or against an especially pernicious form of dictatorship which we call fascism or totalitarianism. We envisage it as a world struggle for the preservation of liberty—political and social liberty, of the individual and of nations. Among our allies are nineteen republics of Latin America, some of them actually in the war, others engaged with us in nearly everything short of actual war.

Many of our American allies, though proclaiming themselves to be democratic republics, are in practice, and for a variety of excellent reasons historical and otherwise, *not* functioning democracies; and some never have been. Despotism, dictatorship, or government by a small self-appointed oligarchy, has at one time or another been the lot of all of them.

And this has been a matter of deep concern to many honest souls of a more liberal persuasion in this country. We are fighting for liberty and democracy, they say; yet we ally ourselves with American republics in which genuinely popular government does not exist, where minorities rule, manipulating the instruments of government in their own selfish political and economic interest. Public appeals have been made, petitions have been signed—we must do something about it. If we are to be consistent with our own professions of faith, we are told, our government must lend moral, and I suppose material, support to the submerged forces of democracy in these countries, require the existing régimes to abide by the constitutional guarantees, make the democratic process a reality; and, I presume, put the opposition, which is always the “democratic” or “reform” party, into power. We cannot fight dictatorship in Europe and condone it in America.

The theoretical position is excellent, although not unassailable; the practical results of such a program by our Government can largely be left to the imagination. It would of course put our Latin

¹ This paper was read at the May, 1944, meeting.

American policies back to where they were little more than a decade ago, before the era of the Good Neighbor; revive our former interventionist rôle, against which these same honest and well-meaning critics railed so vociferously in the 1920's. It would undo all that has been accomplished by Secretary Hull and our Department of State in creating the present unity among the American nations, at the Pan American Conferences of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Lima in 1933, 1936, and 1938. And it would, of course, seriously, if not disastrously, cripple our present war effort.

In America there are twenty so-called Latin republics. Eighteen of them speak Spanish, nine in Middle America and nine in South America. One speaks Portuguese: Brazil, which in area and population is as large as all the Spanish nations of South America put together. And there is finally the island republic of Haiti, which speaks French.

Most of these nations are to a large extent a blend of the European race with the American race, the Indians; or, in certain limited areas, with the African race, the Negroes. These latter areas are the West Indian Islands, the lowland coasts of the Caribbean Sea, and eastern Brazil. The Indian ethnic element, however, is found nearly everywhere except on the islands.

All but one of the nations in which this blend with the Indian stock is predominant are located in the great mountain region on the Pacific side of the continent. There the Spanish conquerors four hundred years ago found a semicivilized native population living in towns with public buildings of stone, under a highly organized government and religion; a sedentary, agricultural people, easily reduced to the condition of a semiservile peasantry. There the Indian survives, in Mexico, Central America (except Costa Rica), and the Andean nations, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Even in Chile, usually regarded as a "white" country, the native laboring class of town and country is of part Indian descent.

In those republics in which the Indian ethnic element is most predominant—Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the little republic of Paraguay east of the mountains—the pure white population is very small, ranging from five to fifteen per cent. The rest are Indians, or of mixed race, mestizos. The "whitest" nations, the most European, are in the extreme south, Argentina and Uruguay, where the population as a whole is whiter than that of the United States.

By and large the most progressive nations, politically and socially, have been the more European nations. The more backward have been the semi-Indian nations. But this is not necessarily due to any congenital inferiority of the Indian, although it is due to the *presence* of the Indian. For in these countries economic and social differences between master and man have remained very sharp. The great mass of the population, the Indians, have remained an exploited race, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. They have been kept an ignorant, impoverished, dependent class. A small, educated, white minority have monopolized political and economic power. They have so far shown too little interest either in educating the aborigines, in raising their living standards, or in creating a basis for popular government. They have been content with perpetuating things as they are, of which this minority are the sole beneficiaries.

With an ignorant, depressed laboring class, industrial and agricultural progress have been slow, and political progress as well. In only a few of the Latin American republics is popular government, as we understand and practise it in this country, a reality. That this is so is due to historical circumstances which cannot be cured by fiat from Washington. And these circumstances are not difficult to find. As I have said elsewhere, a hundred and twenty-five years ago the Latin American communities, like the thirteen English colonies of North America, had attained to a degree of maturity, of separateness from Europe, which made the old colonial servitude seem intolerable. They had become strong enough to achieve independence; yet, unlike their English neighbors, they lacked most of the essentials of self-government. Inspired as they were by the political example of the United States and by the subversive doctrines preached by eighteenth-century freethinkers of Europe, self-government to them of course meant republican and democratic government. But emerging suddenly from political serfdom into political freedom, they had never been given a chance to learn the simplest rules of democratic action.

Under the absorbing absolutism of the Spanish Bourbons, opportunity to learn the elementary principles of self-government had never been given them, opportunity to acquire experience in matters so axiomatic that we are scarcely conscious of them. The motives of altruism and public service, which are the result of long exercise

of popular government, and without which no democratic government can long survive—the spirit of compromise, willingness of a minority to submit to the majority's decisions or of the majority to respect the rights of a minority—these things were too often notable for their absence.

The example that had been set for the colonists in public administration before independence was not of the best. In Spanish and Portuguese times the public service was notoriously and prevailingly corrupt. Officials high and low, generally underpaid, commonly looked upon their posts as a heaven-sent opportunity to lay up treasure for the future. A right to the “perquisites” of office was more or less taken for granted. There were of course notable exceptions, but the generalization none the less holds true.

It has been remarked that more than all the other peoples of the modern world the Spaniards of the sixteenth century displayed the characteristics of the ancient Romans. They showed in the conquest and settlement of America the same courage and enterprise, the same patience under hardship that distinguished soldiers and colonists in the time of Scipio Africanus and of Julius Caesar. And, like the Romans, they were preëminently creators of laws, builders of institutions. Of all the colonizing peoples of modern times the Spaniards were the most legally minded. They quickly developed in America a meticulously organized administrative system such as the world had rarely seen.

On the other hand, in the circumstances prevailing in Spain's far-flung transatlantic empire, in actual practice respect for the law was often at a discount. Royal decrees incompatible with local conditions in the colonies were often shelved with the famous formula: “I obey but do not execute”—*obedezco pero no cumplo*. Not only royal decrees but general legislation, laws and regulations for the routine conduct of office, were often ignored in practice by colonial officials in the hope or expectation that distance, isolation, and slowness of communications would enable them to get away with it—notably the regulations restricting or forbidding trade with foreigners. Often officials seemed united in a common conspiracy to disregard the law. In short, Spaniards in America also inherited, especially in areas remote from the metropolis, a disrespect for law which did not augur well for stability and order in the new republics.

When independence was achieved from Spain and Portugal, secession implied only a political revolution; the old social order remained. The dominant ruling class in most of the embryo nations was a numerically small, white, educated, land-owning aristocracy supported by a great mass of semiservile workers, Indians or Negroes. A middle class was virtually nonexistent. The upper, educated class inherited from Spanish times pride of birth and breeding and an aversion to the common pursuits of trade and industry. True, in the first days of independence the landed aristocracy and their natural allies, the educated professional class, men versed in the current political literature, held high resolves for the future of their country. They aimed to give it an ideally perfect government based upon principles of democracy and equality. But in actual practice they fell short of early promise. Doctrinaires, theorists, without practical experience in politics, they drew up constitutions—based upon that of the United States or the Spanish constitution of 1812 or the French constitution of 1791—constitutions which embodied all the ideals of the liberalism fashionable in that day, but in most cases wholly incompatible with the social and economic conditions prevailing in the country. A real democracy could not be established on the basis of general illiteracy and a submerged population of Indians and mestizos.

In the actual practice of government, therefore, these new nations were soon torn apart by internal dissensions, private and regional ambitions, and mutual jealousies. Intolerance and personalism, inability in practice to place public interest before private, the consequence of political immaturity, too often obtruded themselves to the exclusion of a genuine patriotism. In the new-found equality each leader thought himself as good as his fellows and was convinced of his special capacity to run the state.

On top of the circumstances described, there is no doubt that Latin American society had inherited what has been called the "bureaucratic culture pattern." This was related to the idiosyncrasy, ascribed to Spaniards, of aversion to manual toil and to trade—an aversion, as a matter of fact, not peculiar to Spaniards in the past but characteristic of every aristocratic society under the old régime, although perhaps more pronounced among Spaniards. At any rate, every Castilian was an hidalgo. The only respectable job therefore

was a professional job—in the army, in the Church, or in the government. And this bureaucratic culture pattern became the more pronounced because of the absence of economic opportunity in other spheres of life, the lack of a middle class and of industrial development. Methods of industry were very antiquated, means of communication were wholly inadequate, and commercial activities were very limited. It was an aristocratic, agrarian society. Here then, after independence, was a generation brought up amid an inferior, servile race, with pretensions above those of the mere toiler after fortune, but with no sphere within which to give healthy rein to its energies and ambitions.

Politics therefore in these new republics soon resolved itself into a struggle between rival groups within the small ruling minority for control of the government and of the patronage that went with it. And when a group came into power, it could not easily be dislodged. A faction once in office tried to remain there by hook or crook, by fraud or force. It resorted to all the devices of political chicanery—manipulation of the constitution, fraudulent elections, abuse of authority—to remain in power. Loss of office might mean beggary. In short, it became a kind of dictatorship, which could be pried loose only by violence, by resort to revolution. Some of these phenomena, of course, such as competition for the control of patronage and the public purse and resort to corrupt methods to retain it, have not been absent from the history of our own country. But fortunately a greater spirit of tolerance, a wider political experience, have saved us from government by revolution.

Finally, the Latin American was, and is today, very much of an individualist, much more so than the liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon. He does not take kindly to the organized discipline of the group. Among his interests, self and the family are very apt to come first, the state or the community last; a circumstance which also helps to explain the weaker interest in community welfare which I have noted as an inheritance from colonial times.

It likewise helps to explain the supreme importance of personalities in Latin American politics and the persistence of one-man rule in spite of democratic forms of government. To quote from the excellent volume recently written by William Schurz, "To have meaning to the average Latin American, the state should be embodied in the person of a man, who is resolute and selfconfident, virile and in-

telligent. . . . Real issues may arise and divide the citizenry, but except in a few of the republics, they tend to become personalized in the strong man who champions them."¹

In these circumstances, in the early history of many of the Latin American nations the military came to play a paramount rôle in national politics. For during the long struggle for independence these countries had been completely militarized, had fallen under the sway of chieftains cast up to the surface by the stress and turmoil of civil war. Military leaders exercised in their respective communities almost despotic authority. When independence was achieved, the generals were naturally unwilling to forego their power. Local chieftains aspired to the control of an entire nation. And the people at large, accustomed to despotism, whether of a Spanish viceroy or of one of these native *caudillos*, knowing nothing of the ways of democratic government, easily acquiesced.

The early presidents, therefore, were for the most part military men. Ambitious generals saw the presidency as "the last stage of the military career," and the treasury as the booty of war. They might have the support of political factions into which the dominant social caste was divided, factions which chose to identify their interests with those of the *caudillo*; but the latter's authority rested on an army and continued only so long as he retained its support. Administration, therefore, remained essentially military, and the constitution was observed in form only in so far as it did not obstruct the designs of his majesty the president. Occasionally a national election, properly safeguarded in the interests of the government, was held. But more generally the transfer of power was achieved by the violent expulsion of the president and his associates, that is, by revolution. Sometimes this involved a long civil war which drained the treasury and disrupted the economic life of the country; sometimes it was a short, sharp coup d'état. In any case, the written constitution was in substance ignored, and revolution became the accepted extraconstitutional procedure.

These generalizations do not apply equally to the early history of all the republics. Some of the early presidents were civilians, and the government started out rather auspiciously, with respect for the normal constitutional process. Portuguese Brazil, too, was a notable exception. But Brazil after independence was fortunate enough to re-

¹ *Latin America* (New York, 1940), 323.

main a constitutional monarchy until near the close of the nineteenth century. In most of the republics, however, factionalism and personalism soon got the upper hand, and the generals were the chief beneficiaries. At its worst, government became a despotism, of a man or of a party, proscribing the opposition, forcibly imposing its political, religious, and social convictions upon the citizenry, tolerating no freedom of expression; a kind of totalitarianism without the intellectual baggage of modern fascism.

Presidential autocrats, whether civilian or military, were by no means all of them mere vulgar, self-seeking egoists. They doubtless as a rule pursued personal ends, "thirsted for the pomp and circumstance of power." But many of them were men of intelligence and honorable antecedents, of splendid energy and outstanding ability; men who identified the interests of the nation with their own personal ascendancy, honestly believed that they alone possessed the capacity to govern, and struggled valiantly to maintain order and legality in a society often brutalized and impoverished by constant military revolt and usurpation. Given their frequently short tenure of power and the lack of resources in money and above all in trained personnel, some of them accomplished much in the organizing of administration, in economic development, or in educational and legal reform. The legislature generally functioned with fair regularity, even though dominated by an arbitrary executive, and among the deputies were men of the highest moral and intellectual caliber in the community. But almost inevitably the strong, ruthless, astute leader, sometimes barbarous and uncouth, found his way to the top as the sole embodiment of public order, until the infiltration of more liberal ideas brought the age of the *caudillos* slowly to an end.

Dictatorship, whether of an individual or of a clique or of a self-appointed oligarchy, gradually evolved into something different from what it was during the generations immediately after independence. Ultimately in most of the republics before the close of the nineteenth century, the military were supplanted by civilian leaders. As a distinguished Venezuelan contemporary of ours, Mariano Picón-Salas, has written, oligarchy became a system of *transacción* between militarists who often had had a popular origin and the aristocratic civilian class which provided the lawyers, the financiers, and the high officials. And although loyalty of the army officers remained an important factor in the situation, the personnel and the

spirit of administration became more and more civilian. An oligarchy of the great landowners and leaders in commerce and industry now manipulated the political machinery set up by the constitution and monopolized the government. And in a few states in recent decades a genuinely popular government has appeared, notably in Costa Rica, Colombia, and Chile, and, except for occasional relapses, in Argentina and Uruguay—a government based upon the will of the majority expressed in relatively free elections.

In some of the republics the achievement of this ideal is still a long way off. With a very high percentage of illiteracy, and in many instances with a large aboriginal population exploited by their privileged betters and scarcely a part of the civilized culture pattern of the country, such nations can have little hope of truly popular government for a long time to come, whatever the constitution may say. Government of necessity remains in the hands of an educated minority, or, as in most of Central America today and in Bolivia and Paraguay, in the hands of a military dictator.

The result is continued rule by small groups or cliques—a modified dictatorship—and occasional revolution. For in most cases, as I have intimated, there are no genuine political parties. The ruling class still remains divided into factions, the followers of personalist leaders or the inhabitants of rival cities, who strive for the spoils of office in a country where there is little industrial development and no large middle class to provide careers for youth and ambition.

Revolution in the past has often been encouraged by the fact that failure brought with it no irreparable penalties. Revolt was not treason to the state; it was an accepted extraconstitutional procedure for changing parties in the government. Rebel leaders if captured were not shot—that was a barbarism reserved for our own times. Their property as a rule was not confiscated. They were sent into exile to continue their plotting toward the return of a better day. And the reasons for this leniency were obvious enough: the rôles might some day be reversed, and those now in power, then in opposition, could hope for equal clemency.

The leaders of a revolutionary movement, therefore, as a rule had little to lose; the rank and file, drawn from the depressed rural peasantry, nothing at all. And the prize of success was possession of the government. In any case the aim was a monopoly of political power; the opposition was completely excluded. If its leaders chose to pro-

test, they were sent abroad, often on a government subsidy open or disguised. Party programs were mere gestures, a camouflage to conceal personal or regional ambitions, where regionalism was in part a legacy from old Spain but aggravated by generations of isolation in mountainous and sparsely settled republics.

In Venezuela in the late 1850's Antonio Leocadio Guzmán, one of the founders of the Federalist party and father of the famous dictator, Guzmán Blanco, admitted that had his party not raised the Federalist standard, the opposition would have done so, and then his party would of necessity have been centralist. In Bolivia, after a so-called "Liberal" party had ruled continuously for a generation—a party associated with the city of La Paz—in 1920 the *políticos* of a rival city, Cochabamba, comprising a new "Republican" party, seized the power in the interest chiefly of the Cochabambinos. In Peru, much of its politics may be written round the traditional rivalry between Arequipa, metropolis of the south, and Lima.

In Brazil, this monopoly of power by one party or group was avoided in the nineteenth century by the moderating power of a constitutional emperor who, in theory at least, stood in majestic isolation above party jealousies. He might dissolve Congress and at his discretion call new ministries and new groups into the government. But the republics were not so fortunate, and, given the almost insuperable handicaps against which they have had to contend—handicaps social, economic, and political—the vagaries of their political history in the nineteenth century and even in some of the republics today may easily be accounted for. And Brazil itself, after it chose to exchange the emperor for a republic, suffered much the same vicissitudes as its sister republics, and for basically the same reasons.

The peoples of Latin America, however, whether they live in a democracy or not, have at all times given lip service to the principles of representative, republican government, political and racial equality, religious freedom (for the most part), equality between nations. And with the passage of time, faith in these principles, despite occasional lapses in certain countries, has steadily grown stronger. Among a majority of the people the ideal has always been present of making them some day a reality. During the century and more since the achievement of independence, progress in the direction of popular control in government has nearly everywhere been continuous.

The nations of Latin America formally and publicly reiterated their belief in these principles at the Pan American Peace Conference at Buenos Aires in 1936, again at the International Conference of American States at Lima in 1938, and at the conferences of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics at Panama, Havana, and Rio de Janeiro since the outbreak of war in Europe.

Although some Latin American governments may be less than democratic, not one of them is fascist (with the possible exception at this moment of Argentina) or ever has been, so far as I know. None is inclined toward a fascist philosophy—certainly not the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas in Brazil, despite what we have occasionally read in our daily press during the past few years.

There seems to have been an easy assumption in some quarters in this country that dictatorship and fascism are synonymous, or nearly synonymous, terms. They are not. If they were, then most of Latin America has been fascist for a century. For Latin Americans have nothing to learn from Europe—Europe which is as much a land of revolution in these days as Latin America has been in the past—nothing to learn from that quarter as to the means of achieving and maintaining a dictatorship. But dictatorship and fascism are not synonymous. There has never been in Latin American countries a repudiation of republican, representative institutions, even though circumstances of race and illiteracy make the working of these institutions in practice difficult. There has been no eclipse of economic and personal freedom behind the interests of a corporate state.

Perhaps at this point a word or two might be injected about the present government in Argentina. Argentina is a federal republic and has a constitution very much like our own; and for some years before 1930 democracy had come to function as the constitution intended. In 1930, as a result of the economic depression, the old conservative oligarchical elements recovered control. And by using various fraudulent devices to manage the elections it maintained control until June, 1943, when it was expelled by a revolt of army officers. This revolt was not in origin a fascist movement; it was a protest against the corrupt practices of the conservative ruling minority, against which an immature democracy, without good leaders, had been unable to make headway.

But the army officers are without political experience and are badly educated for their task. Many have fascist and nationalist

tendencies, not uncommon in the military type of mind. Immediately two groups appeared: a fascist group, and one inclined to coöperate with the United States. Within thirty-six hours the pro-fascist officers seized control of the Cabinet; and instability has reigned within the government ever since due to the struggle of these two groups for control. The struggle is still going on, and the end is not in sight.

The vast majority of Argentines, however, support democratic principles; they hope for the victory of the United Nations. And the present government is no more representative of the wishes of the Argentine people than was the one it supplanted.

No nation, I said, can be made to achieve democracy by government fiat, whether at home or from abroad. The American nations can, however, by collaboration with one another, by the pooling of material resources and technical skills, contribute to raise the standard of living in less fortunate countries, improve health and vigor by programs of public sanitation, and provide enlarged educational facilities for the submerged parts of the population; thereby creating a broader basis for the ultimate emergence of an intelligent, popular electorate. That, I hope, is the meaning of the Good Neighbor policy.

In many Latin American countries land still remains the possession of relatively few. There is lacking a class of small proprietors which has usually been the mainstay of popular government in more mature democracies. On the other hand, it need scarcely be added, the social order is nowhere static, not even in the remote Andes. Everywhere the older landed and political aristocracy finds its political monopoly slipping. A middle class, white or mestizo, is increasing in numbers, in wealth, and in education, and is obtaining political and social recognition. It far outnumbers the old families, tends to become identified with them, and even in some countries to supplant them. This is as true of a nation like Argentina as it is of Colombia or Mexico. And the younger generation, except for a few of the very gilded youth in the upper classes, are taking off their coats, rolling up their sleeves, enjoying the sensation of work. I have seen it in Brazil and elsewhere. And as a schoolmaster, I am all for the younger generation, both here and in Latin America.

The upper classes, moreover, even in less progressive countries, *are* living in the middle of the twentieth century, with its social ques-

tionings and upheavals. They are making some slight effort to meet the situation, to do a little something for Indian education, sanitation, public health, if only to steal the thunder of young radical agitators. They have become more and more sensitive to foreign opinion about them, and revolutions are less frequent than they used to be. At the same time, fear of losing their privileges also makes many of them very distrustful of democratic institutions, and a few may be actually fascist.

One may say, in conclusion, that most of the Latin American nations have the kind of government that is possible or practicable under existing social and economic conditions. Our best hope is that the more responsible citizens will combine to put the ablest men in control, men who will try to improve these conditions and show a genuine interest in the common welfare. To insist, however, that they proceed immediately to create genuine democracies argues excellent intentions but an utter lack of a sense of realities.

False Faces

A Study of the Use and Misuse of Portraits as Historical Documents

By HENRY WILDER FOOTE¹

First of all, then, I have to tell you, as a fact of personal experience, that in all my poor Historical investigations it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good Portrait if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, any representation, made by a faithful human creature, of that Face and Figure, which he saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all. . . . Often I have found a Portrait superior in real instruction to half-a-dozen written "Biographies," as Biographies are written. . . . It is not the untrue imaginary picture of a man and his work that I want, but the actual natural likeness, true as the face itself: nay, truer in a sense, which the artist, if there is one, might help to give and the botcher never can.²

HISTORIANS and biographers have long been wont to embellish their published works with reproductions of likenesses of persons who figure in their tales. The practice is a laudable one, for we all like to know what was the physical appearance, in the eyes of his or her contemporaries, of the man or woman about whom we are reading, even when the "effigy"—to use an old word—is artistically a poor piece of work.

At the moment the value of the representation before us depends upon its authenticity as a historical document rather than on its excellence as a work of art. What we wish is a genuine likeness of an individual or portrayal of a scene, not merely a pretty picture which the publisher has dug up to illustrate the text and which is only too clearly a work of the dramatic imagination or of unrestrained sentimentality rather than a studied endeavor to present a veracious record. It is, of course, gratifying when an authentic likeness is por-

¹ This paper was read at the January, 1943, meeting.

² Thomas Carlyle to David Laing, May 3, 1854, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, I, Part 3, 285.

trayed with great skill, as, for example, in the portraits by Holbein or Velasquez, or by any great painter, sculptor, or engraver, but a poor work of art may have priceless value as a document in default of a better record. The bust of Shakespeare by Gerard Johnson in the church at Stratford-on-Avon and even the crude engraving of him by Droeshout on the title page of the First Folio of his works, seven years after his death, have value in this respect since they do give some idea of his appearance, though they would be worthless as museum pieces of fine art.

Another illustration, from ancient art, is provided by the painted likenesses exhumed from Greco-Roman graves in the region known as The Fayum, near Cairo, Egypt. The individuals represented are quite unknown to fame, and some of the effigies are as crudely executed as any portraits by the nameless itinerant limners in rural New England in the eighteenth and the earlier years of the nineteenth century, but they are almost the only examples of painted portraits which have survived from the Greco-Roman world. Therefore they are of value because they report the facial types and modes of dress prevalent in a particular locality in the Eastern Mediterranean and indicate something of the methods and materials used by the greater Greek painters, whose work has utterly perished. The considerations to be emphasized here do not deal, except incidentally, with questions of artistic excellence but with those of historical validity.

I have been led to this subject because of the deplorable carelessness of many historians and biographers in their use of portraits. My thesis is that a portrait—meaning not only painted pictures but the reputed likeness of an individual, whether cut in stone, cast in bronze, painted on plaster, wood, or canvas, or engraved—is a historical document just as truly as are cuneiform tablets, graffiti, monumental inscriptions, manuscripts, or printed incunabula. It should be unnecessary to make the point, yet the fact is that historians and biographers who study their written or printed sources with great care to determine their authenticity and veracity frequently quite naïvely accept as illustrations for their books supposed likenesses which are highly dubious as to their origin and which in some cases cannot possibly represent, with any pretense to accuracy, the individuals whose names are attached to them. The misrepresentation may arise from sheer ignorance or from somebody's bad guess made in good faith, or may be a downright fraud which has been palmed

off on the unsuspecting historian. Or the author may have weakly allowed the publisher, or rather some inadequately trained assistant in the publisher's employ, to find pleasing pictures to illustrate the text. Whatever the source of the error, the result may lead the historian into as flagrant a mistake as would be the unquestioning acceptance of a letter which was a forgery or the misdating of an inscription which actually belonged to another era than that with which he was dealing. The ideal portrait-document, of course, is one which represents an identified individual, drawn from life or from studies made during the subject's life, and portrayed with accuracy and skill by a recognized artist at a date which can be approximately determined; which has not been repainted or altered; and the provenance of which is recorded from the date of execution to the present time. The portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein, or that of Cromwell by Walker, or Stuart's "Athenæum Washington" are examples. But a great number of portraits fail to fulfill one or another of these desiderata, or all of them, and in such cases the historian or the biographer needs to exercise great care to establish their authenticity.

There are, of course, innumerable examples of wholly fanciful representations of historical persons of whom no contemporary likeness has survived. There is no reason why an artist should not exercise his imagination in portraying his conception of Charlemagne or Alfred the Great or John Harvard, if he chooses to do so. But it was stretching the artist's license rather far when a painter contracted to do the imaginary set of 110 Scottish monarchs with which the long gallery of Holyrood Palace was decorated in 1684, or when Gilbert Stuart obligingly painted for an Irish army contractor a series of the ancestors, going back to William the Conqueror, the Irishman would have liked to have. Similarly, in one of the earliest books on numismatics, *Promptuaire des Médailles* (1553), the author included alleged coin-portraits of Adam and Eve, the Patriarchs, and nearly everybody of importance down to the date of publication.¹ In this case the author, like many an artist painting imaginary portraits or scenes, probably had no intention of perpetrating a fraud. He was merely doing his best to fill in unfortunate gaps in the historic record, in the spirit of the pious Agnellus, the ninth-century abbot, who undertook to write the biographies of the archbishops of

¹ George F. Hill, *Becker the Counterfeiter*, 1 (London, 1924), 41.

Ravenna and who candidly says: "When I have not found any history of these bishops and have not been able by conversation with aged men . . . to obtain information concerning them . . . I have composed the life myself with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren."¹

Such an exercise of the imagination is, of course, essential in many fields of art, but the historian must distinguish carefully between an imaginary representation of an individual or event and one which has a valid claim to be a veracious record. Samuel Eliot Morison, in his new life of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, quotes more than one good verbal description of his hero's physical appearance but says that no contemporary likeness of him exists. He goes on to say that, in spite of that fact, at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 no less than seventy-one alleged portraits of Columbus were shown, with every possible variation of complexion, feature, stature, and costume, none of them corresponding closely to the verbal descriptions, all of them largely, if not wholly, fanciful. Yet no doubt many of them have figured as illustrations in histories. Mr. Morison himself reproduces a modern portrait of Columbus as his frontispiece, but one which has been painted in an effort to reproduce the verbal descriptions, and with the facts stated. That, of course, is a legitimate use of a portrait which must still be regarded as an imaginary one in the sense that it was not drawn from the life, though based on reliable reports.

Of no other historic personage have so many imaginary portraits been painted or carved as of Jesus Christ, except, perhaps, of Gotama Buddha in the Orient, and what I have to say about pictures of Jesus applies in equal measure to portraits of Buddha. Needless to say, no verbal description, much less any authentic portrayal, of Jesus's appearance has come down to us, and the earliest imaginary pictures of him date from the fifth century. After Adolph Harnack, in 1899, published his *Das Wesen des Christentums*, the English critic, Father Tyrrell, said that Harnack was like a man looking down a deep well, who, seeing a liberal Protestant face reflected there, mistook it for the face of Jesus. A somewhat similar charge might be made against most of the artists who have tried to portray Jesus. They have either, like Dürer, given him something of their own appearance, or have made him look like one of their own countrymen, as did the sculptor

¹ Robert M. Johnston, *The Holy Christian Church* (Boston and New York, 1912), 207.

who carved the "Black Christ of the Philippines" in the likeness of a Filipino. And they have set him in their own home landscapes and often among people dressed like their own contemporaries. That is understandable enough and perhaps justifiable on religious grounds as a mode of interpreting the spirit of Jesus as belonging to all mankind and all ages, but it does not promote a sound understanding of his life or warrant a writer like Bruce Barton, in a pseudo-historical study, *The Man Nobody Knows*, in speaking of Jesus as having "blue eyes . . . [and a] ruddy skin." However little we know of his appearance, it is at least safe to assume that he did not look like a Nordic or even an Italian but that he had the black hair and eyes, olive skin, and features of a Palestinian Semite. The minor French painter, Tissot, is perhaps a unique example of an artist who sought to give historical accuracy to his paintings of the gospel narratives. He spent years in Palestine portraying the scenery of the country and the types of people, with their costumes and accessories, among whom Jesus lived. Tissot's record is far more veracious and therefore is better adapted to give the student a clearer understanding of the setting in which Jesus passed his life on earth than are the romanticized and unrealistic works of far greater artists, though the latter may better serve the devotional spirit, for the promotion of which they were intended.

Many pictures intended to portray historical events fall into gross absurdities. There is a picture of the death of Montcalm at Quebec showing him lying under palm trees with Negro slaves and half-naked Indians in the background. The European painter had heard of such settings in the West Indies, to which he doubtless thought Canada belonged. Everyone knows the mid-nineteenth-century engravings of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. In the December foreground the Pilgrim Fathers, all but one of whom were under forty, most of them in their twenties, are shown as old, bald-headed, bare-headed graybeards gracefully handing a group of buxom damsels ashore from a boat too small to have carried them in, via the Rock on which some thoughtful Indian has already cut the date 1620. The well-known picture of Washington crossing the Delaware is of the same sort. Washington stands in monumental pose with his foot on the gunwale, equally disdainful of the danger of upsetting the boat and of the chance that there may be sharp-

shooters on the approaching shore, while the boatmen feebly shove away small icebergs which the Arctic current has somehow brought up the river. The use of such preposterous misrepresentations in sober histories is inexcusable. John Trumbull, by contrast, in his historical paintings of events in the America of his day, deserves great credit for the pains he took to make them as accurate as the limitations of his space and of the scene to be presented would permit. And he was particularly careful to make good likenesses of the principal figures, traveling far and wide to draw from the life scores of individuals, with almost all of whom he was personally acquainted. Consequently the Trumbull collection of about 250 canvases and miniatures at Yale is an authentic record in paint of a great period in our country's history, the like of which is to be found in few other eras or countries.

The earliest likenesses of individuals which can be called portraits are the Egyptian sculptures in wood or stone. The famous wooden statue in Cairo known as the Sheikh el Beled—the Village Chief—is a genuine historical document because it is the vividly lifelike portrayal of a personage of minor importance in the Egypt of the Fifth Dynasty, approximately 2700 B.C. Although many of the statues and bas-reliefs of the long succession of Egyptian rulers are merely official representations of the monarch cut according to the formula required by a rigid religious convention, others are sufficiently individualized to be classed as genuine portraits. This was especially true during the reign of the liberal monarch Ikhnaton, the colored stone head of whose queen, Nofretete, now in the Berlin Museum, is among the world's great treasures of artistic beauty. But Egyptologists learned some time ago not to accept without scrutiny any statue as the likeness of the monarch whose name it bore because some Pharaohs were not above appropriating to themselves a good statue of one of their predecessors, replacing the original inscription with one bearing their own name. Thus early began the practice of making false attributions to mislead the unwary. That the practice is not unknown today is illustrated by the story of the statue of William McKinley in Chicago. When McKinley was assassinated, Chicago promptly named a park for him. Someone suggested that it should contain a statue of the dead President. None being immediately available, they picked up a discarded statue of Colum-

bus left over from the World's Fair, which, after a suitable haircut had been administered, they set up with McKinley's name substituted for that of the discoverer.

Roman statues or busts form another series of historic documents, portraying vividly the patrician Roman, in many cases with satisfactory identifications of the subjects, although the equestrian bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio was for many centuries supposed to represent Constantine and very likely owes its preservation from the melting pot to that error. The seated figure in St. Peter's, supposed to represent St. Peter, is either the likeness of a pagan Roman official or, if of later Christian origin, a wholly imaginary likeness of the apostle.

Alexander the Great was perhaps the first ruler who had the audacity to substitute an effigy of his own head on a coin in place of that of a god or goddess, but his example was speedily followed so that the image and superscription of many Caesars appear on a long succession of coins and medals from his day to the present. They provide us with the only likenesses we have of the vast majority of these persons down to the sixteenth century, although painted portraits of identifiable individuals were introduced into religious paintings and frescoes, and, as miniatures, into illuminated manuscripts, at least a couple of centuries earlier. It is thus that a likeness of Chaucer has come down to us in a manuscript, and the repainted head of Dante in Giotto's fresco in the Bargello in Florence. Painted portraits other than as incidental to religious paintings, or in rare manuscripts, did not come into vogue, even at the most enlightened ducal and royal courts, until the Renaissance was in full tide. For example, the only contemporary likenesses we have of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain are those on their coins because Spanish portraiture did not arise until a later date.

The images, therefore, as well as the superscriptions on coins and medals fall into this series of historical documents. They vary in excellence from heads that give but a vague idea of what the man really looked like to the superbly finished portraits in bronze of the great medals of the Italian Renaissance. Even in the case of coins, as of modern postage stamps, a kind of innocent misrepresentation enters in, especially when the artist has sufficient skill to idealize a not too pleasing profile. An idealized head of the young Queen Victoria graced both British coins and stamps for many a

long year after the Queen had ceased to bear much recognizable resemblance to her youthful likeness, and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands in our day has followed Victoria's example. Furthermore, deliberate falsification of features was sometimes practised, as on the half-franc coin surreptitiously issued by the French pretender, the Comte de Chambord, in 1858, on which the head was manipulated into a partial resemblance of Napoleon III.¹

The historian or biographer writing of persons who have lived in the last four centuries is most likely to find his illustrations in portraits painted in oil on wood or canvas, or in engravings. These documents, when properly used, can provide him not only with likenesses of individuals but with an accurate portrayal of accoutrements, such as arms and armor, and of accessories of various kinds, often items no longer in use. Thus in eighteenth-century colonial portraits we see children's toys, the type of brown and white spaniel which seems to have been popular, the square pewter inkstand with white quill pen which appears so frequently in portraits of merchants, the ships shown in the distance behind the same merchants, which give a good idea of the various types of vessel used because shipowners required their ships to be painted accurately. And there are many instances of portraits by different artists who have introduced into their backgrounds vistas showing the residence of the subject. There is a portrait painted by John Greenwood in Boston about 1750 which gives a quite charming view of Salem Street, Boston, looking up towards Christ Church. A fine, large seventeenth-century house with an overhanging second story is shown on the corner of North Bennett Street, with a fence in front and a large garden behind. I doubt if there is another picture in existence which gives so delightful a vista of that part of Boston at that period. In our colonial and early republican portraits such accessories are shown with an honest, somewhat austere, and frequently naïve realism, but American artists transplanted to Europe generally succumbed to the current mode and cluttered up their pictures with conventional and unrealistic decorations. Thus Copley, painting Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard of Charleston, S. C., in Rome, filled his background with Roman bric-a-brac, and when he painted in London the huge canvas portraying Mrs. Richard C. Derby of Salem, he

¹ See Shepard Pond, "Pretenders to the French Throne in Numismatics," page 396 and Plate III, No. 1, above.

posed her like St. Cecilia playing a golden harp such as she certainly never owned or played at home, with cloudy cherubs hovering overhead—the children of whom she perhaps dreamed but to whom she never gave birth.

Notably, of course, portraits provide a continuous record of continually changing costume. The portrait of Major Thomas Savage of Boston (1679) and that of his contemporary, Captain George Curwin of Salem, both probably by Thomas Smith, show the amazing full dress for Puritan militia officers—buff and crimson, a broad shoulder-sash elaborately decorated with gold, and an astonishing quantity of lace at neck and wrists; and the eighteenth-century costumes of commanding officers down to the Revolution are equally gorgeous in a different style. Magistrates like John Endecott wear black clothes with square white collars, just as Washington, when President, wore black with white ruffles. The women, too, are dressed in their best, or perhaps better than their own best, for the colonial artists imported the latest engravings of great English portraits and copied them freely. Mr. John Hill Morgan has pointed out that even Copley, when he painted Mrs. Bowers in New York, probably in 1763 or 1764, did not hesitate to reproduce in every detail of pose and costume the newly published mezzotint after the portrait of Lady Caroline Russell by Reynolds.

Costume has long been used as a means of dating portraits. When the picture bears an authentic date and has not been repainted, we can be sure that it shows the costume then in vogue. Engravings are generally dated, but the date is that of the engraving, which may be many years later than that of the original portrait, and the accessories or background may have been altered by the engraver. The date at which a particular style of, let us say, wig or cravat or coat was introduced can be fairly closely determined by the date of the earliest portraits in which it appears, if the date of those portraits is already known from other sources. We can then say that no portrait showing that particular style of costume can be earlier than the fixed date. Yet the proviso that the portrait has not been repainted must always be borne in mind. In the John C. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art there is a portrait of Margaretta of Parma by Anthonis Mor. The picture puzzled the experts because elements in the costume were of a later date than that to which the portrait could reasonably be assigned. An X-ray examination showed

that the dress had been repainted about fifteen years after the portrait had been executed. The styles had changed, and the great lady was annoyed at being shown in a dress that was out of date. But if costume generally enables the expert to fix approximately the *earliest* possible date for a picture, it is not so safe a guide to the *latest* possible date because of the well-known tendency of old people, especially of old men, to cling to a fashion to which they have become accustomed, sometimes long after it has gone out of vogue with younger people. When Smibert painted in Boston, men of sixty or seventy were still wearing long, hanging steenkirk cravats and plain, tight wristbands, as in the portrait of Samuel Sewall, but the younger men were going in for ruffles down their shirtfronts and at their wrists.

Owners of pictures are sometimes quite unwilling to accept the evidence which the portrait, considered as a historical document, has to give when it runs counter to their own family tradition as to the identity of the subject or of the painter. Mr. Charles K. Bolton, in his *Portraits of the Founders* (III. 692, 900), gives an illustration of a certain style of twisted cravat which came into vogue in England about 1695. But he found in Edmund Farrer's *Portraits in Suffolk Houses (West)* a portrait reputed to represent Charles, Marquess of Worcester, dated 1672, showing the same style of cravat twenty-three years earlier. He wrote to the author to express his doubts and was informed that he was quite right. The portrait in question undoubtedly did not represent the person whose name was attached to it, but some member of the same family a generation later. Unfortunately for Mr. Farrer, the portrait belonged in the great collection of portraits at Euston Hall, the inclusion of which was essential to his book, and the owner, the Duke of Grafton, though informed as to the error in identification, required Farrer to print the picture with the traditional attribution or else to leave out of the book all the pictures at Euston Hall. As Mr. Bolton says, Farrer "had to accept one false inscription or abandon his book." The fact that the Duke of Grafton is descended from the royal House of Stuart, via a bar sinister, may perhaps account for his obstinate obscurantism.

I myself, when working on my book on Robert Feke, had a somewhat similar experience, though it had a more fortunate outcome. I located in the possession of an old lady the portrait of a young woman whom Feke had painted in Philadelphia in 1746. But the

old lady "knew" that Copley had painted it: her father had told her so. I pointed out that the apparent age of the subject, as well as the costume, made 1746 about the right date, and she agreed. Then I remarked that at that date Copley was only eight years old and that even in later years he never painted in Philadelphia. Nevertheless she persisted that Copley must have been the painter, and later she threatened to sue me if in my book I attributed the portrait to Feke. Fortunately I discovered that her picture was the replica of an original of the same subject in the hands of other descendants who did not cherish her illusion, so I was able to reproduce the original and finer portrait, merely noting the existence of a replica in the hands of an owner who thought it was by Copley.

The portrait which has been widely reproduced as a picture of the Reverend John Cotton who came to Boston in 1633 illustrates the ignorance which prevailed a generation or two ago about the use of costume for dating a picture, as well as the gullibility of historians in using a portrait-document which cannot possibly be authentic. About 1850 Mr. John Eliot Thayer saw in a dealer's window in Boston a portrait labeled "Rev. John Cotton." The dealer had purchased it as a representation of that person at a sale of the contents of an old house in Newton. Mr. Thayer bought it and showed it to his friends, and it was widely reproduced in histories—first in Samuel G. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston* (1856), then in Justin Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston* and in much later publications down to the recent past—and it was used as the model for the head of the modern recumbent figure commemorating John Cotton in the First Church in Boston. But modern experts recognize the portrait as a painting by John Smibert, who did not reach Boston till late in 1729. The subject wears a layman's costume of about 1740, a short gray wig, a steenkirk tie, and a golden-brown coat. Both the manner of painting and the costume rule out all possibility that the picture could have been painted in the first half of the seventeenth century. Now it happens that the first John Cotton had a great-grandson of the same name, who was minister at Newton from 1714 to 1757. It has been suggested that the picture may represent this later Reverend John Cotton. But that possibility is ruled out, first because the subject appears to be an older man than the later John Cotton would have been at the date to which the portrait must be assigned, and second, and more decisively, because of

the layman's costume. I have never seen a well-authenticated portrait of a colonial minister, whether Congregational, Episcopalian, or Baptist, which did not show him in wig, gown, and bands, or dressed in part in such a costume. Even those authors who first used the portrait as an illustration to represent the first John Cotton seem to have been disturbed by his inappropriate attire, for in three cases the engraver substituted clerical bands for the steenkirk tie. Though they did not realize what they were doing, that amounted to a falsification of the document to make it fit the case. They would not have done that with a manuscript, but they were not habituated to regard a portrait as a document to be treated with the same respect. No wonder they wished to use the portrait, for it shows a strong, intelligent face which bears "a striking resemblance to Pelham's engraved portrait of Cotton Mather."¹ Probably it does represent an early eighteenth-century member of the Mather-Cotton family connection and had come down to the heirs of John Cotton of Newton who, forgetting the true name of the subject, not unnaturally surmised that it must be a portrait of their most famous ancestor, the first John Cotton. This is a case in which there was no intentional misrepresentation on the part of either the dealer or the person from whom he acquired the picture—only a natural error in identification.

A very similar instance is a portrait owned by Harvard University, to which it was presented in 1847 as a likeness of Charles Chauncy, who was president from 1654 to 1672. Before being relined it bore on the back a Latin inscription identifying the subject as Chauncy, with the date of painting rather illegible but probably 1638, when Chauncy was forty-six, the apparent age of the subject. But the wig and the costume, in this case a golden-brown morning robe over a black coat and bands, clearly belong to the middle of the eighteenth century. Now President Chauncy, like Cotton, had a great-grandson who bore the same name, the Reverend Charles Chauncy of Boston, who in 1750 would have been forty-five years old. The portrait probably represents him and is the work of Nathaniel Smibert. The inscription was added by a later hand, misled into the same sort of error as in the case of the Cotton portrait.

Such mistakes were common in the last century, for really careful and informed scholarly study of colonial portraits, as of other colo-

¹ Bolton, *Portraits of the Founders*, II. 561.

nial arts and crafts like silver and furniture, only began about thirty-five years ago, and much of the field still awaits exhaustive and competent survey. Charles Henry Hart, in "Frauds in Historical Portraiture,"¹ a notable paper along lines similar to this one, gives an appalling list of portraits which, either through mistakes in identification or by deliberate fraud, have been widely used as representations of persons other than those who are really pictured.

The presence of an identifying inscription painted on either the surface or the back of a portrait is a common phenomenon. In rare instances it has been painted by the artist himself, as in the case of the portrait of Isaac Royall and Family by Feke. But artists have seldom followed the good advice of John Locke, who wrote: "Pray get Sir Godfrey [Kneller] to write on the back of my Lady Masham's picture, 'Lady Masham,' and on the back of mine 'John Locke.'" This he did to Mr. Molyneux. It is necessary to be done, or else the pictures of private persons are lost in two or three generations." Sometimes the artist has accomplished this result by painting legibly the name and address of the subject on a letter which the subject holds in his hand or has placed on the table beside him. When the inscription appears elsewhere on the front or back of a picture, it is generally a later addition by an unknown hand, made with the laudable desire to preserve from oblivion the name of the subject or the artist. In such instances it is frequently unreliable, as in the case of Charles Chauncy cited above or in that of a portrait representing Ebenezer Coffin of Nantucket, a New England primitive of about 1715 to which a very unskilled hand has added the misspelled name of Feke as the painter. The signature is too crude to be regarded as a forgery; it is merely a bad guess, no doubt made in all sincerity. The presence of written labels pasted onto the back of a portrait is also common. When they are authentic and well-informed, they may give conclusive proof as to the subject and the provenance of the portrait, but sometimes they only report a mistaken family tradition, and sometimes they are forgeries.

Mistaken identifications are explicable, but I now turn to a type of problem which calls for even greater caution and discrimination. In 1926 the late Frank W. Bayley of the Copley Gallery, Boston, printed a leaflet entitled *Six Colonial Governors of Massachusetts*, reproducing six portraits which had been "authenticated and sold

¹ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913*, I. 85-99.

by the Copley Gallery." Today experts are of the opinion that five of the six are not authentic: that is, either the identification of the subject is doubtful, or the attribution to the painter, or both. I knew Mr. Bayley, and he was most helpful to me in my researches into the work of Robert Feke. He had considerable knowledge of, and a pretty good eye for, colonial portraits, but he tended to make snap judgments, he had no taste for research, and he was subject to the temptation not to question too inquisitively the provenance of a pleasing portrait which was put into his hands for sale. His book, *Five Colonial Artists of New England*, I now know to include many mistaken identifications and wrong attributions. He had the misfortune to live through the flush nineteen-twenties, when very high prices were obtainable for fine colonial portraits of distinguished individuals. Beginning about 1920 an astonishing number of such pictures were "discovered" and were sold to individual collectors or galleries. The questionable five in Bayley's *Six Colonial Governors* were in that series, but there were many others. Reproductions of some of them are very likely to appear in years to come in histories or family biographies. Oskar Hagen's *Rise of the American Tradition in Art* uses three pictures of this series to support his thesis, though he reproduces only one of them.

The portraits in this surprising succession appear to have emanated from a center in New York, from which they were passed on to various dealers in Boston, Philadelphia, and doubtless other cities. They were fine pictures, generally signed and dated, and were accompanied by plausible pedigrees. Mr. John Hill Morgan has described the typical characteristics of these "discoveries," and I briefly summarize his points. (1) The portrait is one unheard-of up to the time of discovery: that is, it had never been reproduced or referred to in a biography or history, and its existence was unknown to the descendants of the subject, if such could be found. That would not be remarkable in any individual case, but when it is characteristic of any large number of portraits "discovered" in a brief period of high prices, it is at least a cause for suspicion. (2) The portrait has never descended in a direct line from the subject of the portrait. If it represents a Tory official who fled the Revolution, it had been "left" with someone, or it had been "presented" to a friend, from whose alleged descendants it had been purchased. (3) Often a genealogical table is given of the subject's or "friend's" family, correctly

for the first two or three generations, a table which might, of course, have easily been copied from a printed genealogy. But about 1800 the portrait would pass to a side line in which fictitious names appear, ending with a nameless heir who is alleged to have sold the portrait. (4) The pedigree and provenance of the portrait are rarely carried down, with names given, to the date of purchase. When they are, it has proved impossible in any single case to locate the last owner, or, indeed, to prove that the alleged person in question actually existed at all.

The first of these pictures were hailed with delight as great finds, but when the foregoing characteristics began to appear with remarkable uniformity in case after case, doubts were cast upon the authenticity of all the pictures which could be traced to the New York source. When pressed for further information, the dealer at the source would only reply that the inquirer could "rest assured" that the pictures were authentic. Some of them may be genuine, even when the pedigree is dubious. Even an unscrupulous dealer may from time to time acquire an authentic portrait about the provenance of which he knows little. He is not qualified to conduct a research, and it is easier to concoct what reads like a probable story regarding the picture. But most of the questionable portraits in this series appear to be eighteenth-century pictures imported from England and garnished, somewhere along the line, with the well-forged signature of a colonial artist and an appropriate date. In various instances which I have examined, the signature has clearly been superimposed on the original paint and varnish, probably in the recent past. Then the name of a likely subject is selected, and a superficially plausible pedigree is attached as bait to promote a sale. And there you have the fine and hitherto unknown portrait of a colonial governor or, if you are in a position to pay well, of one of your own ancestors.

No doubt many of the dealers to whom these portraits were sent accepted them as genuine. It was, unfortunately, profitable to do so; probably professional courtesy forbade too curious inquiries; and, besides, many dealers are surprisingly ignorant about their own wares. Not long ago I was asked to view a "newly discovered" portrait of John Hancock as a boy, by Robert Feke. I went, knowing about what I should find, and I was not disappointed. It was a charming full-length of a boy about twelve years old, an English portrait of the heir to some manor. I asked about its pedigree and was handed

a typed sheet with a prettily written story about Hancock: how he had been adopted by his uncle Thomas, how his uncle had naturally taken advantage of Feke's presence in Boston to have his favorite nephew's picture painted, how it had fortunately come to light—when and where was not stated, nor where it had been hidden all these years. It was too bad that the original inscription, "Master John Hancock by Robert Feke, 1748," had been painted on the old stretcher which was so rotten that it had to be removed, but it had been copied in pencil on the brand-new stretcher. I told the dealer what I thought of the picture and advised him to ship it back where it came from and to have nothing to do with it. He was disappointed, for he undoubtedly had hoped, perhaps had believed, that the picture was genuine.

I have said that some dealers in these false faces are surprisingly ignorant. Let me illustrate by the amusing story of the portrait alleged to represent the great-great-grandmother of Mr. Alfred I. du Pont, as told in the recently published life of that gentleman by Marquis James. In 1931 Mr. du Pont was offered a portrait purporting to represent his ancestress, Madame du Pont de Nemours, and her infant son, supposed to have been painted in France in 1769. The unnamed Philadelphia dealer, from whom Mr. du Pont had purchased other objects, wanted \$25,000 for the picture. The painting was undoubtedly an old one, but it did not have a good pedigree and it did not look right to Mr. du Pont, who expressed doubts as to its genuineness. The price was cut to \$10,000, but Mr. du Pont remained skeptical. Finally he bought it for \$1,000, shrewdly figuring that at least the frame was worth \$400. Then he sent it to Dr. Arthur Bye of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, who pointed out that the lady's face and elaborately dressed figure and the frills in which the child was dressed had been heavily repainted, and that the costume was not of the period assigned to the portrait. The child's face and the lady's hand, however, had not been repainted and showed far higher artistic skill than the rest of the portrait. Accordingly the repainted surface was removed, and the original picture beneath was revealed as a very beautiful Madonna and Child, now attributed to Murillo and valued at \$150,000. Mr. du Pont is doubtless the only American into whose home has come a picture of the Madonna and Child disguised as his own ancestors. The puzzle as to when or by whom a picture by Murillo came to be thus disfigured is unsolved.

The guilty party, whoever he was, must have been too ignorant to discern the beauty and value of the picture which had somehow fallen into his hands and on which he thought he could make a large profit by falsifying its true character, and the intelligence of the dealers who passed it on cannot be rated much higher.

I repeat my warning to the historian and the biographer, yes, and to the collector as well, to beware of false faces. Mr. Bolton tells me that he and Miss Louisa Dresser of the Worcester Art Museum have a check list of three thousand American portraits which are doubtful or definitely spurious. Of course, only a very small proportion of these are traceable to the New York source to which I have referred. The great majority are cases of doubtful or mistaken identification. But my point is that any portrait, in any medium, is a historical document, and its authenticity and veracity are to be tested and weighed by the same standards that are applicable to any other sources of historical information.

Fortunately we are rapidly acquiring the means for making fairly sound judgments in such matters. The Frick Art Reference Library in New York is building up a vast collection of photographs and information about all the important paintings in this country. We have good schools in the departments of Fine Arts at Harvard, Yale, and other universities. The use of X-ray photography can reveal much about what underlies the repainted surface of a portrait and about the characteristic brushwork of an artist. Mr. Lloyd Goodrich, Research Curator at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, has issued a pamphlet calling for the appointment of a bureau for authenticating American pictures. His chief concern is for the vast number of spurious paintings which are being offered as the genuine works of the more recent American artists whose pictures command good prices. For example, he says that in the course of writing a book on Winslow Homer he has examined no less than three hundred pictures signed "Homer" which that painter "obviously never saw." He, too, says that "the outstanding characteristic of American fakers is their stupidity." Such a bureau as he proposes would be equally valuable in the case of portraits of the colonial era. It is much to be desired that such a coöperative effort should be made to check the sale of forgeries, or at least to enable the collector and the art gallery as well as the historian to obtain reliable information and expert opinion about any particular picture instead of being at the mercy

of an ignorant but self-assured, if not corrupt, dealer. We are just waking up to the fact that American painting, from the latter part of the seventeenth century to our own day, is a precious part of our cultural inheritance, which it is important for us to preserve in its integrity and as free as we can make it from doubt and deception.

Meetings

October Meeting, 1941

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 9, 1941, at 3 P.M., Mr. GRINNELL, Recording Secretary, in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the American Antiquarian Society, fragmentary copies of the *Boston News-Letter* for March 24, 1749, May 30, June 13, and August 29, 1751, the last three being unique.

From George E. Cabot, a broadside containing the odes sung at the dinner held in Boston on March 25, 1813, in commemoration of the Russian victories over Napoleon, the names of the odists being inserted in manuscript.

From the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, in memory of Matt B. Jones, a Vice-President of that Society at the time of his death, Mr. Jones's copy of Roger Williams's *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody: by Mr. Cottons Endeavour to Wash It White in the Blood of the Lambe* (London, 1652).

From the estate of Oliver P. Emerson, through Marian C. Nichols of Boston, Civil War letters of Stephen G. Emerson (H.C. 1861).

From Isabel A. Holmes of Passaic, New Jersey, a letter from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to Mrs. Jennie A. Holmes, January 1, 1875.

From Mrs. Charles E. Mason of Brookline, papers of her father, John Forrester Andrew, the son of Governor John A. Andrew.

From Harriett G. Scott of Brookline, a group of family documents, mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to be known as the Frank Abner Merrill collection; also a broadside, *An Exact Table to Bring Old Tenor to Lawful Money* (Boston, 1750).

From Sarah C. Scott of Belmont, a collection of Cranch family papers comprising mainly letters of Richard Cranch, brother-in-law of Abigail Adams, and his son, Judge William Cranch.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Margaret F. Herrick of Cambridge, in memory of her father, the Reverend Samuel E. Herrick, formerly a member of the Society, a medal of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

The chair announced the death of GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, a Resident Member, on July 23, 1941; that of CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, a Resident Member, on August 18, 1941; and that of CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, a Corresponding Member, on September 18, 1941.

The Society elected Perry Miller of Cambridge to Resident Membership and William Allan Neilson of Falls Village, Connecticut, to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. ROBERT L. O'BRIEN read a paper entitled "The Last Half Century of *Transcript* History."¹

November Meeting, 1941

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 13, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair. The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. William R. Cabot, through George E. Cabot, by deposit, papers of William Howard Gardiner.

From Mrs. Richard Y. Fitzgerald of Jamaica Plain, sixteen letters (1818-1827) from Washington Allston to Henry Pickering, son of Timothy Pickering, and copies of various privately printed poems by Henry Pickering.

From Mrs. Gilman Pritchard of Concord, through Allen French, a letter of General Nathanael Greene to William Gibbons, August 29, 1784, relating to the affairs of the General's plantation.

By purchase: *The Shorter Catechism* (Cambridge, 1689), a hitherto unrecorded Cambridge imprint; and an unrecorded broadside brief by Governor John Hancock, November 14, 1781, for collecting money in Massachusetts for "the support of such of the Citizens of the States of South-Carolina and Georgia as have been driven from their Country and Possessions by our inveterate and cruel Enemy."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Ellen Bullard of Boston, an album of photographs of generals in the Union Army.

From the estate of George L. Prescott of Concord, a water color of the *Sally Anne* of Boston in the Faro of Messina, 1817.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from PERRY MILLER accepting Resident Membership and one from WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON accepting Corresponding Membership.

The chair announced the death of the Right Reverend WILLIAM LAWRENCE, a Resident Member, on November 6, 1941.

Mr. ALLEN FRENCH read a paper entitled "The Arms and Military Training of our Colonizing Ancestors."²

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 500-513.

² Printed in this volume, pages 3-21.

December Meeting, 1941

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 11, 1941, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Richard Y. Fitzgerald of Jamaica Plain, Joseph Reed, *Remarks on a Late Publication in the "Independent Gazetteer"* (Philadelphia, 1783), a presentation copy to General Horatio Gates; a collection of political broadsides and pamphlets originally owned by Timothy Pickering and in many cases bearing his autograph; and a collection of Pickering family papers, 1731-1860, the bulk of them relating to Timothy Pickering's Revolutionary War career and his adventures as a land speculator.

From the Minnesota Historical Society, a broadside issued by the Antimasonic Republicans of Massachusetts in support of their candidates in the state election of 1833 when their ticket was headed by John Quincy Adams for Governor.

The Society elected the Reverend Frederick Lewis Weis of Lancaster and Walter Muir Whitehill of North Andover to Resident Membership; and James Blaine Hedges of Providence, Rhode Island, to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER read a paper entitled "Patriotism Names the Baby."¹

Mr. GEORGE P. WINSHIP read a paper entitled "The Gold Coast of 1644-1649."

January Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 8, 1942, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Harriett G. Scott of Brookline, additional manuscripts of the Frank Abner Merrill collection.

From Ernest S. Tappan of Newtonville, by deposit, *The Ardent Desire and Sincere Cry of a True Believer in Jesus Christ* (Newport, 1728), a poetical broadside that is one of the earliest products of James Franklin's Newport press;

¹ Printed in the *New England Quarterly*, XIV (December, 1941), 611-618.

and a copy of the Holy Bible (London, 1599), containing the printed book label (dated 1721) of Samuel Johnson, the first President of Columbia College.

By purchase: through a gift from Stephen W. Phillips in commemoration of the Society's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, the ledger kept by Samuel Sewall as Treasurer of the New England Company during the years 1708-1721. This manuscript had previously been owned by a descendant of Judge Sewall.¹

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Reverend FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL accepting their election to Resident Membership; and a letter from JAMES BLAINE HEDGES accepting his election to Corresponding Membership.

The chair reported the death of DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, a Resident Member, on December 29, 1941.

The Society elected Shepard Pond of Winchester to Resident Membership.

Mr. DUMAS MALONE read a paper entitled "Biography and History."²

February Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 12, 1942, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Henry B. Twombly of New York, seven manuscripts relating to Captain Robert Gray: a copy in the handwriting of John Hoskins of a letter from Joseph Barrell, Boston, December 12, 1787, intended for either Gray or Captain Kendrick at Macao; a letter from Captain Gray, Nootka Sound, September 21, 1788, possibly written to the authorities there; a letter from Captain Gray to Captain Kendrick, Oahu, September 7, 1789; Captain Gray's original draft of his letter to Joseph Barrell, Canton, December 18, 1789, the final version of which is printed in *Collections*, LXXIX. 128-130; a sea letter from the French consul in Boston to Captain Gray, September 25, 1790; an undated invoice for four hogsheds of New England rum sent by John Codman, Jr., to Captain Gray on board the ship *Pacific*; and an undated epitaph in Captain Gray's handwriting for the tombstone of Dr. Ladd.

By purchase: Cotton Mather, *A Monitory Letter to Them Who Needlessly*

¹ For a detailed account of this manuscript, see pages 55-110, above.

² Printed in *The Interpretation of History*, Joseph R. Strayer, Editor (Princeton, 1943), 119-148.

and Frequently Absent Themselves from the Publick Worship of God (Boston, 1702), one of two known copies.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from SHEPARD POND accepting his election to Resident Membership.

The Society elected the Right Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill of Boston to Resident Membership.

Mr. THEODORE C. SMITH read a paper entitled "The War Debate of 1937-1941 and Its Lessons."¹

March Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 12, 1942, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

By purchase: a volume of Edward Goddard's manuscript notes on sermons preached in Boston (ca. 1709) by Thomas Bridge, Benjamin Colman, Cotton Mather, Increase Mather, Ebenezer Pemberton, Joseph Sewall, and Benjamin Wadsworth; a hitherto unrecorded broadside, *On the Trial of the Inhuman Murderers of the 5th of March, 1770* [Boston, 1770].

The chair reported the death of SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN, a Corresponding Member, on February 23, 1942, and that of JOHN HOLLAND ROSE, a Corresponding Member, on March 3, 1942.

The chair announced the appointment of Mr. SHEPARD POND as Curator of the Society's collection of coins and medals.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: MILTON E. LORD, *Chairman*; LAWRENCE W. JENKINS, AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., KEYES D. METCALF, and STEWART MITCHELL.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: HERMANN F. CLARKE, *Chairman*, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Mr. BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG read a paper entitled "John Adams and Horatio Gates."²

The Director read a hitherto unpublished letter by George Wash-

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 514-548.

² Printed in this volume, pages 135-151.

ington written to the Selectmen of the Town of Boston in acknowledgment of the town's congratulations on the evacuation of Boston by the British.

To the Select Men and Citizens of Boston

GENTLEMEN, Your Congratulations on the Success of the American Arms, gives me the greatest pleasure.

I most sincerely rejoice with you, on your being once more in the quiet possession of your former habitations, and, what greatly adds to my happiness, that this desirable Event has been effected with so little effusion of human blood.

I am exceedingly obliged by the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of my Conduct. Your virtuous efforts in the Cause of Freedom, and the unparalleled Fortitude with which you have sustained the greatest of all human Calamities, justly entitle you to the grateful remembrance of your American Bretheren, and I heartily pray that the hand of Tyranny may never more disturb your repose, and that every blessing of a kind Providence may give happiness and prosperity to the Town of Boston.

G^o WASHINGTON¹

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 9, 1942, at 3 P.M., President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Prentiss P. Bassett of South Bound Brook, New Jersey, a manuscript book of memoirs by Charles J. Stratford, born in Boston in 1795, containing his recollections of stories about Boston in the eighteenth century as told him by his mother and by his uncle, Thomas Wallcut, one of the founders of the Society.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. George B. McClellan of Washington, D.C., daughter-in-law

¹ At a Boston town meeting held on May 1, 1776, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to be presented to General Washington. *Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*, XVIII (Boston, 1887), 232. At a later meeting, on May 23, it was voted that this committee be excused from that duty, "the Selectmen having already presented One in the Name of the Town" (*Ibid.*, 235-236). Since the earliest entry in the Selectmen's minutes in May, 1776, is dated May 20 and since the address is not subsequently referred to therein, it must have been written between May 1 and May 20.

of General George B. McClellan, a silver pitcher presented to General McClellan in 1863, bearing the inscription "Gen. Geo. B. McClellan. A testimony of love from the loyal children of Boston. Feb. 2^d 1863."

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from the Right Reverend HENRY KNOX SHERRILL accepting his election to Resident Membership.

Mr. ALLAN NEVINS read a paper entitled "A New York Diarist of the Civil War—George Templeton Strong."¹

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. LAWRENCE W. JENKINS read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

A HISTORICAL society is not a war industry, nor are its activities of the kind that can be turned into channels directly aiding the war effort. But it does not follow that the war is passing us by, leaving us unscathed or even unruffled.

On the contrary, we have already had to face important problems arising out of the war. Others will come along as time goes on, nor can we count on much advance warning of them. The fact is that when we consider the Society's activities in the days immediately ahead, the only thing about which we can be sure is their uncertainty.

It has all along been clear that the most immediate threat to the continuance of our normal course lay in the draft. That threat has now in part materialized, for Mr. Riley, the Assistant Librarian, has received orders to report for induction into the army. To him has been due no small measure of the success attending the recent merging of the offices of Librarian and Editor in that of Director, and his absence, even though it should be only a brief one, cannot but cripple the Society's activities at every point. With the Director and the Society's Photographer also eligible for the draft, it can be readily seen that the readjustments that must be made at once may be only a foretaste of even more drastic changes later on.

An even more serious derangement of our activities would necessarily follow were Boston to become a repeated target for enemy bombs. Then, provided our building were not demolished at the outset, it would be necessary to send our manuscripts and rare books

¹ A portion of this paper, in revised form, is printed in this volume, pages 402-419.

to a place that would, it is hoped, be safe. The Council has during the past year given anxious consideration to this possible turn of events and has granted full power to the Director to take at any time whatever steps he may deem desirable to safeguard the Society's possessions. He has already removed from the building a number of our most important portraits, and they will not be brought back until after the war. He has also found a suitable depository, well removed from the metropolitan area, for the collections of manuscripts and rare books, and he has in the building the necessary containers in which they are to be packed for moving. Since the Society, unlike some larger institutions, does not own its own trucks, it has not yet proved possible to work out in advance the details of the actual problem of transportation.

It may well be asked why these things are not sent away at once so that all risk may be avoided. The answer lies in the fact that while they are of inestimable value and to a very considerable extent literally irreplaceable, they are the heart of the library, the sole reason for our existence as a center of research. Were they to be removed, the library would at once become merely a collection of reference books, and not a particularly significant one at that. There would be little for us to offer the student that the Harvard College Library and the Boston Public Library could not offer, and we should have no good reason for not shutting down altogether. Could we microfilm these books and manuscripts, we should have a way out of this dilemma, but such a measure is, for us, far beyond the realm of financial possibility. In view of these facts the Council has weighed our present obligations to the scholarly world against the foreseeable risks, and has decided against immediate evacuation. In the meantime the building has been furnished with the essential equipment for use in case of air raids, and two of the staff have taken an intensive air raid wardens' course.

There is another point at which the war may affect our welfare in ways not now altogether predictable: our finances. This should cause us an added measure of apprehension because of the protracted period of financial ill health which recent Treasurer's reports have disclosed. The Council is accordingly considering issuing later in the year an appeal to the members for voluntary contributions. The reluctance with which it would take such a step at such a time is mingled with a feeling of confidence in the loyalty of the members of the

Society. The Council has also, in this same connection, considered the possibility of making an appeal to the descendants and families of former members who in one way or another showed a particular interest in the Society. Whether or not in the end such a step is taken, this is a promising field for missionary work on the part of everyone in the Society.

A tangible evidence of the members' continuing loyalty is to be found at that most obvious and at the same time perhaps most significant of all points—attendance at meetings. Sixty-nine members were present at one or more of the year's meetings—seven more than during the previous year. At the same time the average attendance increased from 31.6 to 33.3, giving valid evidence that, whatever our shortcomings, we are not completely moribund and that we find the fare and company offered enjoyable. If these figures are in any degree to be explained as a stimulation of interest in the Society resulting from the dinner a year ago in celebration of our one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, we have an additional argument for not waiting another quarter or half century before having another similar gathering.

Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has issued two publications: the General Index to Volumes XLI–LX of the *Proceedings*, for whose appearance in its final form the Society is indebted to Mr. Mitchell, and Volume LXXIX of the *Collections*, Judge Howay's *Voyages of the "Columbia,"* a book which has already won wide acclaim. The Publication Committee reports its expectation that the next few days will see the appearance of the third volume of the Society's continuation of *Sibley's Lives of Harvard Graduates*, written by Mr. Shipton, and that this will be shortly followed by Volume LXVI of the *Proceedings*, covering the years 1936–1941, and Volume XVIII of the *House Journals*. The Council has approved the Committee's recommendation that steps be taken for the immediate publication of Volume LXVII of the *Proceedings*, if warranted by the amount of available material, and the publication at the earliest possible moment of Volume LXXX of the *Collections*, which will be drawn from the papers of Robert Treat Paine, the Signer, and of Volumes III and IV of the *Winthrop Papers*. During the past year there have been issued through the Photostat Department the *Virginia Gazette* for 1775 (Purdie edition) and twenty-four numbers of the Second Series of the Photostat Americana.

Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has lost by death the following members:

WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Bishop of Massachusetts, a Resident Member since 1894, died November 8, 1941, at which time he was third in seniority in the Society. The influence of no churchman in recent years in Massachusetts permeated more deeply into the life of this community than that of Bishop Lawrence. In his own church he was an outstanding figure, both here in the United States and in England. Bishop Lawrence combined to an extraordinary degree a simple, straightforward spiritual outlook with an uncanny sense of business. His services to the community and to the nation were so far-reaching and varied that he left a deep impression on the educational, religious, and civic life of this country, and he was respected by all, regardless of creed and belief. In his death the Society has lost a loyal member, and the country, a great citizen.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, a Resident Member since 1908, died July 23, 1941. Teacher of English at Harvard for forty-eight years; foremost authority on Shakespeare in his day and generation; historian and antiquarian; eminent above all in his extraordinary erudition and in his unparalleled gift in the training and inspiration of his pupils; generous helper of other scholars; revered and beloved by his colleagues and students.

SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN, a Corresponding Member since 1911, died February 23, 1942. A descendant of a family who lived in New York for nearly three generations. Although educated as a mechanical engineer, he devoted his career mostly to the management of his father's extensive estate. He was much interested in history and in collecting. Mr. Hoffman was President of the New York Historical Society from 1902 to 1912 and continued thereafter to be concerned with its administration.

JOHN HOLLAND ROSE, a Corresponding Member since 1913, died March 3, 1942. Probably few, if any, of the past or passing generation added as much to the popular knowledge of the Napoleonic period as did he. He wrote what was, and still is, the best life of Napoleon in English, and he threw much light on many dark nooks and crannies of the period in his essays and papers. He had the gift of scholarship and the gift of clear and interesting narrative. If he cannot be classed among the three or four greatest of English historians, there are few or none who contributed more to general

knowledge of the period which he made his life work. His passing is a great loss to English scholarship and historical literature and leaves a gap which it will be difficult to fill.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, a Corresponding Member since 1915, died in New York April 13, 1941. One of the many distinguished students of Henry Adams, Taylor made himself a master of the history of human thought from the time of antiquity to the present day. In 1938, just sixty years after his graduation from Harvard, there appeared a fifth edition of the great work by which he will always be remembered, *The Mediæval Mind*.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, a Corresponding Member since 1916, died September 18, 1941. For twenty years he was an inspiration to hundreds of students at Smith College. Later, 1916-1938, he was professor at Columbia University. His first important study, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution*, indicated the interest in France which he always retained. His most widely read work, *Europe since 1815*, was distinguished by its clarity, charm of style, and interesting use of biographical material. In both the written and spoken word he had a graceful urbanity not often native to American historians.

DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, a Resident Member since 1932, died December 29, 1941. Beginning as an errand-boy in the Boston office of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., he rose steadily to high distinction both as a printer and as a scholar. The taste and efficiency with which he conducted The Merrymount Press for nearly forty-nine years made its name synonymous with the best in American book-making. His *Printing Types* (1922 and 1937) marked him as the foremost American historian in the field of printing. The recently published *Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast* (Volume LXXIX of our *Collections*) and the volume of *Proceedings* now on the press will bear abiding testimony to his work for the Society.

CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, a Resident Member since 1935, died August 18, 1941. A dynamic newspaper man, he was for years Treasurer of the *Boston Globe*, the financial and labor problems of which he handled with skill and understanding. He was an energetic and lovable friend, always unstinting with his help and advice.

LAWRENCE W. JENKINS

For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

THE outcome of fiscal operations for the year has not been unfavorable. Income was \$41,149.70, an increase of \$2,350.77 over the year previous. Contributing to this result was, of course, a usual increase of capital invested, but a part of the increment is owing to the payment of an amount of back interest on New Haven Railroad 6's of 1948 and to two dividends from Pacific Mills, both having proved nonpaying investments over a long period. Income accounts were credited at the rate of 4.326+, comparing with 4.289% a year ago.

The legacy of Miss Eleanor Hassam of Salem, \$10,000, received during the year, is unrestricted as to income and is a gratifying reminder to members of the Society that membership here is something that has a part in family tradition.

The net gain through the call and sale of bonds was \$500.44. Ten City of Detroit Street Railway 4¼'s, 1957, were sold at a profit of \$1,480, and there were small losses on the sale of Boston Edison Company 2¾'s, 1970, and on the calling of ten Atchison 4½'s, 1948. It seemed prudent to sell \$10,000 in New England Power Association 5's, 1948, at a loss of \$619.17, even though 5% coupons do not grow on every bush.

Market value of bonds owned by the Society is now 96.18% of book value; preferred stocks have a quoted value of 66.48%, and 58.86% would represent the ratio of market value to book value in the case of common stocks. Bonds and stocks taken together give a composite index figure of 76.76%. Of the Society's investments 43.5% are in bonds, 18% in preferred stocks, and 37.5% in common stocks. While the amount in stocks was increased, the additions were 400 shares of Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 5% preferred, 400 shares of The Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities, and 10 shares of New England Telephone & Telegraph Company. It is one of the anomalies of the present stock market that current quotations of certain common stocks are far out of line with current earnings. Experts are saying that the Southern Pacific Company, for instance, is likely to earn \$15.00 a share in a year when its stock could have been bought for \$11.00 or less.

The accumulated deficit in General Account now stands at

\$50,903.49, an increase during the twelve months of \$816.09. An advance purchase of 425 yards of white chiffon for the repair of manuscripts, the incidental expenditures of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary observance, and the fact that this was the year when the premium for general liability and compensation insurance was paid for three years would together more than account for a sum equivalent to the deficit during this particular year. Our eyes must not be closed, however, to the operation of John L. Sibley Fund income. In the twelve months now ended there was no Sibley volume to be paid for, and that circumstance released a considerable amount for general purposes. In respect to the deficit in General Account, \$50,903.49, it is proper to observe that this sum has been built up over a long period, possibly fifteen years, and it would be a special satisfaction to see steps taken to reduce this overlying burden.

The deficit in Photostat Account is now \$4,481.62 and represents also an accumulation over a considerable period, although its roots do not run so far back as in the case of unrestricted income. If, as in earlier years, the fiscal side of both Photostat and Publications were included in General Account, the combined deficit would not assume such proportions.

Adams Fund Principal was increased \$521.60 owing to the enterprise of Houghton Mifflin Company in promoting the sale of the Henry Adams autobiography in low-priced editions. The Adams Fund is now \$45,496.86, almost wholly from royalties on *The Education of Henry Adams*. The Building Fund was increased \$3,266.50, now \$78,775.06; the John L. Sibley Fund \$2,830.73, now \$264,570.28; the Lodge Fund \$50.32, now \$5,866.32; and the Stewart Mitchell Fund \$2,194.25, now standing at \$52,916.47. The Anonymous Fund, representing two gifts, \$1,000 in 1887 and \$250 in 1888, now amounts to \$24,109.80 but will not be available "until the annual meeting in 1991."

Members of the Society very much appreciate the generous gift of \$500 from the President of the Society toward the expense of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary dinner. Receipt of \$500 from the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the purchase of a copy of Roger Williams's *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*, a rare item, as a memorial to Matt B. Jones, is gratefully acknowledged. To the thoughtful provision of \$200 by Stephen W. Phillips the Society owes its acquisition of the account book in which Samuel Sewall

inscribed items of income and outgo while acting for the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. The Treasurer would like to express again his sense of obligation to members of the Finance Committee for the consideration shown the Society's investments. The kind help of members of the staff forms another agreeable phase of the year's round of duties.

G. G. WOLKINS
Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET

MARCH 31, 1942

RESOURCES:

Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Company . . .	\$735.86	
Petty Cash	<u>200.00</u>	\$935.86
Investments:		
Bonds	\$425,027.46	
Stocks	529,206.42	
Savings Banks Accounts	<u>1,319.36</u>	955,553.24
Real Estate		97,990.32
Photostat		4,481.62
Accounts Receivable		2,017.40
General Account		50,903.49
Library Duplicate Fund		<u>4,719.18</u>
		<u><u>\$1,116,601.11</u></u>

LIABILITIES:

Funds:

Principal (other than Ellis House Fund)	\$967,255.04
Income	28,094.57
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street	25,000.00
Building Account	72,990.32
Capital Reserve ¹	14,274.24
Publications	1,276.50
T. Hovey Gage Gift	100.00
John Barnard Associates Gift	10.00
George Kuehn Special Gift	100.00
Gain and Loss	500.44
Notes Payable	<u>7,000.00</u>
	<u><u>\$1,116,601.11</u></u>

¹ Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

AS OF MARCH 31, 1942

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Income 1941-42</i>
GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL:		
United States of America Savings Defense "G" 2½'s, 1953	\$5,000.00	\$62.50
City of Detroit, Mich., Street Railway, 4¼'s, 1957 . . .		391.94
New York City Corporation Stock 4½'s, 1957 . . .	9,100.00	450.00
City and County of San Francisco, Cal., 4½'s, 1968 . . .	12,534.69	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan 4's, 1954 . . .	10,950.00	400.00
	<u>\$37,584.69</u>	<u>\$1,754.44</u>
RAILROAD:		
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. 4½'s, 1948 . . .		\$450.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4's, 1960	\$2,077.50	120.00
Boston & Maine Railroad income 4½'s, 1970	622.50	
Canadian National Railways 5's, 1970	11,697.00	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944	10,071.45	450.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949 . . .	0.00	
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	1,687.50
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	<u>\$83,993.45</u>	<u>\$4,907.50</u>
UTILITY:		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 3's, 1956	\$5,137.50	\$75.00
Boston Edison Co. 2¾'s, 1970	10,450.00	518.68
Brooklyn Union Gas Co. 5's, 1945	10,475.00	500.00
Burlington (Vt.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1955	12,251.00	275.00
Eastern Massachusetts Street Railway Co. "C" 6's, 1948 . . .	5,375.00	150.00
Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of N. Y. 5's, 1995 . . .	3,026.62	100.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1953	5,100.00	300.00
New Amsterdam Gas Co. 5's, 1948	11,696.86	500.00
New England Power Association 5's, 1948		527.78
New England Telephone & Telegraph Co. "A" 5's, 1952	12,177.00	250.00
Public Service Corp'n of New Jersey perpetual 6's	31,344.80	1,200.00
San Joaquin Light & Power Corp'n 6's, 1952	14,644.50	720.00
Utica Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1957	24,958.52	1,000.00
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	17,984.75	750.00
	<u>\$174,021.55</u>	<u>\$7,366.46</u>
INDUSTRIAL:		
Bethlehem Steel Co. p.m. 6's, 1998	\$15,112.58	\$600.00
Bethlehem Steel Co. p.m. coupon 6's, 1998	7,556.28	300.00
Canadian & West Indies Steamships Ltd. 5's, 1955	10,476.66	500.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Pierre Lorillard Co. 5's, 1951	11,350.00	500.00
<i>Carried forward</i>	<u>\$54,145.52</u>	<u>\$2,300.00</u>

<i>Brought forward</i>		\$54,145.52	\$2,300.00
Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Co. 6's, 1949		11,256.00	600.00
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951		10,760.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California "A" 6's, 1942		11,106.25	600.00
United Stock Yards Corp'n "A" 4 $\frac{1}{4}$'s, 1951		9,800.00	425.00
Warren Bros. Co. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$'s, 1937		9,975.00	
		<u>\$107,042.77</u>	<u>\$4,425.00</u>
FOREIGN:			
Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969		\$11,625.00	500.00
Province of Ontario 4 $\frac{1}{2}$'s, 1966		10,760.00	450.00
		<u>\$22,385.00</u>	<u>\$950.00</u>
Totals, Bonds		<u>\$425,027.46¹</u>	<u>\$19,403.40</u>

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Income</i> <i>1941-42</i>
RAILROAD:		
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	\$15,800.00	\$790.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	20.00
	<u>\$27,570.10</u>	<u>\$810.00</u>
UTILITY:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	\$880.00	\$50.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. 6%	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. \$5	10,000.00	500.00
400 Pacific Gas & Electric Co. cum. first	10,800.00	116.44
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co. 6%	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. Ltd. "C" 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	16,925.00	962.50
	<u>\$75,965.00</u>	<u>\$3,428.94</u>
INDUSTRIAL:		
75 American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	\$7,800.00	\$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co. 7%	5,781.25	350.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates prior 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %	6,050.00	450.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
100 United States Steel Corp'n 7%	13,748.80	700.00
	<u>\$56,936.05</u>	<u>\$3,535.00</u>
Totals, Preferred Stocks	<u>\$160,471.15²</u>	<u>\$7,773.94</u>

¹ The market value on March 31, 1942, was \$408,807.50.² The market value on March 31, 1942, was \$106,692.25.

COMMON STOCKS

	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Income 1941-42</i>
RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	\$7,315.00	\$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	
300 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	14,520.77	1,050.00
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	
	<u>\$73,470.15</u>	<u>\$1,356.25</u>
UTILITY:		
300 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	\$38,869.25	\$2,700.00
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	170.00
250 Detroit Edison Co.	5,156.58	337.50
70 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	6,850.00	437.50
197 Western Massachusetts Co's	12,483.75	374.30
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	80.00
	<u>\$74,209.58</u>	<u>\$4,099.30</u>
INDUSTRIAL:		
125 Boston Wharf Co.	\$13,800.00	\$250.00
1,000 General Electric Co.	19,480.48	1,750.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	200.00
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	125.00
300 United Fruit Co.	13,833.81	1,200.00
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	800.00
	<u>\$89,783.04</u>	<u>\$4,325.00</u>
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Boston Ground Rent Trust	\$11,775.00	\$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	60.00
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
	<u>\$36,865.00</u>	<u>\$660.00</u>
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
35 Boston Insurance Co.	\$16,125.00	\$735.00
10 First National Bank of the City of New York	22,250.00	950.00
20 Guaranty Trust Co. of New York	7,000.00	240.00
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,020.00
400 Pennsylvania Co. for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities	11,200.00	160.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	<u>\$94,407.50</u>	<u>\$3,905.00</u>
Total Common Stocks	<u>\$368,735.27¹</u>	<u>\$14,345.55</u>
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	<u>\$529,206.42</u>	<u>\$22,119.49</u>
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		<u>\$41,522.89</u>

¹ The market value on March 31, 1942, was \$217,042.26.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1942

RECEIPTS:

Income from securities:

Bonds		\$19,223.96	
Stocks, preferred	\$7,773.94		
common	<u>14,345.55</u>	<u>22,119.49</u>	\$41,343.45
Library Duplicate Fund, gifts			530.00
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			521.60
Eleanor Hassam Legacy in memory of John Tyler Hassam			10,000.00
Proceeds of bonds called or sold			29,630.83
Loans, State Street Trust Company			16,000.00
Receivables collected			967.20
Stephen W. Phillips gifts			200.00
Adjustment of broker's account			<u>16.94</u>
			\$99,210.02
Cash on hand, March 31, 1941			<u>1,489.07</u>
			<u>\$100,699.09</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Net operating expenses, other than "Photostat" and "Publications," before journal entries		\$30,333.34
Photostat, net cost before journal entries		2,683.19
Publications, net cost before journal entries		5,811.93
Securities purchased: Bonds		21,832.50
Preferred stocks		22,000.00
Common stocks		1,000.00
Interest accrued on securities purchased		95.98
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Company		9,000.00
Interest on money borrowed		115.69
Purchase of Samuel Sewall account book (Stephen W. Phillips gift)		200.00
Library Duplicate Fund, purchases		<u>6,890.60</u>
		\$99,963.23
Cash on hand, March 31, 1942		<u>735.86</u>
		<u>\$100,699.09</u>

INCOME SUMMARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1942

RECEIPTS:

Income from securities:

Bonds		\$19,403.40	
Stocks, preferred	\$7,773.94		
common	<u>14,345.55</u>	<u>22,119.49</u>	\$41,522.89
Less:			
Interest accrued on securities bought			<u>283.48</u>
Carried forward			<u>\$41,239.41</u>

Annual Meeting, 1942

601

<i>Brought forward</i>	\$41,239.41
Interest credited by Savings Banks	25.98
	<u>\$41,265.39</u>
Less:	
Interest paid on borrowed money	115.69
Total net income	<u>\$41,149.70</u>

DEDUCTIONS:

Added to cumulative funds:	
Anonymous Centenary	\$999.75
Building Annex	3,266.50
Lodge	50.32
Stewart Mitchell	2,194.25
J. L. Sibley	<u>2,830.73</u>
	\$9,341.55
Current available income, restricted and unrestricted	<u><u>\$31,808.15</u></u>

NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1942

Bindery		\$1,614.55
Building:		
Air Raid Precaution	\$212.96	
Cleaning	172.68	
Electricity for elevator and light	294.06	
Elevator	195.00	
Furnishings, care, replacement	194.63	
Grounds, care, etc.	26.18	
Heating	1,147.17	
Insurance, fire, liability, compensation	687.30	
Superintendent, salaries and retirement allowance	2,492.80	
Telephones	220.60	
Water	<u>104.70</u>	
		5,748.08
Director, salary and Assistant		7,100.00
Retirement allowance, former Assistant to Editor		840.00
Engrossing diplomas		3.50
Fares		4.90
Library:		
Salaries, honorarium	\$11,750.00	
Binding, purchases, sundries	<u>1,635.36</u>	13,385.36
Meetings		367.44
Postage		222.12
Stationery		78.37
Subscription		4.00
Treasurer		<u>990.77</u>
Total net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"		<u><u>\$30,359.09</u></u>

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1942

Americana Series		\$558.40	
Binding, chemicals, electricity, supplies, and sundries		2,025.74	
Operator		1,943.75	
Total cash outlay, gross			\$4,527.89
Less:			
Cash sales, Americana Series	\$1,089.90		
Sundries	754.80		1,844.70
Net cash outlay			\$2,683.19
Less transfers:			
To Accounts Receivable (<i>Virginia Gazette</i> , 1775)	\$1,019.36		
To Library negatives	28.85		1,048.21
Deficit for operations during year ended March 31, 1942			\$1,634.98
Add deficit for March 31, 1941			2,846.64
Present deficit			<u>\$4,481.62</u>

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1942

<i>Collections</i> , 79: "Voyages of the 'Columbia' "		\$5,147.24	
Less sales	\$472.16		
Less transfer to Boit Fund Income	4,671.83		
		5,143.99	
			\$3.25
<i>Proceedings</i> , 66:			
Separate of annual reports		\$55.50	
Less transfer to Lawrence Fund Income		55.50	0.00
<i>Sibley's Harvard Graduates</i> , VI, sqq.:			
Index cards for use of Sibley Editor		\$5.25	
Salary of Sibley Editor, one-third time		1,250.00	
		\$1,255.25	
Less transfer to John L. Sibley Fund Income		1,255.25	0.00
Sundries			113.30
<i>Winthrop Papers</i> , III, sqq.:			
Negatives and prints		\$6.05	
Less transfer to Frederic Winthrop Fund Income		6.05	0.00
Net outlay for year ended March 31, 1942			\$116.55
Less sales (other than above)		\$68.90	
Diminished by purchases for stock:			
Sewall Diary, 6 vols.	\$49.75		
<i>Sibley's Harvard Graduates</i>	10.20		
		59.95	8.95
			<u>\$107.60</u>
General Index, sales in advance		\$274.00	
<i>Collections</i> , 79: "Voyages of the 'Columbia' "		7.20	281.20
Balance added during year April 1, 1941 to March 31, 1942			\$173.60
Credit balance, March 31, 1941			1,102.90
			<u>\$1,276.50</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT

<i>March 31, 1942</i>	To sundry charges and payments	\$20,552.21
<i>March 31, 1942</i>	By sundry charges to funds income accounts (unrestricted) . .	<u>19,736.12</u>
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, April 1,	
	1941, to March 31, 1942	816.09
	Balance from previous year	<u>50,087.40</u>
	Deficit in General Account	<u><u>\$50,903.49</u></u>

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

MARCH 31, 1942

	<i>Income Balances Mar. 31, 1941</i>	<i>Funds Income</i>	<i>Charges to Income</i>	<i>Income Balances Mar. 31, 1942</i>	<i>Funds Principal</i>
Adams		\$1,945.64	\$1,945.64		\$45,496.86
Amory		129.78	129.78		3,000.00
Appleton		527.91	527.91		12,203.00
Bancroft		86.52	86.52		2,000.00
Bigelow		86.52	86.52		2,000.00
Billings	\$75.75	432.60	508.35		10,000.00
Boit	3,338.81	216.30	4,678.08	— \$1,122.97	5,000.00
Brattle Street		5.07	5.07		100.00
Chamberlain		53.31	53.31		1,232.33
Cunningham		2,163.02	2,163.02		50,000.00
Dowse		432.60	432.60		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	6,928.54	1,081.51	1,131.24	6,878.81	25,000.00
Ellis		1,369.91	1,369.91		31,666.66
Farwell		216.30	216.30		5,000.00
Frothingham		129.78	129.78		3,000.00
General		2,509.68	2,509.68		58,013.66
Hassam		210.00	210.00		10,000.00
Hunnewell	— 165.32	216.30	50.80	.18	5,000.00
Lawrence	283.04	129.78	59.25	353.57	3,000.00
Lodge		201.28	201.28		5,866.32
Lowell		129.78	129.78		3,000.00
Marrs		86.52	86.52		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		432.60	432.60		10,000.00
Moore		108.15	108.15		2,500.00
Norcross No. 1	— 337.55	432.60	93.89	1.16	10,000.00
Norcross No. 2		2,163.02	2,163.02		50,000.00
Norcross MSS.					532.32
Nutter		108.15	108.15		2,500.00
Parker		20.91	22.50	— 1.59	1,000.00
Peabody	1,617.48	957.04	527.65	2,046.87	22,123.00
Salisbury		216.30	216.30		5,000.00
Savage		259.56	272.00	— 12.44	6,000.00
Schouler	598.27	123.29	3.56	718.00	2,850.00
Shaw		216.30	216.30		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		973.76	973.76		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley		8,492.17	8,492.17		264,570.28
Slafter		43.26	43.26		1,000.00
Smith		648.90	648.90		15,000.00
Storer	419.86	86.52	12.50	493.88	2,000.00
Warren		43.26	43.26		1,000.00
Washburn		108.15	108.15		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	2,771.61	216.30	6.25	2,981.66	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,164.68	432.60	225.17	4,372.11	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3		432.60	12.50	420.10	10,000.00
Waterston Library	— 1,001.13	167.64		— 833.49	3,875.14
Whitin		196.83	196.83		4,550.00
Frederic Winthrop	8,432.93	1,081.51	1,537.29	7,977.15	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	4,691.08	648.90	1,518.75	3,821.23	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		519.12	519.12		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		102.30	101.96	.34	2,364.66
William Winthrop		216.30	216.30		5,000.00
	<u>\$31,818.05</u>	<u>\$31,808.15</u>	<u>\$35,531.63</u>	<u>\$28,094.57</u>	<u>\$811,453.71</u>
Anonymous Centenary		999.75			24,109.80
Building Annex		3,266.50			78,775.06
Lodge		50.32			
Stewart Mitchell		2,194.25			52,916.47
J. L. Sibley		2,830.73			
Total Funds Income		<u>\$41,149.70</u>			
Total Funds Principal					<u>\$967,255.04</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE undersigned were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we have employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

HERMANN F. CLARKE
AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Committee

April 9, 1942

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 9, 1942

Messrs. Hermann F. Clarke and Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Examining Committee

GENTLEMEN: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1942.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING, *Auditor*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

SOME of the more significant additions to the library during the past year, both books and manuscripts,¹ have been announced in the Director's monthly reports. Outstripping these in importance, however, was a group of books acquired from the collection of our friend and associate, Matt B. Jones, and not hitherto reported in detail. The extent to which they have strengthened the Americana section of the library can readily be seen by anyone who examines the list given in the Appendix at the end of this report.

¹ Complete figures for accessions during the year 1941-1942 are as follows:

Books	348
Pamphlets	280
Periodicals	576
Broadsides	119
Newspapers	110
	1,433

Visitors working in the library totaled 1,652. This figure includes 198 visits by members on other than meeting days.

What the written word cannot so easily do is to convey the picture of Mr. Jones's personality that these books present. The mere citing of titles does, to be sure, reflect his extraordinary ability to find his way through the trivial and the irrelevant to the things of lasting value. But the whole story that Mr. Jones's library has to tell can only be discovered by looking at the books themselves and by actually handling them, by seeing what a high degree of perfection Mr. Jones demanded of books that he was to own, and by observing the manifold evidence of the affectionate care which he lavished on them. Mr. Jones's collection no longer exists as a unit, but no matter where the individual books may eventually come to rest—and many of them have, fortunately, found a permanent home—they will each retain something of that distinctive identity which he gave them.

For the most part it must suffice to make hardly more than passing comments on the rarest of these new books of ours which bear Mr. Jones's characteristic book label. One, however, demands more attention than this. It was the chief jewel in his collection; nor does it lose one whit of its luster when added to the Society's much larger collection. It is Thomas Maule's *Truth Held Forth and Maintained according to the Testimony . . . Recorded in the Holy Scriptures . . . to Which Is Added Some Account of the Judgments of the Lord Lately Inflicted upon New England by Witchcraft* ([New York], 1695).

This lengthy work by Salem's leading seventeenth-century Quaker was printed in New York by William Bradford because, for reasons which the contents of the book make amply clear, the Boston press did not dare tackle the book. Not only did Maule present an ardent defense of Quakerism, but he spoke his mind freely about the persecution of that sect in Massachusetts, sparing in the process neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical authorities. He dealt equally bluntly with the recent witchcraft episode, portraying it as divine punishment for Massachusetts' sins, particularly for the measures taken against the Quakers. Maule's work would in any case have unusual interest today as a first-hand commentary on Massachusetts in the 1690's. What gives it more particular, and lasting, significance is the fact that Maule, on the strength of his acknowledgment of his authorship, was prosecuted for publishing a book containing "divers Slanders against the Government and Churches" of Massachusetts. He conducted his own defense and secured an acquittal from the

jury, thereby winning "the first victory for freedom of the press in America."¹

To discuss in detail the other acquisitions from the Jones collection would involve the writing of a series of essays on many phases of Massachusetts history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is, for example, *A Letter of Mr. John Cottons . . . to Mr. Williams* (London, 1643), in which Cotton sets forth the orthodox Massachusetts opinion about what was and what was not essential for church membership, and thus attempts to prove to Williams that the latter's sentence of "civill banishment" was "righteous in the eyes of God." Two other books are of comparable interest with Cotton's *Letter* as expositions of early Massachusetts orthodox faith and practice. One is Thomas Weld's *A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New-England* (2nd ed., London, 1647), in which is set forth the Massachusetts procedure in gathering churches, calling church officers, conducting worship, admitting members, transferring members from one church to another, and censuring those that were delinquent. The other is Thomas Cobbet's *The Civil Magistrates Power in Matters of Religion Modestly Debated* (London, 1653), which expounds the "thesis and position" that "Corruptions in Religion, outwardly breaking forth and expressed, may and yea must be restrained and punished, by such as are called thereunto." Following Cobbet's treatise proper there is a fifty-two-page attack on John Clarke's *Ill Newes from New-England* (London, 1652), a copy of which we acquired in 1938.

There are among these Jones books other notable examples of the tracts that sprang from the controversies which marked the first decades of Massachusetts history. Earliest of these is John Wheelwright's *Mercurius Americanus* (London, 1645), a defense of his part in the Antinomian battle written in answer to Thomas Weld's and Governor Winthrop's *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians* (London, 1644). Another is Samuel Gorton's *Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or Innocency Vindicated, Being Unjustly Accused . . . by That Seven-Headed Church-Government United in New-England* (London, 1646), in which he tells his side of the story of his struggles with early Massachusetts expan-

¹ For a complete account of Maule, see Matt B. Jones, "Thomas Maule, the Salem Quaker, and Free Speech in Massachusetts Bay," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXII (January, 1936), 1-42.

sionism. The library does not own Edward Winslow's answer to Gorton, *Hypocrisie Unmasked* (London, 1646), or the next pamphlet in the development of this controversy, John Child's *New-Englands Jonas Cast Up at London* (London, 1647), in which Child gathered up Gorton under his wing in the course of his defense of his brother, Robert Child the Remonstrant. Winslow, in London as agent of Massachusetts, lost no time in countering with *New-Englands Salamander* (London, 1647), Mr. Jones's fine copy of which now has come to us.

Thomas Maule's notable book is not the only addition to our material on the subject of the Quakers in seventeenth-century Massachusetts. Outstanding among Mr. Jones's books in this field is Marmaduke Stephenson's *A Call from Death to Life* (London, 1660), written in the Boston jail in September, 1659. The tract also contains letters of William Robinson, documents relating to the trial of Stephenson, Robinson, and Mary Dyer, and an eyewitness account of the execution of the two men on October 27, 1659. From George Fox's ready pen come *An Epistle to All Professors in New-England, Germany, and Other Parts of the Called Christian World* ([London], 1673) and *Cain against Abel, Representing New-England's Church-Hierarchy, in Opposition to Her Christian Protestant Dissenters* ([London], 1675). Rarer than either the Stephenson tract or those by Fox is Samuel Groome's *A Glass for the People of New-England* ([London], 1676), in which he surveys the whole record of Massachusetts' persecution of those who "could not bow to their gilded Calf of Will-worship, which in short time grew a great Bull, with Horns to push and gore, even to the Gallows, those that could not worship the Beast. . . ."

A period in Massachusetts history that produced as many desirable collector's items as that of the Andros régime was certain to be well represented in such a collection as Mr. Jones's. Of that group of tracts we have acquired three, thereby greatly strengthening our resources at a point where we had hitherto been surprisingly weak. The first, chronologically, is Increase Mather's *A Brief Relation of the State of New England* (London, 1689), one of the series of pamphlets published by him when, as the Massachusetts agent, he was striving to bring about the restoration of the colony charter. The Andros faction were not in the meanwhile silent. Prominent among them was John Palmer, one-time chief judge of the Superior Court

of the Province of New England. His *An Impartial Account of the State of New England; Or, The Late Government There, Vindicated* was published in London in 1690.¹ Early in 1691 there appeared in Boston over the signatures of William Stoughton and four others, all of them former members of Andros's Council, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmond Androsse*, setting forth "but a small part of the Grievances justly complained of by the People in New England, during their three years Oppression under Sir E. A."

The story of Massachusetts in the seventeenth century is, however, more than a succession of attempts by the founders and their successors in power to destroy opposition on the ecclesiastical and political fronts. It is, therefore, something of a relief to come to a book from which the din and confusion of controversy is absent. Such a one is *Tears of Repentance: Or, A Further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* (London, 1653). It contains Thomas Mayhew's letter to the New England Company, October 22, 1652, about the progress of his Indian mission on Martha's Vineyard, and John Eliot's account of the gathering of elders and Indians called at Natick on October 13, 1652, to hear the Indians' confessions of faith and consider the possibility of forming an Indian church.

One other seventeenth-century item deserves mention here, not only because of its great rarity (Mr. Jones was able to locate but one other copy in this country), but also because it relates to two figures who, from the day of their arrival on these shores, have played leading rôles in the romance of New England history. This is Charles II's Proclamation of September 22, 1660, calling for the arrest of Edward Whalley and William Goffe, the regicides, and offering a reward of £100 to whoever should "cause them, or either of them, to be Apprehended, and brought in alive or dead."²

The eighteenth-century items secured from the Jones collection outnumber those of the seventeenth century. At the same time they take second place in importance, although if they had been our only acquisitions during the past year, the record would still be a notable one.

¹ This is his *The Present State of New-England Impartially Considered* (Boston, 1689) revised for circulation in an England whose sovereign had come to the throne as the result of a revolution.

² Acquisition of this broadside cannot but rekindle one's curiosity as to what became of all the copies of the King's order of March 5, 1660/61, to the government of Massachusetts for the arrest of the regicides, which Governor Endecott said he "caused to be printed here."

Three of this group are singled out here for special mention. The earliest is Sir William Pepperrell's *An Accurate Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New-England Land-Forces, during the Late Expedition against the French Settlements on Cape Breton* (Exeter, England, 1746), the first edition of the story of the capture of Louisbourg, the chief accomplishment to England's credit in King George's War.¹

Two publications of the 1770's derive most of their considerable interest from their illustrations. One is the edition of Church's history of King Philip's War issued by Ezra Stiles and Solomon Southwick in Newport in 1772 under the title *The Entertaining History of King Philip's War*. For this reprint of *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War* (Boston, 1716), which may well have been as rare in 1772 as it is today, Paul Revere provided two illustrations: one with the title "Col. Benjamin Church," which was in reality a steal from an engraving of Charles Churchill, the poet, that appeared in the September, 1768, issue of the *Court Miscellany and Gentleman and Lady's Magazine*; the other, Revere's guess at what King Philip looked like.

Another rare piece of pictorial Americana is to be found in the William Bingley reprint of *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston* (London, 1770), a publication described by one London newspaper as "supposed to be the most important one ever bro't from America." According to a London news item of May 5 in the *Boston Gazette* of June 18, 1770, Bingley received along with his copy of the Boston edition of the *Short Narrative* "a copper plate print, representing the soldiers firing on the unarmed townsmen of Boston, while they were removing their murdered countrymen. This plate he has had engraved, and has prefixed it to the Narrative by way of frontispiece," with the title, "The Fruits of Arbitrary Power; or the Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King-street, Boston by a Party of the XXIXth Regt." Mr. Jones's copy of the pamphlet is one of the few now known which still have the frontispiece. It would be interesting to know just what the print was that was sent over to Bingley from Boston. Most people know only the Revere representation of the Massacre. But a careful examination of the Bingley

¹ The Society also owns a copy of the second edition, which was published in London, 1758, with the title, *An Accurate and Authentic Account of the Taking of Cape-Breton, in the Year MDCCXLV*.

frontispiece, such as that made by Mary D. George in *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires . . . in the British Museum* (v. 1-2), shows that it was based in larger part on the less well-known engraving by Henry Pelham, which Pelham frankly accused Revere of having copied. Yet there are certain details in the Bingley engraving which do not appear in Pelham's but are to be found in Revere's. It seems certain, therefore, that both American depictions of the Massacre were available in London when Bingley set about the preparation of his edition of the *Short Narrative*.

There is but one thing which clouds the spirit of jubilation arising from the acquisition of these books from Mr. Jones's library. The funds which made the purchase possible came from a nonrecurring source: the sale of duplicates. Were a comparable group of rarities to come into the market today the Society would have to resort to a special appeal to its members to be able to secure the books it might wish. This is obviously not a healthy state of affairs, for with a library, as with other things that count, steady growth is the source of its vitality.

ALLYN B. FORBES

Director

Appendix

List of Books Purchased from the Library of Matt B. Jones

- AMICUS REIPUBLICAE. Trade and Commerce Inculcated [Boston], 1731.
- An Answer to the Remarks of the Plymouth Company. Boston, 1753.
- Authentic Copies of the Preliminary Articles of Peace: between His Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, His Most Catholic Majesty, and United States of America. London, 1783.
- CHARLES II. A Proclamation for Apprehension of Edward Whalley and William Goffe. [Broadside.] 1660.
- [? CHESTER, LEONARD]. Federalism Triumphant in the Steady Habits of Connecticut Alone. [N.p.], 1802.
- CHURCH, THOMAS. The Entertaining History of King Philip's War. Newport, 1772.
- CLINTON, SIR HENRY. A Letter from Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, K.B. to the Commissioners of Public Accounts. London, 1784.
- COBBET, THOMAS. The Civil Magistrates Power in Matters of Religion Modestly Debated. London, 1653.

- COCKINGS, GEORGE. *The Conquest of Canada*. London, 1766.
- COLMAN, BENJAMIN. *The Government and Improvement of Mirth according to the Laws of Christianity*. Boston, 1707.
- COLMAN, BENJAMIN. *A Narrative of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small Pox in New England*. London, 1722.
- A Confession of Faith. Owned and Consented Unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches Assembled at Boston in New-England, May 12, 1680. [Second title:] A Platform of Church-Discipline . . . Synod at Cambridge . . . 1649. Boston, 1680.*
- [? COOPER, MYLES]. *The Patriots of North-America*. New York, 1775.
- COTTON, JOHN. *A Letter of Mr. John Cottons Teacher of the Church in Boston*. London, 1643.
- DEANE, SILAS. *An Address to the Free and Independent Citizens of the United States*. Hartford, 1784.
- [DUNTON, JOHN]. *Athenianism: or, the New Projects of Mr. John Dunton*. London, 1710.
- EDDIS, WILLIAM. *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive*. London, 1792.
- ELIOT, JOHN, and MAYHEW, THOMAS. *Tears of Repentance*. London, 1653.
- An Examination into the Conduct of the Present Administration*. London, 1779.
- FLYNT, HENRY. *The Doctrine of the Last Judgment*. Boston, 1714.
- FOX, GEORGE. *Cain against Abel*. [London], 1675.
- FOX, GEORGE. *An Epistle to All Professors in New-England, Germany, and Other Parts of the Called Christian World*. [London], 1673.
- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN]. *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of Our Public Affairs*. Philadelphia, 1764.
- [FRENEAU, PHILIP]. *A Voyage to Boston. A Poem*. Philadelphia, 1775.
- [GALLOWAY, JOSEPH]. *Cool Thoughts on the Consequences to Great Britain of American Independence*. London, 1780.
- [GALLOWAY, JOSEPH]. *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*. London, 1780.
- [GALLOWAY, JOSEPH]. *A Letter from Cicero to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount H--e*. London, 1781.
- [GALLOWAY, JOSEPH]. *Letters from Cicero to Catiline the Second*. London, 1781.
- [GORTON, SAMUEL]. *Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy*. London, 1646.

- [GROOME, SAMUEL]. *A Glass for the People of New-England*. [London], 1676.
- [HUTCHINSON, THOMAS]. *Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia*. London, 1776.
- The Justice and Necessity of Taxing the American Colonies, Demonstrated*. London, 1766.
- KEITH, JAMES, and DANFORTH, SAMUEL. *Bridgwater's Monitor*. Boston, 1717.
- [LEE, CHARLES]. *Strictures on a Pamphlet Entitled "A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of Our Political Confusions" Addressed to the People of America*. New York, 1775.
- [LEONARD, DANIEL]. *The Origin of the American Contest with Great-Britain*. New York, 1775.
- MASSACHUSETTS. In the House of Representatives, March 10, 1787. Resolved, That the Several Persons That Have Been, or May Hereafter Be Chosen for the Present Year as Selectmen, Assessors, Town-Clerk . . . of This Commonwealth. . . . [Broadside relating to Shays's Rebellion.]
- [MATHER, COTTON]. *Boanerges. A Short Essay to Preserve and Strengthen the Good Impressions Produced by Earthquakes*. Boston, 1727.
- MATHER, COTTON. *Brethren Dwelling Together in Unity*. Boston, 1718.
- [MATHER, COTTON]. *A Good Old Age. A Brief Essay on the Glory of Aged Piety*. Boston, 1726.
- [MATHER, INCREASE]. *A Brief Relation of the State of New England, from the Beginning of That Plantation to This Present Year, 1689*. London, 1689.
- MATHER, INCREASE. *Ichabod, or a Discourse, Shewing What Cause There Is to Fear That the Glory of the Lord, Is Departing from New-England*. Boston, 1702.
- MAULE, THOMAS. *Truth Held Forth and Maintained according to Testimony*. [New York], 1695.
- Observations of the Merchants at Boston in New-England, upon Several Acts of Parliament*. [London], 1770.
- PALMER, JOHN. *An Impartial Account of the State of New England*. London, 1690.
- PEPPERRELL, SIR WILLIAM. *An Accurate Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New-England Land-Forces, during the Late Expedition against the French Settlements on Cape Breton*. Exeter, England, 1746.
- PERLEY, JEREMIAH. *The Debates, Resolutions, and Other Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates . . . for the State of Maine*. Portland, 1820.
- [RAY, NICHOLAS]. *The Importance of the Colonies of North America*. London, 1766.
- Ruin Seize Thee, Ruthless King!* London, 1779.

[SEABURY, SAMUEL]. *The Congress Canvassed*. [New York], 1774.

SEABURY, SAMUEL. *A View of the Controversy between Great-Britain and Her Colonies*. New York, 1774.

A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston. London, William Bingley, 1770.

STEPHENSON, MARMADUKE. *A Call from Death to Life*. London, 1660.

[STOUGHTON, WILLIAM, and others]. *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmond Androsse and His Complices*. Boston, 1691.

[WELD, THOMAS]. *A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New-England, in Their Solemne Worship of God*. 2nd ed., London, 1647.

WHEELWRIGHT, JOHN. *Mercurius Americanus*. London, 1645.

WINSLOW, EDWARD. *New-Englands Salamander*. London, 1647.

WOLFE, JAMES. *General Wolfe's Instructions to Young Officers*. London, 1768.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

THE additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings* and call for no additional comment at this time.

HENRY W. FOOTE

Cabinet-Keeper

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF COINS AND MEDALS

AS a substantial number of the present members of the Society have been elected since the death in January, 1935, of Dr. Malcolm Storer, the previous Curator of the Society's collection of coins and medals, it is appropriate to point out briefly the nature and extent of that collection.

It has been formed over a period of many decades, largely from bequests and donations, and comprises specimens from all ages and almost all parts of the world. It ranges from rare and very beautiful Greek coins to the artistic series issued by the Irish Free State in 1928 and from early American colonial money to a representative assortment of European coinages. Outstanding in importance is an authentic 1804 silver dollar. Of Washington, Lincoln, and other prominent Americans there are several hundred medals. The collec-

tion is also rich in colonial and Continental paper money as well as in Confederate bills and hard-time tokens.

To Dr. Storer the Society is greatly indebted. For years he was the leading numismatist in New England, and his deep interest in the collection brought about its housing in the present cases and recognition of it as one of the important collections in the United States.

The accessions since 1935 have been so few that the collection, while kept in good order, will bear bringing up to date. A bequest by Dr. Storer offers a possibility of adding to it from time to time, and it is hoped greatly that, when possible, members will encourage gifts, especially of items relating to Massachusetts.

At the present time the Society has on loan at the Museum of the American Numismatic Society in New York a number of early colonial coins, which are included in the current exhibition by that Society of coins which circulated in the colonies between 1650 and 1700.

SHEPARD POND
Curator

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President

ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW

Vice-Presidents

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN

JOSEPH WARREN

Recording Secretary

FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary

CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM

Treasurer

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

Cabinet-Keeper

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Members-at-Large of the Council

MILTON EDWARD LORD

STEWART MITCHELL

AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

HENRY LEFAVOUR

May Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 14, 1942, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. GRINNELL, Mr. MITCHELL was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From President Bigelow, logs of the brig *Baltimore* on voyages from Boston to Baltimore, Newfoundland, and Cadiz, 1788-1789, commanded by Joseph Smith and by Albert Smith, Mr. Bigelow's great-great-grandfather.

From Harry A. Cushing of New York, a bill from James Hamilton to the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, March 28, 1756, for his salary as keeper of the Province Hospital on Rainsford Island.

From Charles Warren, a collection of Warren family papers, mainly correspondence of Mercy Warren with members of her family.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

By-laws: FRANK W. GRINNELL, *Chairman*; FRANKLIN D. PUTNAM and CHARLES M. STOREY.

Finance: AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr., *Chairman*; ALLAN FORBES, GEORGE E. CABOT, and HERMANN F. CLARKE.

House: GEORGE E. CABOT, *Chairman*; HENRY LEFAVOUR, HENRY W. FOOTE, and SHEPARD POND.

Library: MILTON E. LORD, *Chairman*; GEORGE P. WINSHIP and DONALD MCK. FROST.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman*; ALLEN FRENCH, JOSEPH WARREN, and WALTER M. WHITEHILL.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman*; ALLYN B. FORBES and KEYES D. METCALF.

Publication: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; LAWRENCE S. MAYO, GEORGE G. WOLKINS, JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS, and ALLYN B. FORBES.

Mr. JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS read a paper entitled "William Orne, a Distinguished but Forgotten Merchant."¹

October Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 8, 1942, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved. The Director reported accessions:

From Robert Shaw Barlow of Boston, Charles Lowell Barlow of Boston, and Mrs. Pierre Jay of Mount Kisco, New York, the Civil War letters of their father, General Francis Channing Barlow.

From Dr. Henry A. Christian of Brookline, two volumes of miscellaneous material collected by William H. Seabury, one relating to the raising of money in Boston for the relief of the sufferers in the San Francisco fire and earthquake in 1906, the other relating to the hospital ship *Bay State* fitted out and manned from Boston to bring wounded soldiers from Cuba at the time of the Spanish-American War.

From Elizabeth P. Corder of Boston and the estate of Caroline Corder, additional manuscripts of Francis Parkman, including his journals and a considerable amount of his correspondence.

From the New Hampshire Historical Society, a collection of eighteenth-century Massachusetts deeds.

From Rose S. Nichols, Marian C. Nichols, and Mrs. Arthur A. Shurcliff, in memory of their father, Arthur Howard Nichols, the journal of their ancestor, Timothy Nichols, kept during the siege of Quebec in 1759.

The Curator of Coins and Medals reported accessions:

From David P. Wheatland of Cambridge, a United States ten-dollar gold piece of 1804.

From Dr. Gardner W. Allen, a group of medals awarded to him for service in the Spanish-American War.

By purchase: an uncirculated five-dollar gold piece of 1795, the first year of issue of this denomination.

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 168-177.

The chair announced the death on September 19, 1942, of JOSEPH WARREN, a Resident Member, Vice-President of the Society since April 14, 1938.

Mr. GEORGE P. WINSHIP presented a paper entitled "Samuel Sewall and the New England Company."¹

November Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 12, 1942, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Robert Treat Paine, 2nd, of Brookline, a collection of family papers, chiefly relating to the business affairs of Messrs. Richard Clarke & Sons of Boston, including several items relating to the Boston Tea Party.

The Society elected Chauncey Cushing Nash of Boston to Resident Membership and Wallace Notestein of New Haven, Connecticut, to Corresponding Membership.

The chair read the following minute of the Council on the death of JOSEPH WARREN:

JOSEPH WARREN

THE Massachusetts Historical Society has indeed good cause to recall with gratitude the years of Joseph Warren's membership. Deriving from his ancestry and his family tradition a lively interest in American history, he found himself from the very day of his election instinctively attracted by the Society's varied activities and deeply sympathetic with its hopes for the future. For him it was but natural to express such sympathetic understanding in loyal service, not obtrusively but with quiet strength. His colleagues in the Council turned confidently to him for advice. He was not, however, just a meeting-day member, for through his frequent friendly visits to the library he gave to every member of the staff a new sense of the importance of their work. His influence will long be felt in ways that he would never have believed.

Mr. SHEPARD POND read a paper entitled "Pretenders to the French Throne in Numismatics."²

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 55-110.

² Printed in this volume, pages 385-401.

December Meeting, 1942

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 10, 1942, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. C. H. Sayre Merrill of Milton, papers of Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff (1774-1847).

From Charles R. Nutter of Cambridge, the uncompleted manuscript of the history of the Good Government Association written by our late associate, George R. Nutter.

From Winthrop W. Sargent of Concord, the diary of Winthrop Sargent (1753-1820) for the period October 1, 1793-December 31, 1795, during which years Sargent was Secretary of the Northwest Territory; and a bound manuscript volume, probably of the Revolutionary War period, containing the secret code of the British Navy.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the estate of Francis S. Child of North Brookfield, a silver porringer made by Paul Revere.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH accepting Resident Membership and one from WALLACE NOTESTEIN accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. FRANK W. GRINNELL read a paper entitled "A Forgotten Patriot, Jedediah Foster of Brookfield."¹

Mr. LAWRENCE S. MAYO spoke informally about Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff (1774-1847) and some Shurtleff letters and memorabilia recently presented to the Society by Dr. Shurtleff's great-granddaughter, Mrs. C. H. Sayre Merrill of Milton. This collection includes letters written by Dr. Shurtleff at various times between 1799 and 1844, some of his father's papers, and photographs of Shurtleff family portraits now in the possession of Benjamin Shurtleff of Revere. The following biographical sketch of Dr. Shurtleff is drawn principally from *Descendants of William Shurtleff of Plymouth and Marshfield, Massachusetts*, Benjamin Shurtleff, Compiler (Revere, 1912), I. 145-152.

Benjamin Shurtleff was born in that part of Plympton which is now Carver,

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 128-134.

Massachusetts, November 7, 1774. His father (Benjamin Shurtleff, 1748–1821) was a farmer; Benjamin grew up on the farm and received more or less schooling in Plympton and in Plymouth. In 1793 he was admitted to Rhode Island College, now Brown University, as a sophomore, and was graduated there in 1796. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. After teaching school in Plymouth for a few months, he devoted himself to the study of medicine under the direction of Dr. James Thacher and Dr. Nathan Hayward of that town. In the winter of 1798–1799, when the United States was at war with France, he became a surgeon's mate in the United States Navy and sailed for the West Indies in the U.S.S. *Merrimack*. The surgeon was Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet of Newburyport. His admiration for Dr. Bradstreet was later reflected in the name he gave to his son, Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, who became the author of *A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, a distinguished member of this Society, and Mayor of Boston. The letters written by Benjamin Shurtleff while he was in the Navy are especially interesting; they make vivid the naval encounters between France and the United States which occurred at that time.

For nine months in 1799 the *Merrimack* cruised among the West Indies and in the Gulf of Mexico. When she returned to Boston in December of that year, Dr. Bradstreet resigned and Shurtleff was appointed surgeon in his place. The ship soon went back to the West Indies. The election of Jefferson convinced Shurtleff that his future in the Navy was nil, and he remained in the service only until May 10, 1801; in the following year he studied medicine under Dr. John Warren and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse at Harvard University. In 1802 he received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine from Harvard and also that of Master of Arts in recognition of the corresponding degree which he already held from Rhode Island College; in 1810 Harvard conferred on him the degree of M.D.

Shurtleff seems to have begun active practice in Boston as early as 1802; according to a family tradition he kept house in two rooms, using the bedroom as his office. On July 26, 1803, he married Sally Shaw of Plymouth. About this time his health gave out temporarily, but by retiring to his father's farm and living on a milk diet he fully recovered. Upon his return to Boston the Shurtleffs established themselves in Scott's Court, near Union Street, and it was not long before the Doctor had built up a flourishing practice. In addition to skill in his profession, Dr. Shurtleff possessed a handsome countenance and an unusually winning personality. He was a large man, a physical attribute which he inherited from his mother; she weighed 275 pounds, and it used to be said that she and her eight sons weighed a ton! At the very beginning of his Boston career he sometimes employed an interesting expedient for increasing his professional reputation. Getting up early in the morning, he would drive through the town as fast as he could go. He would stop for no one, and if anyone hailed him he would call out: "I haven't time to stop now." In this way he created, or hoped to create, the impression that he had a large practice and that his services were in urgent demand. His cheering smile and pleasant voice made him welcome wherever he went, and the bandana he wore around his neck was a familiar sight to almost all Bostonians of his time. He loved children, and children adored him.

When he drove out of town in his chaise, he was almost invariably accompanied by two or three of them.

From 1810 until 1831 he lived on Hanover Street, on the site of the Kast Building; later he made his home at No. 134 (now No. 161) Tremont Street. One of his habits on returning from a drive around the town was long remembered by his grandson, Henry Southworth Shaw. Arriving at his front door, the Doctor hung up the reins and alighted; then he clucked to the horse, which with no human guidance ambled up Tremont Street, turned into Mason Street, and found its way to the stable. A performance of that kind could be counted on to delight the heart of any child.

Although Dr. Shurtleff's clientele must have included many rich and well-to-do families, for he acquired a substantial fortune, he did not forget those in humbler circumstances. He was generous with both his skill and his pocketbook. He also contributed liberally to benevolent institutions; in 1834 he gave \$10,000 to a struggling Baptist seminary in Upper Alton, Illinois, which promptly changed its name to Shurtleff College—by which it is still known. According to a gossipy pamphlet entitled "*Our First Men*": *A Calendar of Wealth, Fashion and Gentility* (Boston, 1846), Dr. Shurtleff's fortune of \$200,000 was acquired largely from speculation in Illinois lands. In 1836 Illinois College, in Jacksonville, conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts. The diploma representing this degree is among the papers given to the Society by Mrs. Merrill.

Cordial and strong in his friendships, Dr. Shurtleff was also a decided man in his aversions. In politics he was always conservative, beginning as a Federalist and ending as a Whig. In religion he was a lifelong Baptist, unshaken by the Unitarian environment in which he practised and prospered. His conviction was deep and increased in intensity toward the end of his life. This is noticeable in some of the letters in the present collection. He was heartened by a religious revival that swept through Boston about 1842 and was troubled by the inadequate support which the Baptists of his native town accorded a minister of whom he thought well.

Prosperity enabled Dr. Shurtleff to indulge in the luxury of being a gentleman farmer. He owned and operated two farms, one at Winnisimmet (now Chelsea) and the other at Rumney Marsh (now Revere). On the latter he built, about 1837, an elegant brick mansion surmounted by a cupola. With this bait he hoped to induce one of his sons to make his home there and continue his own experiments in agriculture and animal husbandry. In this he was disappointed, but the house is still there and is occupied by the present Benjamin Shurtleff and his sister. It stands high up on the eastern slope of a rounded hill and commands a magnificent view of Massachusetts Bay, from Minot's Light to Nahant and beyond. On one or both of these model farms Dr. Shurtleff accomplished much in the improvement of breeds of cattle and sheep; he was one of the first to import Ayreshire stock. His letters to his younger brother Lot, who lived on the home farm in Carver, contain many references to matters of this kind.

When Dr. Shurtleff died in Boston on April 12, 1847, his personality, his skill, his generosity, and his various interests were not soon forgotten. He was

a just man, exact, but by no means hard. Among his many native gifts were sagacity, good nature, excellent judgment, and a remarkable memory; and among his attainments was a literary style that was both vigorous and polished.

Dr. HENRY R. VIETS read two letters of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, July 7, 1868, and February 22, 1873, showing Holmes's interest in various aspects of medical education.¹

The Curator of Coins and Medals exhibited and commented on specimens of the new United States and Canadian five-cent pieces.

January Meeting, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 14, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Leon Commerford of Washington, D.C., muster rolls of Troop H, Third Massachusetts Cavalry, 1863.

The chair announced the death of WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, a Resident Member, on December 20, 1942; that of ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, a Resident Member, on January 6, 1943; and that of FRANKLIN DELANO PUTNAM, a Resident Member, on January 8, 1943.

The Reverend HENRY W. FOOTE read a paper entitled "False Faces: A Study of the Use and Misuse of Portraits as Historical Documents."²

February Meeting, 1943

THE Society met at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, February 11, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary the Director was designated to serve as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

¹ Printed as "Two Oliver Wendell Holmes Letters," *Harvard Medical Alumni Bulletin*, xvii (January, 1943), 33-35.

² Printed in this volume, pages 562-579.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The chair announced the death of GRENVILLE LINDALL WINTHROP, a Resident Member, on January 19, 1943.

Mr. CHARLES M. DAVENPORT read a paper entitled "The Episode of Shays's Rebellion," during the course of which he exhibited several original manuscripts from his private collection, including one signed by and wholly in the handwriting of Daniel Shays.

March Meeting, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 11, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the Historical Records Survey of the Works Projects Administration for Massachusetts, the records (incomplete) of the Boston Central Labor Union, 1885-1917.

From Winthrop Sargent, Jr., the diary of Winthrop Sargent (brother of Lucius Manlius Sargent) of a voyage to the Mediterranean on the ship *Thomas* in 1805; and various documents relating to Henry Sargent the painter: an orderly book (June 1, 1799-March 2, 1800) kept by Sargent as a first lieutenant in the United States Army, various commissions issued by Massachusetts governors appointing him aid-de-camp, and also documents relating to his activities as representative of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at the surrender by Great Britain of Moose, Dudley, and Frederick islands, off the Maine coast, in accordance with the decision of the commissioners under the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Ghent.

The Society elected Thomas Franklin Currier of Belmont and William Alexander Jackson of Belmont to Resident Membership.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: MILTON E. LORD, *Chairman*; STEWART MITCHELL and KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: HERMANN F. CLARKE, *Chairman*, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Mr. WILBUR C. ABBOTT presented a paper entitled "The Restoration Press."¹

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 22-54.

Annual Meeting

APRIL, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 8, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the American Antiquarian Society, copies of the *Kaleidoscope*, 1818-1819, a rare Boston periodical.

From Clara B. Winthrop of Manchester, the diary of Adam Winthrop, father of Governor John Winthrop, for the year 1603, kept in Pond's *Almanac* for that year.

By purchase: account books (1766-1780) of James Murray, the Loyalist.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER and WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON accepting Resident Membership.

The Society elected Arthur Burr Darling of Andover to Resident Membership.

Mr. DUMAS MALONE read a paper entitled "Thomas Jefferson's Heritage," a paper prepared especially for the Society's celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson.

Mr. MALONE also read a brief interpretative essay on Jefferson which he had prepared for the *Manchester Guardian*.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. STEWART MITCHELL read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Society went to war almost immediately after the adjournment of the last Annual Meeting when Mr. Stephen T. Riley, the Assistant Librarian, reported for military service, having previously been granted by the Council an indefinite leave of absence. For various reasons, financial and otherwise, it has not seemed advisable to attempt to secure a temporary replacement for him. The other members of the staff have as far as possible added his duties to their own, and, thanks to their loyal and enthusiastic coöperation, the efficiency of the library has not been seriously impaired.

The war made further inroads on the library's staff in the fall, when Mr. Carl E. Olsen, the Society's photostat operator, enlisted in the United States Navy. Here too there were weighty reasons, financial included, for deciding not to make a temporary replacement but to discontinue the photostat department altogether. Fortunately this step has not had the seriously crippling effect that it might have had, since the Harvard College Library has, with characteristic friendliness, undertaken to do our photostat work for us. There is no need for pretending that this is an ideal solution of our problem, yet it is so clearly essential that we be able to furnish scholars with photographic reproductions of our material that we should certainly have put ourselves to infinitely greater inconvenience, if necessary, in order to maintain this service.

For some time before this particular problem arose the Council had been growing increasingly aware of the fact that the whole question of the photographic department required thorough restudy. Modern trends in the methods of reproducing scholarly material have destroyed the proud monopoly of the photostat machine. We had not kept abreast of the new technique, yet there were serious doubts of our being able to afford to modernize ourselves. After the war we should be able to see more clearly the proper course for us to follow.

The library has this winter, like the houses of many members of the Society, been affected by the prevalent scarcity of oil. From Christmas time until the middle of March the building was closed on Saturdays, and on many days during that period, with the heat turned off at three o'clock in the afternoon or earlier, it was impossible for the staff to work after the middle of the afternoon. In fact, but for the fireplace in the Dowse Library, even shorter hours would have been necessary. The Medical Library, from which we have long bought our heat, was notified that it could not continue getting oil; the boiler in that building could not be converted to coal; we had long since scrapped our antiquated boiler. Hence we had no alternative to accepting the means of rescue providentially available by reason of the fact that the Boston Edison Company's steam mains had some years ago been put through on Boylston Street to a point directly opposite our front door. The steam installation has now been completed, and although, because of the antiquated heating system still in use in our building, there remain problems to be solved, there is every reason to believe that when next winter comes we shall not

have to hire rooms elsewhere, as on one occasion during the winter just ended, so that we can hold our meetings in comfort.

The Society's publishing activities have suffered least from the untoward events since last April. During the past year we have issued Volume LXVI of our *Proceedings*, Volume VI of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, and Volume XVIII of the *House Journals*. At the present time Volume III of the *Winthrop Papers* is in the final stages of preparation, while Volume IV in the same series is well under way. Volume XIX of the *House Journals* is ready to be sent to press as soon as the usual subsidy from the Commonwealth is available. Work has also started on Volume LXVII of the *Proceedings*, which will include papers read at the meetings during the years 1941-1943, and a considerable part of the work on Volume VII of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* has been completed. Our only cause for concern here is lest restrictions on the supply of paper retard our plans.

When everything is taken into consideration, the Council feels that there is good reason for no little satisfaction at the vitality the Society has shown during the past year. Attendance at the meetings has, to be sure, fallen, both as to the average (from 33.3 to 28.375) and as to the number of individual members present (from 69 to 58). This has not been unexpected. Yet it is proper to express the hope that with the quality of the papers presented maintaining the Society's high standard, the members will not, no matter how much the war may complicate their lives in the year ahead, regard the Society merely as a luxury to be thrown aside at the first threat of pressure from other things.

The Society has lost by death since the last Annual Meeting the following members:

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, a Resident Member since 1890, died January 6, 1943. In his death the Society has lost a distinguished member who was a wise counsellor and a faithful friend. He was one of the greatest Presidents of Harvard University, and an authority on government, especially the government of England.

WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, a Resident Member since 1907, died December 20, 1942. A loyal and faithful member, he was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Society and took a deep interest in its various activities. His presence will be missed, as he was always a lovable and friendly associate.

GRENVILLE LINDALL WINTHROP, a Resident Member since 1930,

the third of his generation and line of Winthrops to become a member of the Society and the last survivor of them, died January 19, 1943. Only once before in the history of this Society, and then for only one year, has the Society not had in its membership a member of the Winthrop family.

JOSEPH WARREN, a Resident Member since 1933, died September 19, 1942. An eager reader of history, he enjoyed his membership in this Society, and as Vice-President gave unsparingly of his thought and time to the solution of its manifold problems. His teaching of Property at the Harvard Law School was marked by knowledge of the most intricate parts of his subject, sober judgment, fairness toward both sides of a controversy, and ability to unravel complexities. His students affectionately described him as "a grand old family solicitor." In his legal writing he liked to choose some difficult problem of limited scope, review the confused decisions with painstaking thoroughness, and work out the best basis for future judicial action. He had little desire to take an imaginative sweep over a vast territory of the law or to build an entirely new road through the jungle of decisions. He kept to the old roads and did his best to make the rough places smooth and the crooked ways straight. Although he rarely spoke of the achievements of his distinguished forebears, he always seemed to feel a weighty obligation to continue the family tasks of spreading knowledge and serving the public. His attitude toward life embodied the words: "To whom much is given, from him shall much be required."

FRANKLIN DELANO PUTNAM, a Resident Member since 1941, died January 8, 1943. He graduated from Harvard College in 1905 and from the Law School in 1909. He served overseas in the first World War. Later, after years of active practice at the bar, associated during part of the time with the firm of Ropes, Gray, Boyden & Perkins, he was appointed first Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts and served for several years in the late twenties. He then returned to practice, was appointed a special justice of the Boston Court, and on the retirement of Chief Justice Bolster was made Chief Justice. At the time of his appointment he was at work on a biography of Mr. Justice Gray of the Supreme Court of the United States, but was unable to complete it owing to his duties as Chief Justice.

STEWART MITCHELL

For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

NET income from investments other than deposits in savings banks was \$42,232.98, an increase of \$1,109.20 over the year 1941-1942. Of this net income \$19,465.28 came from interest on bonds and \$22,767.70 in the form of dividends. The New Haven Railroad paid coupons in arrears on Mr. Dowse's gift of debenture 6's, and the United Fruit Company reduced its dividend the second half-year from \$300 to \$225 for each quarter. The improvement in railroad earnings was further reflected in a \$375 dividend from the Southern Pacific Company, the first in a long period. Income accounts were credited at the rate of \$0.043726 per dollar of principal, comparing with 4.326% a year ago and 4.289% in 1940-1941. Income accounts other than those that accumulate in full were charged the expense of the Treasurer, an amount the past year that figured \$0.02118 per dollar of income.

Mr. Frederic Bancroft of Washington very graciously gave \$1,000 to the Society's permanent funds, and the capital fund in his name now amounts to \$3,000.

From income there was added to the cumulative accounts the following: \$1,054.24 to the Anonymous Centenary Fund, now \$25,164.04; \$3,444.53 to the so-called Building Annex Fund, now \$82,219.59; \$2,313.84 to the Stewart Mitchell Fund, now \$55,230.31; \$2,892.16 to the Sibley Fund, now \$267,462.44; and \$51.31 to the Lodge Fund, now \$5,917.63. The total of the several funds, other than the Ellis House Fund, is now \$978,562.82, comparing with \$967,255.04 a year ago. To Adams Fund principal was added \$551.70, almost all of it from continuing sales of *The Education of Henry Adams*. The principal of the Adams Fund is now \$46,048.56.

After administration charges, after income apportioned to the cumulative funds, and after credit items and transfers to restricted funds income, there was available \$16,012.93 unrestricted income for sundry expense items; and savings the past year, largely because of Mr. Riley's departure for the Army, reduced the current net deficit in General Account for the year to \$8.32, increasing the total deficit in General Account to \$50,911.81. The Society is still paying \$4,840 in retirement allowances to former members of the staff.

Operation of the Photostat, suspended at the end of October,

showed a deficit of \$1,045.24 as compared with \$1,634.98 in 1941-1942. The accumulated deficit is \$5,526.86.

Apart from small items, to the Publication Account were charged \$3,778.20 for the General Index to Volumes XLI-LX of the *Proceedings*; \$616.39 for *House Journals*, XVIII, 1740-1741; \$5,830.69 for putting through the press Volume VI of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, Classes of 1713-1721; and \$3,252.20 for account of *Proceedings*, LXVI. All of Publications outgo is amply covered by the income of funds wholly or in part restricted to the costs of publishing.

In the field of investments there have been fewer transactions than in other recent years. The only stock added to the Society's holdings was that of the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad, 100 shares, representing ownership of railroad trackage from Fitchburg to Greenfield, an underlying part of the Boston & Maine system. This was bought in December at around 90, and can now be sold for 95. There were no shares of stock sold. For bonds were purchased \$20,000 in United States War Savings, Series G, 2½'s, 1954, making \$25,000 in all; \$3,508 in Eastern Massachusetts Street Railway refunding 6's, January 1, 1948, Series C and D, at 107 to 110; \$1,410 in Boston & Maine Railroad 1st 4's, July 1, 1960, at 70½; \$27,605.42 in Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of N. Y. 5's, July 1, 1995, at 155; \$14,000 in King's County Electric Light & Power Co. p.m. 6's, October 1, 1997, at 175; and \$5,787.50 in Montreal Harbour Commissioners 5's, November 1, 1969, at 115½.

Union Oil Co. of California 6's, May 1, 1942, were paid at maturity, showing a book loss of \$1,106.25; Warren Bros. 5½'s that were due March 1, 1937, were finally paid at a loss of only \$255; and Illinois Power & Light Corporation 6's, April 1, 1953, about which we were very anxious at periods during the past twelve years, were sold at 101¾, showing a loss of \$27.50. The latter two securities are instances where close watching proved in the Society's interest. On the other hand were sold \$10,000 City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan 4's, May 1, 1954, at a book profit of \$1,775; \$10,000 Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Co. 6's, October 1, 1949, at 123, they having been held less than three years, at a profit of \$1,014; \$10,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, June 1, 1944, at a gain of \$223.55; and \$15,000 Bethlehem Steel Company 6's, due August 1, 1998, bought in January 1941, at around 151, and bought back by the obligated

company at 181, a profit of \$4,391.14. Total gains from these transactions were \$7,403.69, and, after deducting the losses already mentioned, there was a net gain of \$6,014.94. This amount was added to the Investment or Capital Reserve after an amortization charge of \$2,961.17 had been deducted. The new balance in the reserve will therefore stand at \$17,828.45. I cannot help reflecting that if I had been left free to use my own judgment, without pressure from outside the Finance Committee, with regard to the Kingdom of Denmark 6's, inherited from a previous régime and sacrificed at 38, the investment reserve would now be several thousand dollars larger. Kingdom of Denmark 6's sold yesterday at 65.

The bonds the Society owns have a book value of \$413,249.65, and the corresponding market value either at last sale or closing bid on March 31, 1943, was \$409,662.75, or better than 99.1%. There are still on hand \$10,000 in Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. 20-year 4¾ convertibles, 1949, and \$2,000 in Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor & Jackson Railway Co. first consolidated 5's, 1926, both reminiscent of some of the weird holdings in the list I as Treasurer took over in 1928, but in the Chicago & Northwestern there is likely to be some salvage. On March 31 they were quoted at 7¾. I have a letter from the fiscal representative of the railroad holding out some encouragement for an exchange plan that is pending in the Federal courts.

The Society's stocks, in market value, do not compare so favorably as do the bonds. The book value of stocks is \$538,346.42; the market value on March 31 was \$415,365.51, or 77.15%. It is my policy to follow closely the same general attitude toward stocks that has been pursued diligently in respect to bonds. Earnings should be studied, and favorable openings improved. The Society could have done better if the managers of its funds had had the prescience to sell certain shares before the market collapse in 1929, and there are still in the list such old Boston pets as Western Real Estate Trustees, Boston Real Estate Trust, Boston Ground Rent Trust, and Boston Wharf Company. These four, together with Western Massachusetts Companies, represent most of the more than 20% shrinkage from book value. I had no part whatever in acquiring these holdings. Were I to continue as Treasurer, I have a strong intuition that the stocks in the Society's portfolio could be dealt with satisfactorily, granted a period of from two to four years for further stewardship.

This is my last report as Treasurer. I am most grateful to Mr. Charles F. Adams and to Mr. George E. Cabot for their patience with me and for their good advice and guidance during nearly ten years of much complexity in respect to investments. In my estimation their judgment is of the best, and the progress made in the Society's interest is renewed evidence of the wise discrimination they exercised. I cannot close without expressing my high regard also for the memory of Harold Murdock, of Francis R. Hart, and of Worthington C. Ford. They were my friends. They were constant and unflinching in their devotion to this Society; it was they who picked me for the office which I have greatly enjoyed; and the pattern they devised from their long experience and expert knowledge was something it was not only prudent but a delight to follow.

G. G. WOLKINS

Treasurer

BALANCE SHEET

MARCH 31, 1943

RESOURCES:

Cash on deposit with State Street Trust Company . . .	\$2,764.89	
Petty Cash	200.00	\$2,964.89
Investments:		
Bonds	\$413,249.65	
Stocks	538,346.42	
Savings Banks Accounts	1,345.86	952,941.93
Real Estate		97,990.32
Photostat		5,526.86
Accounts Receivable		997.94
General Account		50,911.81
Library Duplicate Fund		4,719.18
		<u>\$1,116,052.93</u>

LIABILITIES:

Funds:		
Principal (other than Ellis House Fund)		\$978,562.82
Income		19,538.66
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston Street		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve ¹		11,813.51
Publications		1,735.59
T. Hovey Gage Gift		100.00
John Barnard Associates Gift		10.00
<i>Carried forward</i>		<u>\$1,109,750.90</u>

¹ Reserve for the revaluation of assets.

<i>Brought forward</i>	\$1,109,750.90
George Kuehn Special Gift	100.00
Gain and Loss	6,014.94
Victory Tax	187.09
	<u>\$1,116,052.93</u>

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS

AS OF MARCH 31, 1943

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Income</i> 1942-43
GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL:		
United States of America Savings Defense "G" 2½'s, 1953	\$5,000.00	\$125.00
United States of America Savings Defense "G" 2½'s, 1954	5,000.00	62.50
United States of America Savings Defense "G" 2½'s, 1954	15,000.00	
New York City Corporation Stock 4½'s, 1957	9,100.00	450.00
City and County of San Francisco, Cal., 4½'s, 1968	12,436.92	450.00
City of Springfield, Mass., Water Loan 4's, 1954		403.33
	<u>\$46,536.92</u>	<u>\$1,490.83</u>
RAILROAD:		
Boston & Maine Railroad 4's, 1960	\$3,487.50	\$160.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 4½'s, 1970	622.50	201.00
Canadian National Railway guaranteed 5's, 1970	11,636.40	500.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co. Equipment Trust "C" 4½'s, 1944		535.00
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. "A" 4¾'s, 1949	0.00	0.00
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. 4½'s, 1961	9,525.00	450.00
New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Co. 6's, 1948	25,000.00	3,000.00 ¹
Oregon Short Line Railroad Co. 5's, 1946	10,000.00	500.00
Pere Marquette Railway Co. "A" 5's, 1956	15,000.00	750.00
	<u>\$75,271.40</u>	<u>\$6,096.00</u>
UTILITY:		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 3's, 1956	\$5,125.00	\$150.00
Boston Edison Co. 2¾'s, 1970	10,430.00	275.00
Brooklyn Union Gas Co. 5's, 1945	10,320.00	500.00
Burlington (Vt.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1995	12,063.50	500.00
Eastern Massachusetts Street Railway "C" 6's, 1948	6,480.00	183.00
Eastern Massachusetts Street Railway "D" 6's, 1948	2,255.00	
Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of N. Y. 5's, 1995	30,425.00	550.00
Florida Power & Light Co. 5's, 1954	9,400.00	500.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp'n "A" 6's, 1954		263.33
King's County Electric Light & Power Co. 6's, 1997	13,890.00	
New Amsterdam Gas Co. 5's, 1948	11,414.05	500.00
New England Telephone & Telegraph Co. "A" 5's, 1952	11,959.30	500.00
Public Service Corp'n of New Jersey perpetual 6's	31,108.45	1,200.00
<i>Carried forward</i>	<u>\$154,870.30</u>	<u>\$5,121.33</u>

¹ Arrear coupons for 1938 and 1939.

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Brought forward

San Joaquin Light & Power Corp'n 6's, 1952	\$154,870.30	\$5,121.33
Utica Gas & Electric Co. 5's, 1957	14,350.00	720.00
Washington (D. C.) Gas Light Co. 5's, 1960	24,617.78	1,000.00
	17,806.25	750.00
	<u>\$211,644.33</u>	<u>\$7,591.33</u>

INDUSTRIAL:

Bethlehem Steel Co. p.m. 6's, 1998		\$510.00
Bethlehem Steel Co. p.m. coupon 6's, 1998		255.00
Canadian National West Indies Steamships, Ltd. guaranteed 5's, 1955	\$10,440.00	500.00
Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates "A" 4's, 1956	9,650.00	400.00
Pierre Lorillard Co. 5's, 1951	11,200.00	500.00
Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Co. 6's, 1949		728.33
Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co. 5's, 1951	10,680.00	500.00
Union Oil Co. of California "A" 6's, 1942		150.00
United Stock Yards Corp'n "A" 4 1/4's, 1951	9,800.00	425.00
Warren Bros. Co. 5 1/2's, 1937		
	<u>\$51,770.00</u>	<u>\$19,146.49</u>

FOREIGN:

Harbour Commissioners of Montreal 5's, 1969	\$17,300.00	\$500.00
Province of Ontario 4 1/2's, 1966	10,727.00	450.00
	<u>\$28,027.00</u>	<u>\$950.00</u>
Totals, Bonds	<u>\$413,249.65¹</u>	<u>\$20,096.49</u>

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

	Book Value	Income 1942-43
RAILROAD:		
158 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.	\$15,800.00	\$790.00
90 Boston & Maine Railroad pr. preference	9,000.00	
25 Boston & Maine Railroad "A"	2,725.00	
5 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. "A"	45.10	20.00
	<u>\$27,570.10</u>	<u>\$810.00</u>
UTILITY:		
10 Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. "A" 5%	\$880.00	\$50.00
300 Electric Bond & Share Co. 6%	31,900.00	1,800.00
100 Engineers Public Service Co. \$5	10,000.00	500.00
400 Pacific Gas & Electric Co. cum. first	10,800.00	500.00
52 Puget Sound Power & Light Co. 6%	5,460.00	
700 Southern California Edison Co. "C" 5 1/2%	16,925.00	962.50
	<u>\$75,965.00</u>	<u>\$3,812.50</u>

INDUSTRIAL:

75 American Smelting & Refining Co. 7%	\$7,800.00	\$525.00
50 American Sugar Refining Co. cum. 7%	5,781.25	350.00
100 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates prior 4 1/2%	6,050.00	450.00
Carried forward	<u>\$19,631.25</u>	<u>\$1,325.00</u>

¹ The market value on March 31, 1943, was \$409,662.75.

<i>Brought forward</i>	\$19,631.25	\$1,325.00
302 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	23,556.00	1,510.00
100 United States Steel Corp'n 7%	13,748.80	700.00
	<u>\$56,936.05</u>	<u>\$3,535.00</u>
Totals, Preferred Stocks	<u>\$160,471.15¹</u>	<u>\$8,157.50</u>

COMMON STOCKS

	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Income</i> 1942-43
RAILROAD:		
35 Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	\$7,315.00	\$306.25
40 Boston & Providence Railroad Corp'n	5,140.00	
300 Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co.	14,520.77	1,050.00
375 Southern Pacific Co.	46,494.38	375.00
100 Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad	9,140.00	
	<u>\$82,610.15</u>	<u>\$1,731.25</u>
UTILITY:		
300 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	\$38,869.25	\$2,700.00
100 Consolidated Edison Co. of New York	6,192.50	160.00
250 Detroit Edison Co.	5,156.58	312.50
70 New England Telephone & Telegraph Co.	6,850.00	385.00
197 Western Massachusetts Co's	12,483.75	315.20
40 Western Union Telegraph Co.	4,657.50	80.00
	<u>\$74,209.58</u>	<u>\$3,952.70</u>
INDUSTRIAL:		
125 Boston Wharf Co.	\$13,800.00	\$218.75
1,000 General Electric Co.	19,480.48	1,400.00
200 Pacific Mills	7,402.50	400.00
50 Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25	162.50
300 United Fruit Co.	13,833.81	1,050.00
200 United States Steel Corp'n	30,950.00	800.00
	<u>\$89,783.04</u>	<u>\$4,031.25</u>
REAL ESTATE:		
100 Boston Ground Rent Trust	\$11,775.00	\$200.00
60 Boston Real Estate Trust	6,720.00	60.00
100 Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00	400.00
	<u>\$36,865.00</u>	<u>\$660.00</u>
BANK AND INSURANCE:		
35 Boston Insurance Co.	\$16,125.00	\$735.00
10 First National Bank of the City of New York	22,250.00	800.00
20 Guaranty Trust Company of New York	7,000.00	240.00
85 Merchants National Bank of Boston	24,332.50	1,020.00
<i>Carried forward</i>	<u>\$69,707.50</u>	<u>\$2,795.00</u>

¹ The market value on March 31, 1943, was \$131,420.00.

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<i>Brought forward</i>	\$69,707.50	\$2,795.00
400 Pennsylvania Co. for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities	11,200.00	640.00
200 Second National Bank of Boston	13,500.00	800.00
	<u>\$94,407.50</u>	<u>\$4,235.00</u>
Total Common Stocks	\$377,875.27 ¹	\$14,610.20
Total Stocks, Common and Preferred	<u>\$538,346.42</u>	<u>\$22,767.70</u>
Total Income, Bonds and Stocks		<u>\$42,864.19</u>

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1943

RECEIPTS:

Income from securities:			
Bonds	\$20,096.49		
Stocks, preferred	\$8,157.50		
common	<u>14,610.20</u>	<u>22,767.70</u>	<u>\$42,864.19</u>
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal			551.70
Proceeds of bonds called and sold			87,142.50
Loans, State Street Trust Company			18,000.00
Receivables collected			1,019.46
Frederic Bancroft gift			<u>1,000.00</u>
			<u>\$150,577.85</u>
Cash on hand, March 31, 1942			735.86
			<u>\$151,313.71</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Net operating expenses, other than "Photostat" and "Publications," before journal entries	\$27,541.39 ²
Photostat, net cost before journal entries	1,109.04
Publications, net cost before journal entries	12,816.26
Securities purchased: Bonds	\$72,310.92
Common stocks	<u>9,140.00</u>
	81,450.92
Interest accrued on bonds purchased	556.20
Repayment of loans, State Street Trust Company	25,000.00
Interest on money borrowed	<u>75.01</u>
	<u>\$148,548.82</u>
Cash on hand, March 31, 1943	2,764.89
	<u>\$151,313.71</u>

¹ The market value on March 31, 1943, was \$283,945.51.

² Does not include Victory Tax withheld from salaries but not paid to Government before end of fiscal year.

INCOME SUMMARY

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1943

RECEIPTS:

Income from securities:

Bonds	\$20,096.49	
Stocks, preferred	\$8,157.50	
common	<u>14,610.20</u>	<u>22,767.70</u>
		\$42,864.19

Less:

Interest accrued on securities bought		<u>556.20</u>
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\$42,307.99

Interest credited by Savings Banks		<u>26.50</u>
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\$42,334.49

Less:

Interest paid on borrowed money		<u>75.01</u>
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Total net income		<u>\$42,259.48</u>
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DEDUCTIONS:

Added to cumulative funds:

Anonymous Centenary	\$1,054.24	
Building Annex	3,444.53	
Lodge	51.31	
Stewart Mitchell	2,313.84	
John L. Sibley	<u>2,892.16</u>	<u>9,756.08</u>

Current available income, restricted and unrestricted		<u>\$32,503.40</u>
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NET OPERATING EXPENSES

OTHER THAN "PHOTOSTAT" AND "PUBLICATIONS"

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1943

Bindery		\$1,157.56
Building:		
Cleaning	\$123.47	
Electricity for elevator and light	295.40	
Elevator	165.00	
Furnishings, care, replacement	140.54	
Grounds, care, etc.	20.76	
Heating	852.00	
Insurance, fire, liability, compensation	621.32	
Superintendent, salary and retirement allowance	2,467.84	
Telephones	223.07	
Water	<u>86.16</u>	<u>4,995.56</u>
Cabinet		147.59
Director, salary, Assistant, and expenses		7,058.48
Editor's former Assistant, retirement allowance		837.30
Engrossing		<u>1.00</u>
Carried forward		\$14,197.49

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Brought forward

\$14,197.49

Library:		
Salaries, retirement allowance	\$9,295.54	
Binding, purchases, and sundries	2,807.54	12,103.08
Meetings		113.87
Postage		153.59
Subscriptions		23.36
Treasurer		950.00
Total net Operating Expenses other than "Photostat" and "Publications"		<u>\$27,541.39</u>

PHOTOSTAT ACCOUNT

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1943

Americana Series		\$454.65
Binding, chemicals, electricity, supplies, and sundries		1,576.26
Operator, to Nov. 30		1,312.50
Total cash outlay, gross		<u>\$3,343.41</u>
Less:		
Cash sales, Americana Series	\$1,022.03	
Virginia Gazette and sundries	1,212.34	2,234.37
Net cash outlay		<u>\$1,109.04</u>
Less transfer:		
To W.B.H. Dowse Fund Income		
(Negatives for House Journals)		63.80
Deficit for operations during year ended March 31, 1943		<u>\$1,045.24</u>
Add deficit for March 31, 1942		4,481.62
Present deficit		<u><u>\$5,526.86</u></u>

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT

NET OUTLAY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1943

<i>General Index to Proceedings</i> , 41-60, payments having been made during previous year, net outlay for this year	\$3,778.20	
Less transfer to Waterston No. 3 Fund Income	3,778.20	
<i>House Journals</i> , 18, net	616.39	
Less transfer to W.B.H. Dowse Fund Income	616.39	
<i>Proceedings</i> , 66, net	\$3,252.20	
Less transfer to Peabody Fund Income	3,252.20	
Sibley's <i>Harvard Graduates</i> , VI, VII, sqq, net	\$5,830.69	
Less transfer to J. L. Sibley Fund Income	5,830.69	
Sundries:		
Sales, other than those reported above, including adjustments and transfers	\$757.19	
Less purchases for stock, bookbinding cloth, etc.	298.10	
Credit balance added during year		\$459.09
Balance from March 31, 1942		<u>1,276.50</u>
Credit balance, March 31, 1943		<u><u>\$1,735.59</u></u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT

<i>March 31, 1943</i>	To sundry charges and payments, after credit items and transfers to restricted income	\$16,021.25
<i>March 31, 1943</i>	By sundry charges to funds income accounts (unrestricted)	<u>16,012.93</u>
	Deficit in General Account resulting from operations, April 1, 1942, to March 31, 1943	8.32
	Balance from previous year	<u>50,903.49</u>
	Deficit in General Account	<u><u>\$50,911.81</u></u>

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME

MARCH 31, 1943

	<i>Income Balances Mar. 31, 1942</i>	<i>Funds Income</i>	<i>Charges to Income</i>	<i>Income Balances Mar. 31, 1943</i>	<i>Funds Principal</i>
Adams		\$1,989.40	\$1,989.40		\$46,048.56
Amory		131.18	131.18		3,000.00
Appleton		533.59	533.59		12,203.00
Bancroft		97.45	97.45		3,000.00
Bigelow		87.45	87.45		2,000.00
Billings		437.26	437.26		10,000.00
Boit	— \$1,122.97	218.63	1,127.59	— \$738.26	5,000.00
Brattle Street		5.17	5.17		100.00
Chamberlain		53.89	53.89		1,232.33
Cunningham		2,186.30	2,186.30		50,000.00
Dowse		437.26	437.26		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	6,878.81	1,093.15	2,103.33	5,868.63	25,000.00
Ellis		1,384.66	1,384.66		31,666.66
Farwell		218.63	218.63		5,000.00
Frothingham		131.18	131.18		3,000.00
General		2,536.71	2,536.71		58,013.66
Hassam		437.26	437.26		10,000.00
Hunnewell	.18	218.63	4.62	214.19	5,000.00
Lawrence	353.57	131.18	52.77	431.98	3,000.00
Lodge		205.21	205.21		5,917.63
Lowell		131.18	131.18		3,000.00
Marrs		87.45	87.45		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		437.26	437.26		10,000.00
Moore		109.32	109.32		2,500.00
Norcross No. 1	1.16	437.26	438.42		10,000.00
Norcross No. 2		2,186.30	2,186.30		50,000.00
Norcross Mss.					532.32
Nutter		109.32	109.32		2,500.00
Parker	— 1.59	21.33		19.74	1,000.00
Peabody	2,046.87	967.36	3,972.69	— 958.46	22,123.00
Salisbury		218.63	218.63		5,000.00
Savage	— 12.44	262.36	160.99	101.37	6,000.00
Schouler	718.00	124.63	2.63	840.00	2,850.00
Shaw		218.63	218.63		5,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley		984.25	984.25		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley		8,676.45	8,676.45		267,462.44
Slafter		43.73	35.92	7.81	1,000.00
Smith		655.89	655.89		15,000.00
Storer	493.88	87.45	169.44	411.89	2,000.00
Warren		43.73	43.73		1,000.00
Washburn		109.32	109.32		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	2,981.66	218.63	1,107.12	2,093.17	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,372.11	437.26	558.93	4,250.44	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	420.10	437.26	3,787.44	— 2,930.08	10,000.00
Waterston Library	— 833.49	169.45	3.58	— 667.62	3,875.14
Whitin		198.96	198.96		4,550.00
Frederic Winthrop	7,977.15	1,093.15	1,564.86	7,505.44	25,000.00
Robert Winthrop	3,821.23	655.89	1,526.27	2,986.85	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		524.72	524.72		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	.34	103.41	2.18	101.57	2,364.66
William Winthrop		218.63	218.63		5,000.00
	<u>\$28,094.57</u>	<u>\$32,503.40</u>	<u>\$42,182.19</u>	<u>\$19,538.66</u>	<u>\$815,948.88</u>
Anonymous Centenary		1,054.24 ¹			25,164.04
Building Annex		3,444.53 ¹			82,219.59
Lodge		51.31 ¹			
Stewart Mitchell		2,313.84 ¹			55,230.31
J. L. Sibley		2,892.16 ¹			
Total Funds Income		<u>\$42,259.48¹</u>			
Total Funds Principal					<u>\$978,562.82</u>

¹ Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE undersigned were appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

HERMANN F. CLARKE
AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

April 8, 1943

Committee

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

April 7, 1943

Messrs. Hermann F. Clarke and Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Examining Committee

GENTLEMEN: As you requested I have examined the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year ending March 31, 1943.

The books show that all payments have been posted supported by proper vouchers, receipts entered and deposited, and the check book reconciled with the bank statement. I certify that the assets and liabilities as shown on the balance sheet fairly set forth the condition of the Society's property as of this date. The schedule of investments is in check with the list furnished by the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company.

ERNEST E. JOBLING, Auditor

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

THE last two reports of the Council have explained the more pressing problems which wartime conditions have created for the library and the precautions taken to meet possible emergencies. The responsibility for carrying out these measures and for meeting any crisis that may arise rests in the main on the Director and the staff. Although none of the worst possibilities that were foreseen at the outbreak of war have as yet materialized, they still may well do so at any moment; and none of us contemplates lightheartedly the uncertainties of the days ahead. However, knowing that we are ready at a moment's notice to evacuate the library's most important collections, we are resolved, so far as is possible in view of the limitations imposed by the shrinkage in numbers, to make the work of the library go on as usual. It is already clear, indeed, that the demands on us, as long as our chief research materials remain available, will increase (even though many people have been drawn off from his-

torical studies into war activities), since some other important libraries, on both the east and west coasts, have sent away their rarities for safekeeping. Consequently our files of colonial newspapers and our collection of Americana, for instance, have become even more important for scholars than before.

As a matter of fact, not only is there no reason, emergencies excepted, why our essential activities should not continue uncurtailed: there is every justification for hoping that, in one respect at least, we may witness considerable growth. There are still in private hands countless collections, large and small, of family papers. Some have been taken care of well; others have been tucked away in a remote corner and forgotten. In these days when talk of bombs is on everyone's lips and attic storerooms are being excavated, vast quantities of this material are coming to light, and owners of family archives are becoming conscious as never before of their responsibility for the preservation of such sources of history. The opportunity for a library such as this to profit from this turn of events is obvious, and I bespeak the coöperation of every member of the Society in enabling us to capitalize on the good which ill winds may blow our way.

Our acquisitions during the past year in the field of rare books reflect the falling off that was anticipated as the result of the depletion of our funds by the purchases during the preceding year from Mr. Jones's collection.¹ This fact serves as a fresh reminder of the inadequacy of our book funds. That they should be so unequal to our needs has always puzzled me. Perhaps it is because the Society has, during its long career, had in its membership more writers of history than collectors of the materials from which history is written.

There have, however, been interesting and important additions to the manuscript collections. These have been enumerated and described in the Director's monthly reports. One of these acquisitions, the Parkman material given to the Society by the historian's niece, deserves further comment.

Francis Parkman began the Parkman Collection in the Society's

¹ Books	217
Pamphlets	214
Periodicals	677
Broadsides	106
Maps	1
Newspapers	26
	1241

library in 1885, eight years before his death, with the gift of thirty-five bound and three unbound volumes of the transcripts from foreign archives which he had accumulated in the course of his years of historical research. Four times subsequently during his lifetime he added to the collection, and two months after his death an additional installment, two trunkfuls, was received.

This was believed to account for everything that Parkman had intended for the library, and a special cabinet was constructed for the collection, similar in style to that which houses the Winthrop papers. In due time the manuscripts were properly catalogued, and over the years the collection has come to be one of the most frequently consulted in the Society's possession.

Discreet inquiries from time to time about the possibility of there being more Parkman papers in the family's possession brought negative results. More recently Mr. Mason Wade, when preparing his biography of the historian, became so puzzled by the apparent disappearance of certain manuscripts known to have been at one time in existence that he appealed to Parkman's invalid niece, Miss Elizabeth P. Corder, who still occupies his Chestnut Street house, and was graciously given permission to make a personal search of Parkman's study.

What he found is what has now been given to the Society by Miss Corder, who immediately perceived that the newly discovered material formed an integral part of the larger collection already assembled here. There are, first of all, upwards of a hundred letters written to Parkman. They represent a cross section of his correspondence, the bulk of which we already had. By good fortune they are particularly revealing on the subject of Parkman's relations with his publishers, both here and in England. More important, however, than the letters—and, incidentally, the immediate object of Mr. Wade's search—are Parkman's notebooks containing a mixture of penciled diaries and memoranda written by him in the course of his various travels. Of these the gem is the one from which *The Oregon Trail* was written. It is expected that in the near future these notebooks will be published under Mr. Wade's editorship. In the meantime their flavor can be sampled by a perusal of Mr. Wade's *Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian* (New York, 1942) and of the edition of *The Oregon Trail* prepared by Mr. Wade for the Limited Editions Club (New York, 1943).

It is difficult to imagine a time when Francis Parkman will not be an engrossing subject for historians. It is therefore gratifying to have this Society's primacy in this field of research so notably strengthened.

ALLYN B. FORBES

Director

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

THE additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings* and call for no additional comment at this time.

HENRY W. FOOTE

Cabinet-Keeper

REPORT OF THE CURATOR OF COINS AND MEDALS

THE additions to the Society's collection of coins and medals in the past year number seventy coins and sixteen medals and tokens. These were acquired partly by purchase, for which income from the Storer Fund was available, and partly by gifts, some from members of the Society.

We have now completed our type set of United States commemorative half dollars the issuance of which brought much adverse criticism leading finally to the Government's decision to authorize no more new coins of this character. Specimens of the new United States and Canadian five-cent pieces and of the new United States cent have been acquired. These are made with changed alloys in order to save copper for war work. Several rare gold pieces of the early years of the Republic have been donated or purchased, and it is hoped that we can gradually improve our scanty holdings of these coins, which are increasing in rarity and value.

The Curator, following his announced policy when assuming his duties, has disposed of none of the coins or medals in the collection. Experience now shows that from time to time, usually through gifts, duplicates accumulate. Believing that ordinarily one specimen of a coin or medal is sufficient for our needs, the Curator has secured the Council's authorization to sell or exchange duplicates, with the suggestion that in the case of sales any proceeds be added to the income from the Storer Fund and thus be available for numismatic purposes.

By circularization of all numismatic societies in the United States it has been possible to dispose of a substantial number of the remaining copies of Dr. Storer's book *Numismatics of Massachusetts*, published by the Society in 1923 as Volume LXXVI of its *Collections*.

SHEPARD POND

Curator

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made its report, presenting candidates. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

President

ALBERT FRANCIS BIGELOW

Vice-Presidents

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

Recording Secretary

FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL

Corresponding Secretary

ROGER WOLCOTT

Treasurer

AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Cabinet-Keeper

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Members-at-Large of the Council

CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED
JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
HENRY LEFAVOUR
SHEPARD POND
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM

May Meeting, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 13, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.
The Director reported accessions:

From Isabella L. Bissett of Damariscotta, Maine, the records of the Boston Primary Association.

From Mrs. Pierre Jay of Mount Kisco, New York, several manuscripts relating to Robert Gould Shaw, including his commission as colonel in the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.

From Charles Warren of Washington, D.C., the commission of his ancestor, John Winslow, as major general of the forces of Massachusetts, February 27, 1762.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Clara B. Winthrop of Manchester, a silver urn, the "Bowdoin Bishop," formerly in the possession of Governor James Bowdoin; an ornament worn by Governor John Winthrop, said to have been used to attach the plume to his hat; a mourning ring made for Mrs. James Bowdoin after Governor Bowdoin's death in 1790 and containing a silhouette of the Governor painted by Miers, a Dutch artist then resident in London; a mourning ring for Mary Lindall, daughter of Timothy and Bethia (Kitchen) Lindall, who died December, 1740; a mourning ring for Lady Elizabeth Temple, wife of Sir John Temple and daughter of Governor Bowdoin, who died October 25, 1809; and a mourning ring for Elizabeth Bowdoin (Temple) Winthrop, wife of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, one-time President of this Society, who died July 23, 1825.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from ARTHUR BURR DARLING accepting Resident Membership.

It was *voted*, that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The chair announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for the ensuing year:

By-laws: ROGER WOLCOTT, *Chairman*; FRANK W. GRINNELL and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

Finance: ALBERT F. BIGELOW, *Chairman*; GEORGE E. CABOT, JAMES M. HUNNEWELL, HERMANN F. CLARKE, and AUGUSTUS P. LORING, Jr.

House: SHEPARD POND, *Chairman*; HENRY LEFAVOUR and GEORGE E. CABOT.

Library: CHARLES E. GOODSPEED, *Chairman*; GEORGE P. WINSHIP and DONALD MCK. FROST.

Meetings: M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE, *Chairman*; ALLEN FRENCH and ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman*; ALLYN B. FORBES and KEYES D. METCALF.

Publication: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; LAWRENCE S.

MAYO, STEWART MITCHELL, JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS, and ALLYN B. FORBES.

Mr. T. FRANKLIN CURRIER read a paper entitled "Oliver Wendell Holmes, Poet Laureate of Harvard."¹

October Meeting, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 14, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLCOTT was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Thomas Russell Sullivan of Boston, journals of her husband, formerly a member of this Society.

By purchase: copies of the *New-England Courant* for October 29 and November 5, 1722; a hitherto unrecorded Boston broadside, *An Account of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis* [Boston, 1781].

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Oswald Garrison Villard of New York, a marble bust of his grandfather, William Lloyd Garrison, made by Anne Whitney in 1878, one year before Garrison's death.

The chair announced the death of ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, the senior Resident Member of the Society, on June 16, 1943; that of CHARLES MILTON DAVENPORT, a Resident Member, on July 22, 1943; that of CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, a Corresponding Member, on September 9, 1943; and that of FREDERIC WILLIAM HOWAY, a Corresponding Member, on October 4, 1943.

The chair announced that the Council had appointed Mr. SHEPARD POND to act as Cabinet-Keeper *pro tempore* in view of the prospective absence of Mr. FOOTE during the coming year.

Mr. ALLAN FORBES read a paper entitled "Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army beyond New England during the Revolutionary War."²

Mr. W. CAMERON FORBES presented to the Society a lithograph of his grandfather, Ralph Waldo Emerson, made in 1929 from a restored tintype discovered in that year.

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 436-451.

² Printed in this volume, pages 152-167.

November Meeting, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 18, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Lizzie M. Mason of Winchester, diary of the Reverend Jacob Norton (H.C. 1786) of Weymouth, 1787-1789, 1792-1796, 1789-1802, 1810-1815; diary of his wife, Elizabeth Cranch, daughter of Richard Cranch and niece of Abigail Adams, 1781, 1782, 1786-1789, 1794-1799, 1801, 1805-1811; diary of Richard Cranch Norton (H.C. 1808), son of Jacob and Elizabeth Norton, 1811-1813, 1815, 1820, 1821; and miscellaneous correspondence of various members of the Norton family.

From Ellery Sedgwick, the "waste book" of Jonathan Mason of Boston, 1803-1828.

By purchase: George Fox, *An Answer to Several New Laws and Orders Made by the Rulers of Boston in New England the Tenth Day of the Eighth Moneth 1677* (London, 1678).

The Society elected Wilbur Kitchener Jordan of Cambridge to Resident Membership and Harold Stein Jantz of Princeton, New Jersey, to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. ARTHUR B. DARLING read a paper, illustrated with many photographs, entitled "Glimpses of a Prairie City."¹

Mr. FRANK W. GRINNELL read two letters, dated May 2 and May 29, 1862, from Robert Muncey, United States Marshal for the Southern District of New York, to Senator Charles Sumner relating to slave trading activities centering at the Port of New York.

December Meeting, 1943

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 9, 1943, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

By purchase: three letters relating to Shays's Rebellion (Major General

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 490-499.

William Shepard to Major General Benjamin Lincoln, Springfield, January 24, 1787; Governor George Clinton to Major General Lincoln, Poughkeepsie, March 5, 1787; Theodore Sedgwick to Major General Lincoln, Stockbridge, April 30, 1787); and Cotton Mather, *A Treacle Fetched Out of a Viper* (Boston, 1707), one of three recorded copies.

The chair announced the death of FREDERIC JESUP STIMSON, a Resident Member, on November 19, 1943.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from WILBUR KITCHENER JORDAN accepting his election to Resident Membership and one from HAROLD STEIN JANTZ accepting his election to Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected the Right Honorable Winston Spencer Churchill of London to Honorary Membership.

The following proposed amendments to the By-laws were submitted and were unanimously adopted:

Amend Chapter III, "Of Officers," by striking out the second and third sentences thereof and inserting in their place the following: "At the Annual Meeting for 1944 six members shall be chosen, two for one year, two for two years and two for three years, and at each Annual Meeting thereafter two members shall be chosen for three years. The members so chosen, with the before-mentioned officers, shall constitute the Council of the Society."

Amend Chapter IV, "Of the President," by adding the following: "The President shall be Chairman ex officio of the Finance Committee."

Amend Chapter VII, "Of the Treasurer," by striking out said chapter and inserting in its place the following:

"Of the Treasurer and Finance Committee

"*Art. 1.* The Treasurer shall receive and collect all moneys due to the Society, shall have the custody of all its moneys and securities, and shall manage them, subject to the direction of the Finance Committee. He shall buy and shall sell and transfer such stocks, rights, bonds, and other securities of the Society as shall be directed by the Finance Committee, and with the written approval of one member of the Finance Committee may buy or sell and transfer stocks, rights, bonds, and other securities of the Society. On behalf of the Society he may sign checks and proxies, endorse stock certificates, scrip of rights, and checks, receipt for legacies, and approve probate accounts. He shall make up his account annually in such form as the Finance Committee may direct, and shall have such account audited by the auditor appointed by it. His books shall be open to inspection at any time by any member of the Council, and his annual account shall be submitted in writing or in print at the Annual Meeting of the Society. He shall give bond for the faithful discharge of his duties in such amount and with such sureties as the Finance Committee shall require; the cost of such sureties shall be borne by the Society, and such bond shall be kept in the custody

of the President. He shall keep the securities of the Society in such safe deposit vaults as may be directed by the Finance Committee. He shall have such clerical aid as shall be approved by the Council, the cost of such aid to be borne by the Society. He shall pay no moneys except on vote of the Society, the Council, or the Finance Committee, or with the written approval of an officer or committee thereunto duly authorized, provided that he may pay for books, equipment, or supplies with the approval of the Director.

"Art. 2. At the meeting of the Council next following the Annual Meeting of the Society the Council shall choose two members of the Society who, with the President as Chairman ex officio, shall constitute the Finance Committee. They shall hold office for one year or until their successors are chosen. The Finance Committee shall have the supervision of the finances of the Society. It may direct the Treasurer to buy or sell and transfer any stocks, bonds, or other securities, and with the written approval of one member of the Committee the Treasurer may sell and transfer any such stocks, bonds, or other securities. It shall appoint an auditor who shall be a certified public accountant and who shall audit the accounts of the Treasurer and report his findings to the Committee. It may prescribe the form of the Treasurer's annual account, and his books shall be open to inspection at any time by any member of the Committee. It shall determine the amount of the bond to be given by the Treasurer and the sureties thereon, and may determine the safe deposit vaults in which shall be kept the securities of the Society."

Amend Chapter XII, "Of the Council," by striking out the word "seven" in the eighth line of Article 2 and inserting the word "eight" so that the last clause thereof shall read as follows: "nor shall any nomination of a member be valid unless eight members of the Council have assented to it."

Amend Chapter XV, "Amendments to the By-laws," by striking out said chapter and inserting in its place the following: "These By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any regular meeting of the Society at which at least twenty members are present, provided that notice of the proposed amendments, together with the recommendations of the Council in regard to their adoption, shall be set forth in the call for such meeting."

The Reverend FREDERICK L. WEIS read a paper entitled "Asa Whitcomb, a Sterling Patriot."¹

Mr. FRANK W. GRINNELL read a tribute to the late CHARLES M. DAVENPORT.²

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 111-127.

² Printed in *Charles M. Davenport* [N.p., 1944], 54-56.

January Meeting, 1944

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 13, 1944, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Helen Wood of Newton Highlands, a broadside of the Emancipation Proclamation with an endorsement by Charles Sumner.

By purchase: John White, *The Planter's Plea* (London, 1630). This copy has on the title page the autograph of White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough and noted early collector of Americana.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mary Curtis of Hamilton, the head of a portrait by Copley of Dr. Charles Russell (H.C. 1757) of Lincoln who died a Loyalist exile in Antigua in 1780. Family tradition has it that one of Dr. Russell's daughters, enraged at the prospect of the portrait going to one of her sisters, cut out the head, which she kept hidden until just before her death.

The chair announced the death of Sir WILLIAM SEARLE HOLDSWORTH, an Honorary Member, on January 2, 1944.

The Society elected Roland Greene Usher of St. Louis, Missouri, to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. HOWARD CORNING read a paper entitled "Sullivan Dorr, China Trader."¹

February Meeting, 1944

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 10, 1944, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Dr. Henry E. Hale, Jr., of Princeton, New Jersey, a group of letters (1886-1888) from Francis Parkman to Charles H. Farnham, Parkman's first biographer.

¹ Printed in *Rhode Island History*, III (July, 1944), 75-90. Selections from Dorr's correspondence on which this article is chiefly based are printed in this volume, pages 178-364.

From John H. Clifford of New Bedford, the letters of his grandfather, Governor John H. Clifford, to Robert C. Winthrop.

From Thomas F. Temple of Newton, the original manuscript minutes of the mass meetings held in Boston on November 29 and 30 and December 14 and 16, 1773, occasioned by the arrival in Boston of the East India Company's shipments of tea.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Right Honorable WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL accepting his election as an Honorary Member and from ROLAND GREENE USHER accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Society elected Frederick Lewis Allen of New York City to Corresponding Membership.

Mr. SAMUEL F. BEMIS read a paper entitled "John Quincy Adams and George Washington."¹

March Meeting, 1944

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 9, 1944, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From the estate of Agnes C. Storer of Newport, a collection of autographs comprised mainly of letters written in the nineteenth century to various members of the Storer family.

From George E. Cabot, a group of letters written to William Tudor, Jr., during the years 1823-1828 by Thomas Handasyd Perkins and others while Tudor was United States Consul at Lima.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Francis W. Sheafer of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, a daguerreotype of Eleazer Williams, great-grandson of the Reverend John Williams of Deerfield, the "Redeemed Captive," and one of those who in the first half of the nineteenth century posed as the "Lost Dauphin." The daguerreotype was presented by Williams to the donor's mother when she was a small child in Springfield, Vermont.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a proof of an apparently unpublished engraving by Joseph Andrews of Governor John H. Clifford.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 365-384.

FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN accepting his election to Corresponding Membership.

The Society elected Frederic Lauriston Bullard of Melrose, Palfrey Perkins of Boston, and Raymond Sanger Wilkins of Winchester to Resident Membership.

The following proposed amendments to the By-laws were submitted and were unanimously adopted:

Amend Chapter II, Article 1, "Of Meetings," by striking out the word "April" and inserting in place thereof the word "October," so that the first clause thereof shall read as follows: "The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Thursday of October."

Amend Chapter III, "Of Officers," by striking out in the last paragraph thereof the word "March" and inserting in place thereof the word "May," so that such paragraph shall read as follows: "At the monthly meeting in May, annually, a Nominating Committee, consisting of three persons, shall be appointed, who shall report to the Annual Meeting a list of officers for the ensuing year."

Strike out Chapter XI, and renumber Chapters XII, XIII, XIV, and XV as Chapters XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, respectively.

Mr. STEWART MITCHELL read a paper entitled "The Man Who Murdered Garfield."¹

April Meeting, 1944

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 13, 1944, at 3 P.M., Vice-President MERRIMAN in the chair. The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Frederic J. Stimson of Dedham, a collection of her correspondence during the period when her husband was American Ambassador to Argentina and manuscripts of various articles written by her husband.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, John Edwards, *The Whole Concern of Man* (Boston, 1725), an unrecorded imprint.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from FREDERIC LAURISTON BULLARD, PALFREY PERKINS, and RAYMOND SANGER WILKINS accepting their election as Resident Members.

In view of the fact that a recently adopted amendment to the By-

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 452-489.

laws changed the date of the Annual Meeting of the Society from April to October, and in view of the fact that the term of office of the Members-at-Large of the Council elected in April, 1943, expires in April, 1944, it was voted to re-elect the gentlemen serving as Members-at-Large of the Council for a term continuing until the Annual Meeting in October, 1944. The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for these gentlemen, and the following were declared elected:

CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED
JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS
HENRY LEFAVOUR
SHEPARD POND
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM

Mr. ROSCOE POUND presented a paper entitled "Bureaus and Bureau Methods in the Civil War Era."¹

May Meeting, 1944

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 11, 1944, at 3 P.M., President BIGELOW in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. WOLKINS was designated to serve as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the April meeting was read and approved.

The Director reported accessions:

From Mrs. Guy Lowell of Brookline, a letter of Ralph Waldo Emerson to Francis Cabot Lowell, August 2, 1872.

From Allyn B. Forbes, a copy of the *Boston Gazette* of May 9, 1720.

From the American Antiquarian Society, copies of the *New-England Weekly Journal* of September 18, October 9, 1727, and February 26, 1728.

From George E. Cabot, the grand chop (1789) of the ship *Astrea*, of which Thomas Handasyd Perkins was supercargo on a voyage to China; and a report, October 6, 1787, signed by George Cabot, of the committee appointed by the Massachusetts General Court for erecting a bridge across the river between Beverly and Salem.

The Curator of Coins and Medals reported accessions:

From Mrs. Frederick J. Bradlee, Jr., of Boston, a Massachusetts note for

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 420-435.

two shillings sixpence, 1769; a County of Philadelphia five-cent note, 1837; and two Confederate five-dollar notes, February 17, 1864.

The chair announced the death of ALBERT AUGUSTE GABRIEL HAN-OTAUX, an Honorary Member, on April 11, 1944.

The Society elected William Gurdon Saltonstall of Exeter, New Hampshire, to Corresponding Membership.

The following committee was appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in October:

To nominate officers for the ensuing year: JAMES DUNCAN PHILIPS, *Chairman*; CHARLES E. GOODSPEED and KEYES D. METCALF.

Mr. CLARENCE HARING read a paper entitled "The Setting for Dictatorship in Latin America."¹

¹ Printed in this volume, pages 549-561.

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